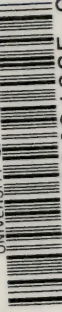



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REPORT OF THE  
FIFTH INTERNATIONAL  
NEO-MALTHUSIAN  
AND BIRTH CONTROL  
CONFERENCE



KINGSWAY HALL, LONDON

July 11th to 14th, 1922

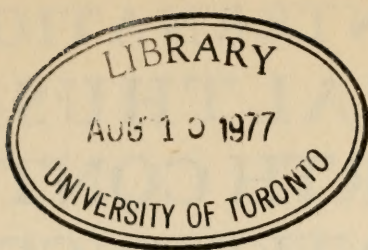
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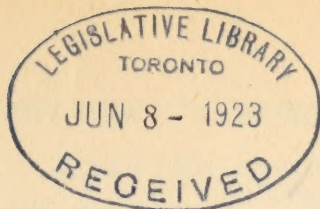


*This Conference was called, and organised by, the NEW GENERATION LEAGUE, 124, Victoria Street, London, S.W. 1, to whom all communications relative to this Report should be addressed.*

*The Honorary Secretary of the League would be glad to hear from any persons who are interested in the carrying out of reforms, along the lines suggested in so many of the contributions to the present volume.*

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### Hon. Secretary of the Medical Section :

B. DUNLOP, Esq., M.B.

## PREFACE

AMONG the subjects which are agitating the public mind at the present time none approaches in importance the question of what is now generally known as Birth Control. It concerns every department of human life, from the individual welfare of each man, woman, and child, to the general questions of poverty and morality; the political problems of the maintenance of the present social order or its overthrow by Socialism or Communism; the eugenic problems of race improvement or degeneracy, and the international problems underlying peace or war. None of these problems can be intelligently grasped without consideration of the numbers to be provided for, and of the types from which the bulk of the race is recruited; and no unprejudiced person can doubt for one moment that if we could take the same care in breeding our human beings as we do in breeding our racehorses and prize dogs it would effect enormous improvement in a generation or two. It is simply extraordinary that in this age of supposed enlightenment persons of authority should solemnly assure us that the breeding of the highest type of creation should be left to blind irresponsibility, and that all attempts to control it are contrary to the Divine Law.

The principles underlying Birth Control have been developed by the greatest British philosophers, from Malthus to Mill, Darwin and Huxley, but the organised movement dates from the Bradlaugh and Besant trial of 1876, which blazoned the knowledge of contraceptive methods to the whole civilised world. From that time until quite recently the movement has struggled on against every obstacle which conventionality and sacerdotalism could devise, but the war and the severe economic distress which has followed it has at last forced thoughtful people to recognise that the question must be faced, and many eminent authorities in all departments are now flocking to the Birth Control banner. The great pronouncement

of Lord Dawson, the king's physician, at the Church Congress last year, has finally broken down all barriers, and the Press and publishers are now rapidly opening their portals to the new message.

And the progress which has been made in other countries lately has been such as to leave no doubt in the minds of those who are watching the progress of the movement, that it is destined rapidly to spread over the whole world, in spite of all differences of race and religion. Thanks to that ardent pioneer of Birth Control in the United States, Mrs. Margaret Sanger, the message has now been carried to the Far East, and the enthusiasm with which it has been greeted puts it beyond question that its adoption is certain.

In view of this progress it was felt that the time had come for another International Conference on the question, and this was most successfully carried out in London in July last, with the co-operation of many eminent authorities. The present volume contains the papers which were contributed at the various sections, but it is greatly regretted that it has not been possible to include the discussion, as it would have increased the cost of the volume too greatly. It has also been impossible to reproduce in full the greetings received from all over the world from authoritative people, such as Baron and Baroness Ishimoto (*Japan*), Dr. H. van Houten (*late Minister of the Interior, Netherlands*), Frau Marie Stritt (*Dresden*), Dr. Max Hausmeister (*Germany*), Dr. L. Katscher (*Switzerland*), and M. G. Giroud (*France*), who were unable to attend the Conference in person. Delegates attended and reports were submitted, as will be seen on reference to the papers printed here, representing practically every corner of the world. Unfortunately, it has also been inexpedient to reproduce, even in a summarised form, the speeches delivered at the dinner held to celebrate the Conference on the evening of Thursday, July 13th. Nevertheless it is felt that the names of some of the persons who proposed or responded to the various toasts, on account of their representative significance, should certainly be given prominence; amongst these were such distinguished people as Mrs. Sanger (New York), Professor Knut Wicksell (Sweden), Professor R. Michels (Basle), Mr. H. G. Wells, Mrs. Rublee (New York), Professor E. W. MacBride (Eugenic Education Society), Herr J. Ferch

(Austria), Dr Anton Nyström (Stockholm), Sir Arbuthnot Lane, Professor Edward Westermarck, Mr. Harold Cox, Miss Mary Winsor (Philadelphia), Professor W. F. Willcox (Cornell University, U.S.A.), and Dr. Bernard Hollander.

But the papers themselves will suffice to show how wide has become the appeal and what a sound philosophic doctrine underlies the movement, and the resolutions which were adopted will demonstrate its bearing on various social and international problems.

Special interest attaches to the medical sessions, as until quite recently the consensus of medical opinion was supposed to be against contraceptive measures. The resolution proposed at the Contraceptive Section, which was attended by 164 members of the medical profession (few of whom had any previous connection with the movement), and passed with only three dissentients, is therefore of vast importance, as showing the change which is coming over medical opinion in this respect, and it will do much to allay the groundless fears which many people have suffered.

Those who study the following pages carefully will realise that the case for carefully exercised Birth Control is irresistible, and if they have any regard for the sufferings of their unfortunate fellow creatures, and the welfare of our race, they will hasten to join in spreading the only scientific doctrine which has been devised for the uplift of humanity.

C. V. DRYSDALE,

*President of the Conference.*

## EDITOR'S NOTE

I FEEL that, maybe, an apology is due to readers of this Report, in that certain of the papers contributed by foreign delegates are not, perhaps, phrased in the very best English. Owing to the short space of time available in which to handle the material, it has not been possible to polish these papers as I would have desired. In each case, however, where the sense was obscure I have endeavoured (as far as was possible without personal reference to the authors) to make it plain. Further than this, the indulgence of readers must be craved. It was felt, after all, that the immediate publication of the substance of the Report was of pre-eminent, and phraseology of secondary, importance.

Further, I have been asked to say, that the paper on the "Sterilisation of the Unfit," by Dr. Norman Haire (see p. 234), is not the paper which was given at the Conference. Unfortunately, owing to Dr. Haire not having had sufficient time to look over the material in the Medical Section, as it was understood he would, the paper printed herein, which is very elementary and sketchy, and had previously been printed in the *New Generation*, was substituted in error. This error was unhappily disclosed to me too late to take practical steps to have the matter remedied.

The substance of Dr. Haire's Conference paper will be found in a book by him on Birth Control, shortly to be published by the Oxford University Press, Medical Publications.

RAYMOND PIERPOINT.

*November, 1922.*

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\* Attended by members of medical profession only.

Tuesday, July 11th.—MORNING SESSION.

## OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE

President . DR. C. V. DRYSDALE, O.B.E., F.R.S.E., ETC.

THE PRESIDENT opened the Conference and addressed those present as follows :

In opening this Conference, it is first my pleasing duty to express a cordial welcome on behalf of the Malthusian League to those visitors from other countries who have come so far to take part in its deliberations, and to assist us by their experience and counsel. Great events have taken place since the International Neo-Malthusian Federation was formed in 1900, through the energy of the late Paul Rubin, and the International Conference he organised in Paris of that year. From that small beginning sprang the second International Conference at Liege, in 1905, the third at The Hague, in 1910, and the fourth, at Dresden in 1911, by the invitation of the executive of the International Hygiene Exhibition; each of these gatherings increased in numbers and influential support. To-day we are assembled again after an interval of eleven years, due to the devastating war, with our ranks broken in some countries by death or repressive legislation, but stronger than ever before in numbers, enthusiasm, and the prospect of rapid advance throughout the world.

Thanks to the indomitable energy of that wonderful pioneer of Birth Control, Mrs. Margaret Sanger, who has just returned from a triumphant missionary tour of the East, we meet for the first time in the certain knowledge that the whole world is ready for the doctrine of Birth Control, and that although *East is East, and West is West*, the twain are ready to meet on this fundamental human need. No event in the whole history of the movement is of such good augury for the future peace of the world, and for the progress of the cause; as the greatest obstacle to its acceptance is the fear of the superior fertility of the high birth-rate nations. It is therefore with a special

pleasure that we welcome the presence of representatives from Japan, India and China, in the two former of which Birth Control Leagues have been formed through the initiative of Baron and Baroness Ishimoto, Professor Gopalji Ahluwalia and Professor Shastri. The enthusiasm with which Mrs. Sanger's campaign has been welcomed in Japan, Korea and China, leaves no room for doubt that the new leaven will rapidly spread over the East, and her success will become recognised as one of the most epoch-marking events in history.

And the war, although it has brought about reaction in a few countries, has enormously increased the interest in, and recognition of, the population question. The terrible economic distress and unemployment which have followed from the destruction of capital by the war have forced statesmen to recognise the fundamental truth of the Malthusian doctrine, and reference has constantly been made to it in the press ; while the great pronouncement by Lord Dawson, the King's physician, in favour of a rational and humane sexual philosophy and of Birth Control, has had an effect over the whole world.

To-day, all organised opposition to Birth Control is dead, except that of the Roman Catholic Church, which is of the greatest value to the movement through its naked display of bigotry and intolerance. Whatever may be thought by the majority of people concerning the justification for rejection of Birth Control by any section of people for themselves, the whole sense of fair play of society is revolted by such manifestations of despotic intolerance as the breaking up of Mrs. Sanger's meeting by the New York police, acting under Roman Catholic orders, and the attempt to suppress all discussion of the question. To us all such efforts are merely feeble attempts at damming an irresistible stream which will inevitably engulf and sweep away every obstacle in its path.

Two of the greatest signs of the rapid progress of our cause are the growing support of the medical profession and the flood of literature on Birth Control and allied subjects. The first is of the utmost importance, as practical Birth Control instruction is most certainly a medical subject, and it is to the medical profession we must look for the best application of the means already used, and for the improvement in contraceptive technique. It affords us, therefore, special pleasure to welcome the

participation of a substantial body of the medical profession in this Conference, and we earnestly hope for most valuable results from the meeting of the Medical Section. As has already become recognised, the neo-Malthusian, or Birth Control, movement is as greatly concerned with the quality of our race as with its quantity, and indeed the quality question is fast becoming of supreme importance in countries such as Great Britain, America, and France, where the birth rate has now fallen to fairly manageable figures, but where family limitation has been principally adopted by the educated and successful sections, leaving the poor, improvident stocks to multiply without restraint in their ignorance, and impose the burden of high taxation on the latter stocks, to the great injury of our race.

On this account the possibilities of Birth Control as a eugenic factor require special recognition, and we are honoured to be able to hold a Eugenic Section under the presidency of Professor MacBride, vice-president of the Eugenics Education Society, who has been deputed to represent that Society at the Conference, and at which a number of papers will be given, chiefly by prominent American eugenists.

Economics has always been in the forefront of neo-Malthusian propaganda, as it was the original basis of the movement from the time of Malthus, and the stimulus which led the early pioneers from Francis Place to initiate that practical propaganda of which we celebrate the centenary at this Conference. Unfortunately this, although the best-known, part of the doctrine is the one which is most generally misunderstood and disliked. Those of us who have earnestly studied the doctrine of Malthus are convinced that no rational conclusion can be reached on any sociological subject without keeping this doctrine in view, and that the great principles of Malthus and Darwin stand in the same fundamental relation to sociology as the law of gravitation does to astronomy. We are, therefore, delighted to find that the new school of Cambridge economists is reviving interest in the Malthusian doctrine, and that its head, Mr. Keynes, has been willing to preside over our Economic Section.

It is, however, on the moral and religious side that the greatest battle is still to be fought, although, as has already been said, organised opposition by religious

#### 4 FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

bodies has ceased, with the exception of the Roman Catholics, thanks largely to the inquiry of the National Birth Rate Commission and the powerful utterances of Dean Inge, seconded by the Bishop of Birmingham. To-day the clergy of all denominations vie with the doctors and lawyers in having the smallest families, but there is still a sincere and pardonable feeling on the part of many earnest people that the promiscuous spreading of contraceptive information among young people may lead to the increase of sexual laxity, and they hold aloof from the movement. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that we should make it known that the neo-Malthusian movement has always been deeply concerned with moral ideals, and that while it rejects many of the orthodox admonitions as futile, it has always had as one of its chief aims the promotion of sexual purity, through the advocacy of general early marriage, rendered possible by the removal of the fear of large families. This, we contend, is the only practicable method of securing social purity, and it goes far to outweigh any greater tendency to laxity which might be encouraged by knowledge of contraceptive devices. Furthermore, so far as the organised movement in this country is concerned, contraceptive information has only been given on a solemn undertaking being furnished by the applicant that he or she is over twenty-one years of age, married or about to be married, and will hold himself responsible for keeping the leaflet out of the hands of young unmarried people. While we believe in principle that all adult people have a right to obtain knowledge on any subject, and that it is for education to safeguard them against abusing it, we recognise that education in sex matters has been so neglected that contraceptive information among the young may have undesirable effects, and we therefore think it well to maintain these precautions until better education is provided, and thereby to show that earnest advocates of Birth Control are anxious to do all in their power to maintain and enhance sexual purity though they discard ascetism as unnatural and impracticable for the majority. We earnestly hope, therefore, that the Moral and Religious Section of the Conference, under the presidency of the Rev. Gordon Lang, will succeed in impressing this attitude on the public consciousness, and that moralists of every school will come to see that Birth Control instruction can

be disseminated with full regard to decency and morality, and join in the effort to maintain the propaganda on this high plane.

The importance of the population question as regards the maintenance of peaceful international relationships has now become generally recognised, and we are indebted to Mr. Harold Cox for the efforts he has made for securing this recognition in the past, and for his willingness to preside over the National and International Section of the Conference, in which I hope it will be made clear that selective Birth Control strengthens every nation for maintaining its own existence, while removing the great impetus to aggression.

If I may venture to indicate what appears to me to be the greatest object for this Conference, it is that we should urge as strongly as possible that the public health authorities of all nations which possess them should take steps to secure the provision of hygienic Birth Control instruction at all hospitals and medical centres where the poor and diseased congregate. At present the work of such institutions, though highly humanitarian in intention, is most seriously dysgenic in effect ; but the humanitarian object can be the better attained and the dysgenic effect turned into a most effective eugenic one by the simple process of providing such instruction and recommending its adoption to all whose circumstances or bodily or mental characteristics render them unfit for satisfactory parenthood. Malthusians have rightly set their face against charitable and socialistic measures for relief which encourage reckless propagation, but if such measures are coupled with Birth Control instruction, society can give free rein to its humane impulses, secure in the knowledge that it is taking the true path towards that ideal state when every one can be secure of the help of society, but become strong and independent enough not to need or desire it.

In conclusion, let me just draw your attention to what Birth Control has already achieved, as it will come as a surprise even to most of those who support the movement, and especially to those who imagine that, because its votaries have been few and their efforts have been little heard of, the movement is an insignificant weakling. In truth, we stand to-day as representatives of the greatest reform the world has ever seen, and which has had far

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greater beneficent effect than any other in the history of the world. In France, where the birth rate has fallen from 39 per 1,000 before the Revolution to 19 in 1913, the death rate has fallen from 37 to 17·6, so that the average duration of life has been more than doubled, while the original rate of increase of population has been practically unaffected. In most other countries the fall of the birth rate has taken place from the Bradlaugh-Besant trial of 1876, and the commencement of the organised neo-Malthusian movement. In England and Wales the birth rate has fallen from 36·3 in 1876 to 22 in 1920, and the death rate from about 22 to 12. For the whole of Europe the birth rate fell from 40 in 1876 to 36·5 in 1901, and assuming that this rate of fall has been maintained to the present day it has probably fallen to about 33·5, which, on a population of something like 450 millions, means that there are now three million fewer births annually in Europe alone than there would have been had the 1876 birth rate been maintained, while America and Australasia probably swell this reduction to about five million fewer births annually. On a moderate computation this must mean that at least twenty million people have adopted family limitation in some form or other in the forty-five years since the commencement of the movement, and this may fairly be compared with the advance of any other cause in history.

When we come to consider the effects of this immense change we find it was predicted by Malthusians, that it has been accompanied with a wonderful diminution of the death rate and prolongation of life. Examination of the records of vital statistics, such as you will see represented in the diagrams round this hall, show the truth of the Malthusian doctrine that since survival must depend on the wherewithal to support life, high birth rates must almost inevitably mean high death rates, and that practically the only way of reducing the death rate of a country is to reduce its birth rate. Medical science, surgery and sanitation may preserve the lives of a large number of individuals, but they do not increase the amount of food, which finally decides how many cannot survive. Where this is realised we see that the great reduction in the death rate, which has taken place in most civilised countries in the last few decades, is primarily to be attributed to the fall



in the birth rate which has taken place in most cases from 1876.

If we accept this conclusion, as I am sure all who study the essentials must do, we come to the result that the reduction of the number of births has caused the saving of at least the same number of lives, and that we, therefore, have quite five million fewer deaths in the world annually than if the birth rate of 1876 had been maintained. This is a record which no other movement ever conceived can even compare with, and if the process is continued until the average birth rate for the entire world is reduced to 17 or 18 per 1,000, we shall save lives at the rate of at least 25 millions a year, remove untold suffering from millions of hapless men, women and children, make early marriage and social purity possible, eliminate the struggle for bare existence, improve the quality of the race, and delay the economic rivalry which is the most potent cause of international friction and war.

These are the aims which we always have before us, and we meet to-day rejoicing in the knowledge that our past efforts have conferred enormous benefits on the people of the countries in which the propaganda has been carried on, and in the most welcome results of Mrs. Sanger's tour, which has assured us that our message of light and hope is destined to spread over the whole world and bring joy and relief to the entire human race.

## REPORTS.

### GREAT BRITAIN.

After the fourth International Neo-Malthusian Congress in Dresden, in September, 1911, the Malthusian League made its next advance in the movement by publishing and distributing a practical leaflet, for which their working-class audiences begged most earnestly. At that time, as now, very little information or help was given on this subject by the medical profession. So, with an introductory remark that the League considered this work properly belonged to this body, they published and distributed a leaflet of their own—compiled with the best medical advice they could get. This was only issued to those who signed a declaration—at first in duplicate—that the applicants were over twenty-one years of age, married, or about to be married, and that they would hold themselves

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responsible for keeping it out of the hands of young persons. Some 42,000 of these leaflets have now been distributed, and a new one, revised by Dr. Norman Haire, has just been issued under the same conditions.

In October, 1913, the National Birth Rate Commission, organised by the Council for Promoting Public Morals, commenced its sittings, and Dr. Drysdale was called as the first witness, representing the Malthusian League. He was under examination during three sessions. The report of this Commission, which did not appear till 1915, was highly satisfactory, in so far as it conceded many of the claims of the neo-Malthusians, and refrained from any strictures on the propaganda, although the League's newly-issued practical leaflet had been laid before it; and also despite the fact that the Commission was largely composed of distinguished members of the various religious denominations, many of whom were evidently in opposition.

The Great War caused a diminution of the League's activities, but our journal never failed, and membership slowly grew during that period. Dr. and Mrs. Drysdale were not in London for the greater part of the war—Dr. Binnie Dunlop holding the fort till he was also called for medical war service.

In May, 1921, Mrs. Drysdale became Hon. Secretary, and Dr. Drysdale—though still engaged in his professional work—edited the *Malthusian* in his spare time.

During the past twelve months the Malthusian League has succeeded, since January, 1922, in getting their magazine—formerly the *Malthusian*, now the *New Generation*—on to the bookstalls, and taken by the general trade. This was a great advance, and was due in largest measure to the outspoken declaration by Lord Dawson of the necessity for contraceptive Birth Control. A three-weeks' special campaign in South London during June and July of last year, when meetings were held both indoors and out each afternoon and evening, resulted in the establishment in November, 1921, of the first welfare centre where Birth Control instruction was given in addition to ordinary medical advice and treatment. At first the response was small, but for some time past the attendance has been entirely satisfactory, and it is now necessary to have our doctors and nurses in attendance on three afternoons per week. A sewing class has been started by the Secretary, and little homely Birth Control talks by various

speakers to the mothers are much appreciated. Dr. Haire gave a well-attended and much appreciated lecture to the men one evening. The centre is now thoroughly established, and grows in interest and usefulness.

The aim of this centre, beyond the local help it gives, is to form a sort of object lesson for the other welfare centres where Birth Control is not included among other prophylactic measures. It may possibly also become a centre of instruction, as already several doctors and nurses have attended to see what is being done.

The third task of this past year has been the organisation of this Conference, and beyond a handsome personal gift from Mrs. Margaret Sanger no other funds have been raised for the purpose, and the work has been carried out by three people in the office, and occasional help from volunteers and part-time workers. If it fails in magnificence or high finish, will you be so kind as to consider with what a small amount of straw this brick has been made?

The Malthusian League gives its warmest thanks to all those who have made this Conference possible; to the workers who have prepared it, the delegates who are giving papers (especially those representatives from other countries who have come so far), and the members who are showing their interest and appreciation by coming to listen to the various arguments in favour of Birth Control.

B. I. DRYSDALE.

#### HOLLAND.

I have the honour to send you the situation of our League on January 1st, 1922.

#### *Members in 1920 and 1921.*

AFDEELING.	1920.	1921.
Algemeene Leden* . . . .	1,862	1,731
Alkmaar . . . . .	176	176
Amsterdam . . . . .	577	729
Delft . . . . .	—	30
Dordrecht . . . . .	436	436
Enschede . . . . .	182	250
Gouda . . . . .	113	113
Carried forward	3,346	3,465

\* Algemeene Leden = members who belong, not to a local organisation, but to the Chief direction.

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	1920.	1921.
Brought forward . . . . .	3,346	3,465
's Gravenhage . . . . .	579	525
Groningen . . . . .	90	90
Haarlem . . . . .	558	650
Heerlen . . . . .	57	60
Helder . . . . .	582	530
Hellevoetsluis . . . . .	207	—
Hengelo . . . . .	85	100
Hilversum . . . . .	56	56
Leiden . . . . .	155	110
Leidschendam . . . . .	39	80
Middelburg . . . . .	76	80
Purmerend . . . . .	14	20
Rotterdam . . . . .	185	702
Schiedam . . . . .	56	50
Utrecht . . . . .	136	170
Vlaardingen . . . . .	—	25
Vlissingen . . . . .	240	240
Zaandam . . . . .	—	100
Zwolle . . . . .	55	25
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total . . . . .	6,516	7,078
	<hr/>	<hr/>

*Publications given out, 1921-1922.*

“ Public Morality ” . . . . .	340
“ The Great Value of Neo-Malthusianism for the Health ” . . . . .	2,243
“ The Danger of Abortion ” . . . . .	3,257
“ In Hard Times ” . . . . .	225
“ Prosperity and Growth ” . . . . .	1,621
“ To all Fathers and Mothers ” . . . . .	600
“ Which is Better ? ” . . . . .	2,340
“ Why Small Families ? ” . . . . .	26,720
“ The Happy Family ” . . . . .	26,200
	<hr/>
Total . . . . .	63,546
	<hr/>

The General Secretary received 1,381 letters asking for information, but how many the local organisations and nurses received is unknown.

H. S. DE VRIES.

[*Note.*—A printed list of four doctors and fifty-three trained women willing to give practical contraceptive advice accompanied this report.—EDITOR.]

## SWEDEN.

There is hardly any neo-Malthusian organisation in Sweden; there have been one or two small societies without great influence, but I think even they are now become extinct. That, however, does not mean that we have had no neo-Malthusian propaganda at all in Sweden; on the contrary, we have had most effective propaganda; one of its earliest champions was Dr. Nyström. Still more effective, however, was the propaganda of about 1910 carried among the labouring population by Mr. H. Bergegren, the then Anarchist, which, indeed, has made a very marked impression upon the figures of our present natality. In fact, Sweden comes, in that respect, I believe, next to France, and the present number of children born in Sweden is so small that when they come to the age of twenty they will not be able even to supplant the present number of men and women in the twenties, so that our population in that respect may already be regarded as *virtually* stationary.

However, there is still much to be done. The propaganda of Mr. Bergegren has, in fact, had the consequence of the carrying of a very silly law against contraceptives, which, according to its wording, would even punish some measures taken to prevent venereal disease. This law, of course, must be abolished. In the present year an attempt in that direction actually was made, and got a very large majority in the Second Chamber. In the First Chamber, however, the attempt was frustrated by a majority of five votes.

At the same time I think that we in Sweden, as in other countries, will have to face in a rational way the gloomy and difficult, but important, question of abortion. I think, therefore, that in a coming congress, the representative of Sweden may have more to say on the movement going on in our small country.

KNUT WICKSELL.

## GERMANY.

Germany was, until the middle of the last century, principally an agricultural country with sufficient food production for her 35 million inhabitants. But even then her prosperity was very moderate, because industry was at that time only little developed, and so our Governments—we were at that time still not unified—endeavoured to raise her to a higher economic level. This was also very necessary, because we had a surplus of hands and, therefore a considerable emigration, mainly to North America.

But these exertions became only a sufficient success by the construction of our railroads, because thereby there was not only much work provided, but also our iron and machinery production became much more active. To that also must be added a very important development in the trade, both internal and with foreign countries, and the ever-increasing capacity of the population in all these directions. A considerable advance was also attained by the establishment of the German Empire, giving us not only the necessary union, but in the eyes of our population also an augmented political security.

The population increased in 1885 to 47 millions, and since that time the food production became more and more insufficient, because the population increased to 52 millions in 1895, and to 56 millions in 1900. These increasing numbers had to find their existence mostly in industry, because the agricultural estates were very, very small. Of the 4,300,000 estates:—

1,400,000	were smaller than 1	hectare.
740,000	„ „	1-2 „
970,000	„ „	2-5 „
540,000	„ „	5-10 „
and only	650,000 = 15 %	more than 10 „

so that in most cases a further subdivision became impossible, the land then not being sufficient for a family existence. So came the necessity, that of the four, five, or more children, only two could exist in the country, while the others were forced to look for an industrial occupation. This was very forcibly demonstrated by the large increase of our great cities, their population rising from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions in 1861 to about 6 millions in 1890, and then still more and more, so that the German population,

increasing every five years nearly 4 millions, reached 68 millions in 1914, and that we had at this time twenty-six large cities of over 200,000 inhabitants, totalling nearly 12 millions.

We had more hands than could be employed at sufficient wages; these could not attain the amounts which otherwise would have to be paid. This also, by the reason that our industry, then highly developed, had to stand the competition with other countries likewise over-populated.

The consequences were very bad. The income of most working families amounted only to about 1,600 marks—very small indeed, even for one or two children, and quite insufficient for a larger number. The lodgings in the cities were not only small and much more costly than in the villages, but also nearly without the necessary accessory spaces, so that we had many, many miserable dwellings for the large families. All enactments against this were practically vain, because the want of room was still not so disastrous as the want of food.

The danger of over-population was perceived even fifty years ago in Germany. Hirschman and Rumelin published their warnings. Lassalle explained that in good times workmen are producing so many children that in bad years they can find no work, or only at very low wages, so that their own increasing number makes competition for them so harmful.

It must be very clear to all reasonable people that by marrying early a couple can produce ten, twelve, or even fifteen children; that at least, all deductions considered, in thirty-three years three couples will arise from it; that these in the next thirty-three years in the same proportion will be nine, and at the end of a century 27; 100 years later, more than 700; and that no country in the world could stand this, as millions long before would perish of starvation.

So, considering the population question, neo-Malthusianism, notwithstanding the opposition of the Government and the Roman Catholic Church, gained, even thirty years ago, many friends in Germany. The birth rate declined, from 1900 to 1909, from 36.5 to 32, but in consequence of the greater and greater extension of hygiene measures the death rate also declined from 23 to 18.1, so that the yearly increase still amounted to about 700,000, with the further result that nearly 70 per cent. reached

the age of twenty years against about 60 per cent. one hundred years before.

Neo-Malthusianism had its great success principally in the large cities. In Berlin births decreased, from 1875 to 1900, from 45 to 29 per 1,000, and in sixteen other large cities of Prussia an average of from 43 to 35.

The large increase of most workmen without means induced also a heavy Socialistic agitation with bad consequences. This agitation was directed in the sense of Marx against capital, pretending that the profits of the industrial owners were only made by the under-paying of the labouring classes. Neither the workmen themselves nor their secretaries considered that without Capital and his justified rent, the occupation and payment of hands would be impossible. They did not recognise that the real cause of their unsatisfactory existence was the heavy augmentation of the population, resulting in too much competition in their own ranks. The bulk of them did not realise that the betterment of family existence must come by a wise limitation of procreation with the application of innocent preventive measures. The majority of them did not comprehend till now that further progress could not be reached by a struggle against Capital, but could be reached only by a benevolent association between Capital and Labour, particularly by a reasonably provident participation in the profit and, finally, even in the capital by the savings of the workmen. That work should not be constrained to certain, and in many cases to limited, hours, but be done chiefly, when it pays the best and when the demand for the respective merchandise is prevalent, hoping that by such an organisation they could come themselves to capital, prosperity and much more independence. And that all this would be tenfold better than the interference of the State, which produces, as we see, such bad consequences.

It is sad for me to say that the great mass of our people until now has not favoured such ideas, and that particularly their leaders are strong opponents, because they fear that Socialism would then decline; and that there are some going so far as to pretend and declare that the workmen have no paternal country; all the more reason they should cleave to it.

But, notwithstanding all these sad observations, I hope



that our endeavour for the better understanding of all these questions will largely progress.

The war has caused very bad times in Germany. The devaluation of our money makes it very, very difficult to import and pay for the necessary food supplies. Our exports, through which this should be done, find every impediment by increased duties and restraining enactments of the States to which the goods are sent. We have nearly unsupportable taxes, not only on the income, but also extremely high indirect taxes even on the absolute necessities of life.

That these circumstances will have also an influence on the population question is nearly indubitable, but our position is so extraordinary that it is nearly impossible for me to come to a clear opinion of the direction in which the further march will go. Marriages in 1919 and 1920 increased, but mostly because many of them, postponed while the war lasted, were now performed.

Concerning an international unification and propagation of neo-Malthusianism for the East, I fear that the separation from Austria and Russia, together with the establishment of new States, will be unfavourable, because there is much jealousy between them and a prevailing feeling amongst the minorities that they are oppressed by the majorities of the respective nationalities.

MAX HAUSMEISTER.

#### AUSTRIA.

“Der Bund gegen den Mutterschaftszwang” (League against Compulsory Motherhood) of XV. Gablenzgasse 31, Vienna, has for its object to increase *the sense of responsibility towards the unborn* and to give the parents the right to create a child they *really desire*. Not childlessness, but *fewer and mentally as well as bodily sound children* born at the time chosen by the parents is the aim to be attained. The unlimited creation of children leads to contrariety with respect to the conditions of existence; it limits the prosperity, the feeding and bringing up; further produces a gradually increasing grief, and by a wasted childhood a later ailing life. The great infantile mortality after a useless motherhood will depress the wife, the family and the community, and children created in an intoxicated condition uselessly burden the State and the person; it is immoral and not social.

Intellectual and wealthy people, and also a number of working class people, use already for a long time contraceptive devices, but the majority of people are incapable of understanding the idea on which our great cause is based, and, further, legislative as well as religious and social laws are in existence which condemn the limitation of birth. The object of the League is to work against this *antiquated* opinion, which is not any more in accord with the actual conditions of life, and is based on privileges, hypocrisy and selfishness. Further, the League aims at the abolition of the antiquated law, and to prepare the ground for laws which are more humane, and therefore in accordance with the new mode and conditions of life. The aims of the League are propagated in books, pamphlets, and at public meetings.

Owing to the appalling conditions in existence at present in Austria, the propagation is very necessary, and has been very successful. The public meetings held by the League, pamphlets distributed free of charge, and the penetration of the newspapers with the ideas aimed at by the League, has advanced the reform movement against the present laws concerning motherhood, a Bill has been introduced and is under consideration in the Austrian Parliament, as well as in the House of Commons in Germany, and a similar law is in force in Russia.

However, the aim of the League is not only to obtain legislative permission for using contraceptive devices. It frequently happens that the contraceptive devices are failing, although the conditions of life do not permit the birth of a child. In that case the only way out is artificial abortion. However, this is prohibited by law, and the medical man is prevented by law from assisting thereby, though the doctor will assist if he is paid *high* fees in secret. Thus the poor women, amongst whom are, unfortunately, also the educated women, cannot secure medical assistance, and they are forced to go to a quack or to take the law into their own hands. The deplorable result is that legions of women die before their time or are ailing for the rest of their lives, or have to go to prison. Practically every woman without means has passed through this cross-road of motherhood. This is an enormous wrong to people whose children have been saved from starvation only by the *help of foreign countries*. In Austria 25 out of 100 children born die within the first year

of life ; 178,000 out of 184,000 Viennese school boys and girls are malnourished, *e.g.*, only 6,000 are normally nourished. We have tens of thousands of families which are without homes and lodgings, and cases in which twenty and more persons are living in two rooms.

Therefore the limitation of the birth rate is our first and main duty. We are continuously propagating the same, and find a gradually increasing understanding among the people. However, we have very strong opponents, who work hard against us, and are supported by large sums of money. For the most part they are the war profiteers and shouters, who by the help of a surplus birth rate are dreaming of a war of revenge against the world and simply call for more soldiers. They work with the catchword of the future leadership of the German race, and have the support of the other imperialists and of the enemies to humanity who wish to build up their privilege and supremacy upon the harassed bodies of mothers and children. The more quantity, the more satisfaction to their class-egoism. They are the opponents of civilisation and the ideals of humanity.

The League had the satisfaction to obtain *in most cases a reduction of the term of imprisonment, or an acquittal*. Many women are instructed in the use of contraceptive devices by means of advice, and by the recommendation to a doctor, thereby saving many from taking the last step, *e.g.*, procuring abortion. The broad mass of people is enlightened by untiring propaganda work. Since the foundation of the League our movement has considerably grown and has become an important element in the public life of Austria, as the greatest part of the Liberal population, the newspapers and the whole working class people are supporting our cause. We bless the child as it is the greatest happiness of one's life, but we add that the logical, moral and human demand is a child *really desired* by the parents ; the child ought not to be created as a matter of accident in a weak moment. By this demand we shall force the laws embodied in neo-Malthusianism to become the moral and social demand of the near future. Our motto is "Not Quantity, but Quality."

J. FERCH.

## INDIA.

The Society\* was started at Delhi on Tuesday, January 31st, 1922, through the single-handed efforts of Professor Gopalji Ahluwalia, M.Sc. The aims and objects of the Society are "to further the principle and practice of Birth Control with a view to rationally controlling population, effectively checking race-degeneration, and materially advancing race-regeneration."

Ever since its origin great stress has been laid on educational propaganda. Interviews are frequently arranged with a view to encouraging personal discussions on population problems. Poor quarters are visited to enlighten the needy people. Informal talks and lectures are arranged from time to time. Numerous queries from all parts of India regarding literature and practical information and objections and criticisms are being successfully met with.

Birth Control reference and circulating libraries have been started at Delhi, though on a modest scale at present. There is a keen demand among the people for Birth Control literature. Leaflets, pamphlets and books of the circulating library reach the farthest corners of this vast country.

A number of articles and letters have been contributed to vernacular and English papers and periodicals. Translations and adaptations of the standard literature in Indian vernaculars are under preparation, and leaflets are being written to facilitate the percolation of ideas to the literate minority of 315 million people. It is intended to arrange mass meetings and popular demonstrations as soon as the ideas are spread sufficiently wide.

Membership is proceeding apace. Efforts are being made to secure an adherence to the principles of Birth Control and association with the Society of popular leaders and authorities.

It is confidently hoped that Birth Control will in the near future be welcome to the vast majority of thoughtful people in this ancient land of richest traditions and noblest ideals.

GOPALJI.

\* Indian Birth Control Society.

## UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The first development of the Birth Control idea in America was entirely sporadic. Among the early champions of the thought were Dr. Knowlton and Robert Dale Owen. These men were responsible for pamphlets dealing directly with methods of family limitation. Moses Harman was also a member of this group of pioneers, but the idea of family limitation was not crystallised or organised into a movement until 1912, when Margaret Sanger came into the field as a crusader for Birth Control.

She began a practical study of the subject in France as well as in the United States, and found at this time no books available in America dealing with this subject—even in a theoretical way. However, this investigation led her to the Federal statutes, where she discovered that in 1873 Congress enacted a law prohibiting contraceptive information from passing through the United States mails. Many State laws followed the Federal precedent with some variation as to application and penalty. At this time there were also isolated members of the medical profession, such as Dr. Abraham Jacobi and Dr. William J. Robinson, who came out in unqualified terms for the voluntary control of procreation.

In February, 1914, Margaret Sanger began her agitation for Birth Control with the publication of the *Woman Rebel*, and organised the First Birth Control League in America. In the columns of this remarkable paper she stated her aim to be “to advocate the prevention of conception.” The directness of her attack led men of science to come out and emphasise the importance of the idea of family limitation. “Birth Control” was used as a slogan to express the aim of the campaign. It immediately found its way into print and public discussion.

The year 1915 was notable for several arrests in connection with Birth Control agitation. Margaret Sanger was arraigned in the Federal courts to stand trial for obscenity. This case, however, was dropped in 1916, after an appeal had been made by prominent men and women of England and America to the President of the United States. The support of this group of well-known English people did much toward stabilising the idea in America. William Sanger was also arrested for giving a pamphlet, outlining the practical methods of family limitation, written by

Margaret Sanger, to a Comstock agent. In Boston, Mass., Van Kleeck Allison was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for circulating a pamphlet dealing with the practical discussion of the subject.

Great indignation was aroused by this prosecution in Boston, and the first State group was formed in Massachusetts.

Nineteen hundred and sixteen was indeed an eventful year in the agitation for Birth Control. Margaret Sanger aroused attention by challenging the New York State law. She chose Brownsville, one of the poor districts of Brooklyn, and opened a clinic or mothers' health centre. She was assisted by her sister, Mrs. Byrne, and Fania Mindell. Newspaper publicity, combined with spectacular crowds of mothers with babes in arms waiting for admittance, brought about her arrest and those of her assistants by the New York State authorities. Mrs. Byrne was sentenced to thirty days in the workhouse. She immediately went on hunger strike which lasted eleven days. Governor Whitman of New York granted her a pardon. Fania Mindell appealed her case to the higher court and the decision was reversed. Margaret Sanger served thirty days in the Queen's County Penitentiary rather than accept the immunity offered by the presiding judge of the Court of Special Sessions, who said he would not impose the sentence on condition that she would agree not to violate the law again. "I cannot obey a law I do not respect," was the phrase used by her, and this phrase embodies the spirit of the pioneer workers for the cause.

In the same year of 1916, the National Birth Control League was formed around the members of the Birth Control League founded by Margaret Sanger in 1914. Leagues were also organised in various cities throughout the United States. The arrest of many people for their activities in connection with the work served as an educational medium for the idea.

The following year in New York City a Committee of One Hundred was formed, and a group of influential men and women signed a statement of their belief in voluntary motherhood as essential to individual and national welfare. The Committee aroused among the intellectuals much local enthusiasm for the cause of Birth Control.

February, 1917, saw the first issue of the *Birth Control Review*. From a circulation of 2,000 it reached 10,000 in

a few months. Although the World War claimed the services of many of the workers for Birth Control, the magazine still steadily advanced into a wider field. It was truly a crusading spirit that carried the workers in this cause into a street-selling campaign. Day after day the magazine is held aloft along the crowded thoroughfares of New York City. Kitty Marion is entirely responsible for the unflagging zeal of this work.

Step by step the prejudice, both individual and authoritative, has been fought with great success. Until now, this phase of the educational work is respected by the police authorities throughout the city of New York. The selling of this magazine on the street, with its caption "Birth Control," has attracted and interested thousands in the cause. It is interesting to note that Japan received her first constructive thought on Birth Control, as a means of limiting the population, through the *Birth Control Review*. The circulation of this periodical has become international. South America, Mexico, China, Japan, Australia, India, New Zealand and European countries are all on the mailing list. College libraries and social agencies place it in their reading rooms. The review has been published every month since its first issue, and is a tremendous lever against constructive opinion.

The publication of books, pamphlets and leaflets—both practical and theoretical—have run into hundreds of thousands. It is safe to say that the practical pamphlet written by Margaret Sanger has been read by two million people, and has even been copied by hand by those interested in spreading this priceless information, and the old copies have been so worn out by passage from one to the other that they have been returned for duplication. This pamphlet has been translated into Spanish, Italian, Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, Yiddish, Japanese and Chinese, and has been reprinted by others than the Margaret Sanger group. The reading public of this practical advice must be well over three millions.

Margaret Sanger's own books, "What Every Girl Should Know" and "What Every Mother Should Know," were of special interest, in that they offered the first direct appeal for simple sex education. To-day there are many books published on economics that have some reference to this movement. Fiction has also embodied chapters

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to the Birth Control idea. Plays and scenarios are being produced in New York dealing with every angle of the question.

In 1919, the National Birth Control League went out of existence, and its director, Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett, formed the Voluntary Parenthood League, with the definite aim of securing the repeal of the Federal law which closes the mails to contraceptive information and devices. Up to this time there has been no success in securing this amendment. Margaret Sanger, during her years of work, has outlined a definite and constructive programme for the movement. It is embodied in these four words: "Agitation, education, organisation and legislation."

The third step in this progress was reached in 1921, when a three days' National Conference, the first in America, was called. It brought together biologists, economists, sociologists, and medical men and women from all parts of the country; aroused the widest interest, and attracted attention from the labour and social groups. This Conference proved a tremendous success. The sessions were crowded, especially the medical session, where 600 doctors were present, and many failed to gain admittance. Great eagerness was displayed by some of our most eminent physicians for definite contraceptive data.

The last evening of the session was a notable one in the history of the Birth Control movement, for through the dictation of an archbishop of the Church of Rome, a police captain closed the doors of the hall where the session was to be held, and caused the arrest of Mrs. Sanger and Miss Mary Winsor. More than national publicity was given to this incident. As Mr. Harold Cox was also scheduled to speak at this meeting, it aroused great indignation, not only among the thousands awaiting entrance to the hall, but also among the advocates of free speech and fair play throughout the country. It proved of great educational advantage, and won thousands of supporters to the cause.

A public investigation of this outrage was demanded by some of the most prominent men of America. The sessions held before a police commissioner were of great publicity value, and his report to the Mayor of New York is still awaiting publication.

At the time of this Conference, the American Birth



Control League was formed with the support and active interest of some of our ablest men of science. A charter has been granted to this League by the State of New York, and in so doing the League is recognised as an educational institution under the law of New York State.

In the few months since its inception, the League has grown enormously. The *Birth Control Review* is its official organ. Mrs. Sanger is editor in charge, with a managing editor, and a staff of two secretaries and a circulation manager. There are several other departments connected with the work of the League. That of the organisation department must be especially mentioned for its excellent work during the last eight months. The States of Michigan, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio and Massachusetts have State groups, where definite leadership has been organised to meet the individual needs of the separate States. Hundreds have been enrolled in the national organisation as life members. Organisers and speakers have been sent out to different cities to develop interest and support for the national as well as the State groups. Colleges, clubs and welfare organisations—both civic and private—are asking for speakers on the subject. A book shop is also part of the educational work of this organisation.

The interest of the American Birth Control League in America is not confined to any group or class, and has now reached an international affiliation through Leagues in Mexico, Hawaii, Japan and China, and the opportunity to take part in this most interesting Congress. The American Birth Control League feels it is in touch with the world on this most important work, and looks forward to a tremendous campaign for the next few years, through the co-operation of prominent medical and scientific men, and the stimulation of our President's undiminished zeal and inspiration.

(Mrs.) ANNE KENNEDY.

#### FRANCE.

All open Birth Control propaganda is now impossible in France. The *régime* which has been established in this country since the war has evolved a law which, as every one knows, is extremely severe, and which has already been applied without mercy. This law, passed almost

unanimously by both Chambers, prohibits not only practical contraceptive propaganda, but also all literature, all lectures, and every manifestation against reproduction.

Further laws are proposed against the sale of contraceptives, and against abortion. No doubt they will be passed by the legislators, the Academy of Medicine having taken part against us with all the most powerful organisations of the State.

In addition to these penal measures enacted or proposed, reforms of very various types are proposed or are in operation, and consist either in giving favours to large families, or in taking measures against restricted families, or in modifications of the laws of succession.

Among the favours granted to large families we may cite :—

- (a) Allocations to poor families burdened with children.
- (b) Rewards for births in the form of sums given at each birth, or of annual premiums.
- (c) Creation of a system of national insurance for the alleviation of the expense of a family.
- (d) Supplementary bonus to officials who are fathers of families.
- (e) Reduction of taxation for large families.
- (f) Alleviation of military burdens for large families.
- (g) Preferential appointment of fathers of large families to the tobacconists' bureaux, and to employments not requiring special capacity, and their children to scholarships.
- (h) Development of cheap dwellings for large families.
- (i) Plural voting in elections, according to the number of children, for the fathers of large families.
- (j) Presentation of medals and crosses to the mothers of large families.

Few of these proposals have materialised. The last has been carried into execution ; we now have the Medal of the French Family.

As to measures against restricted families, these have been taken. They comprise :—

- (1) Special taxes (or increase of existing taxes) against bachelors, households without children, or with few children.

- (2) In particular, very heavy taxes, rising to a real partial confiscation, on their heirs.

The modifications to the laws of succession have not been made. They have for their object :—

- (1) Either to increase the liberty of bequest.
- (2) Or to make the share of each child, in inheriting from his parents, variable according to the number of his own children.

Besides this legislative action, there is also voluntary propaganda. Powerful endowed organisations, encouraged by the State, aided by the great chiefs of industry, commerce, agriculture, and politics, by the members of great scientific and literary institutions, are making enormous efforts to induce the French population to abandon its habits of foresight and parental prudence.

Among others, M. Cagnacq, a great business man of Paris, has given fifty million francs for distributing prizes of 25,000 francs to large families. M. Michelin, manufacturer, has given prizes for competitions, destined for the best pamphlets, which refute, "in the minds of the peasants, workers, and *employés*," the arguments of the neo-Malthusians.

The Roman Catholic Church takes a very active part in these manifestations.

But all this legislative and propagandist activity has failed apparently to produce the expected result.

There was certainly in France in 1920 an increase of marriages—which is explainable by the demobilisation of the army—and a notable increase of the birth rate. But a decided fall is noticeable for 1921. And everything leads to the belief that, in spite of the enormous diffusion of patriotic and militaristic incitations to unlimited procreation, in spite of the draconian measures taken against the neo-Malthusian propaganda, voluntary contraceptive restriction will persist in France.

It only remains for a wise Government, solicitous for the well-being of the people—desirous also of the establishment of universal peace—to *direct, control, and encourage the people towards the aim of perfecting public hygiene, to improve the race, and to develop it on eugenic lines.*

Here are the figures concerning the population. The

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figures for 1920 and 1921 are for the whole of France, including Alsace-Lorraine.

Year.	Population.	Births.	Deaths.	Excess of Births over Deaths.	Marriages.	Proportion per 1,000.			Births per Marriage.
						Marriages.	Births.	Deaths.	
1912	39,671,000	750,379	692,371	58,008	312,139	7.4	18.9	17.5	2.40
1913	39,771,000	746,014	702,213	43,801	298,666	7.55	18.8	17.7	2.49
1914	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1920	39,194,000	834,411	674,821	151,590	623,869	15.9	21.3	17.2	1.33
1921	39,250,000	813,396	696,379	117,023	456,221	11.6	20.7	17.7	1.52

G. HARDY.

### SWITZERLAND.

Before the world war there was, in this country, only one neo-Malthusian group worth mentioning—that of Geneva. Headed by Monsieur Crandjean, it issued a small monthly, *La Vie Intime*. Soon after the outbreak of that "great" event, the group dispersed and the paper had to be discontinued. Early in 1915, Herr H. Gaechter, a Labour resident of Lucerne, was bold enough to undertake a considerable amount of Birth Control propaganda in that Roman Catholic canton, beginning with the publication of his first book, "Check to Poverty!" ("Das Ende der Armut," reviewed in the *Malthusian* for August, 1915), in which he declared, and proved, our doctrines to be the only salvation possible. The Liberal and Radical press kept silent, while the Conservative papers denounced the volume more or less fiercely—with the result that the local police prohibited neo-Malthusian propaganda. Herr Gaechter went to law and was victorious before all the three courts, because there was no legal basis for the action of the Lucerne police. Promptly the cantonal Government submitted to the local parliament a bill forbidding all Birth Control propaganda and the sale of contraceptives. The bill having become law, our friend avoided the consequences by removing to Geneva, where he staunchly continued his efforts on behalf of the good cause. In a second book he proved his greatest

public opponents to be his warmest secret followers—mostly police organs and law court officials! His proofs being irrefutable (he published names and statistics), he could not be attacked publicly; but he was, and is, persecuted clandestinely, one of the most effective ways of injuring the movement being the semi-official pressure brought to bear in many cantons upon the Press to induce numerous publishers not to insert advertisements of Herr Gaechter's books or of contraceptives. Only very few journals accept such advertisements. Even the medical press rejects them.

Our country has no federal penal laws as yet. The twenty-two cantons have got as many penal law codes. Eighteen of these are forbidding any and every propaganda for, and sale of, contraceptives. Several cantons, in whose press Herr Gaechter had tried to advertise, have fined him. The latest news—and very sad it is—is the intention of the Genevan authorities to altogether prohibit Birth Control theory and practice in their canton, which up to now enjoyed the reputation of being the one most free from prejudice, *i.e.*, least unfavourable to neo-Malthusianism. A cantonal bill concerning the regulation of things hygienic and medical, drafted about half a year ago, contains an article threatening Birth Control propagandists and sellers of preventives with imprisonment up to sixty days and fines of 2,000 francs!!! Naturally this article is being strongly fought by some of our social reformers, believers in Birth Control; and I am glad to say that there is every probability of the *referendum* (people's *plébiscite*) rejecting this nonsense, despite the inglorious example set by the French legislature a short time ago. Poverty being widespread in Switzerland no less than in many other countries, the persecution of the Birth Control movement is just as thoughtless and regrettable here as it is elsewhere—the more so as England and America, where that movement was persecuted formerly, are now taking a favourable attitude towards it.

LEOPOLD KATSCHER.

JAPAN.

Birth Control has already passed from the stage of discussion to that of adoption and practice as a guiding rule in daily life.

It is too evident that, from the standpoint of individual welfare as well as that of the nation, humanity has to adopt some rational and practical scheme to control the number of births.

Conditions in Japan point steadily in the same direction.

It was less than three years ago that the first article on the subject appeared in a women's magazine. It was in the November number of 1919 of *Shufunotomo*—literally to be translated *Housekeeper's Companion*—that I emphasised the urgent need of Birth Control in Japan. The magazine has half a million circulation a month, and the article on Birth Control roused much public attention.

Several months afterwards, another magazine sent out inquiries to seventy prominent persons in the country as to whether they were for or against Birth Control.

Since then Birth Control became the common topic of discussion.

Mrs. Sanger's visit to Japan accelerated the discussion this year.

Mr. and Mrs. Ishimoto started the first monthly magazine, called *Small Family*, last May, as an organ of the Birth Control Union in Japan.

Notwithstanding the idea of Birth Control is of such recent growth in Japan, she has quickly passed through her stage of discussion and entered upon a great movement of propaganda.

The prospect of the movement is very promising for four reasons :—

(1) There is a great increase in the death rate to 26·8 per cent., simultaneously with the increase of the birth rate to 32·1 per cent.

The increase in the death rate is mainly due to lack of care and lack of nourishment, owing to the high cost of living and industrialisation of the country.

(2) Territorial expansion is impossible at present, notwithstanding the great increase of population.

(3) The compulsory popular education for six years has been so efficiently carried out since 1889 that illiterate persons in that country now number 1 per cent. of the whole population (in 1912, educated 98·2 per cent.; 1920, 98·8 per cent.—boys, 99 per cent., and girls, 98·8 per cent.). Naturally any rational movement such as this is quite easily understood by the mass of the people.

(4) The *bourgeois* class have found that their descendants

are deteriorating in quality, the middle class and working people being under great pressure of the high cost of living.

The Government of Japan is entirely that of capitalists, who are always trying to keep the price of goods up to the highest possible level.

The conditions are such that the need of Birth Control will be acknowledged by all Japanese people more readily than in other countries.

Japan is also passing from the stage of nationalism into that of international brotherhood.

She begun to realise that the *raison-d'être* of her nationhood is to contribute her share towards the welfare of her neighbours, and in order to succeed in doing good to others she must improve the quality of her people in every way.

Birth Control is the only way to this treasure-house of international beneficence.

H. KANO.

#### RESOLUTION.

At the conclusion of the session the following resolution was put to the meeting :

“The Fifth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference records the great pleasure with which it has received evidence of the rapidly growing appreciation of the immense benefits of Birth Control for human welfare and race improvement, and above all in the extension of the propaganda to the East, and the readiness of its teeming populations to adopt it. It registers an emphatic condemnation of the short-sighted and reactionary policy of repression still exercised in a few countries, and calls upon the Governments of all nations to facilitate the extension of Birth Control knowledge among the poor and hereditarily unfit, in the interests of human welfare, race improvement, and lasting peace.”

Passed unanimously.

(Signed) CHARLES V. DRYSDALE,  
*President.*

*Tuesday, July 11th.*—AFTERNOON SESSION.

## INDIVIDUAL AND FAMILY ASPECTS OF BIRTH CONTROL

*President* . . . MRS. MARGARET SANGER.

THE PRESIDENT formally addressed the Conference, saying :—

We will now begin the process of work for this afternoon. I believe that the power of this Conference and part of the interest of it is in discussion of the various papers at the end of the session, and so I believe it would be of advantage to make my address as brief as possible, and to put aside some of our time this afternoon for open and free discussion from the floor.

Therefore, I am going to be a model chairman. According to the rules of chairmen in America, a good chairman must get up, sit down, and shut up. My rules for chairmanship are going to be based on that rule this afternoon.

It seems to me very fitting indeed that this Conference should open with a session on the subject of the individual, for I believe that in the rapid evolution which has been in progress during the past fifty years we have spent most of our energies, time, and thought upon the creation and construction of material things, such as roads, railroads, bridges, and steamships, to say nothing of prisons, insane asylums, and various other institutions. We realise that consideration for the individual and for the quality of human life itself has almost been neglected and overlooked. The old saying that "a chain is only as strong as its weakest link" has become quite evident to-day, for the civilisation of the future depends, and will depend, upon the quality of the individual to-day.

In our programme for the welfare and happiness of



humanity we must modify our ideals. To-day the average reliance of civilisation is based upon iron and steel, bricks and mortar, and we must change this to the construction and evolution of humanity itself.

From the dawn of humanity, and even the dawn of civilisation, we have recognised that there are two fundamental urges which have prodded mankind forward. These have been hunger and sex. While they have both been neglected factors to a great extent in our recognition of them, the French Revolution aroused the whole civilised world to realisation of the fact that the urge of hunger cannot be ignored without dire consequences to all.

The other urge, of sex, however, has been almost entirely ignored, and it is now time for us to awaken the conscience of the present generation to a realisation of the consequences to civilisation unless we accept this instinct, and recognise it as fully fundamental and equally dynamic and fateful in its consequences as hunger. In the building of a new world, we cannot ignore either of these primary instincts. They must go hand in hand in solving the problems of the present and immediate future.

It seems to me that the subject of Birth Control is particularly an individual issue. In my own work in America and other countries, I have found that it is the most extraordinary movement because of that factor. It interests every adult, matured individual. It makes no difference, whatever may be the race, colour of the skin, economic principles, theories or religious creeds, Birth Control is of interest to every individual, and it seems to me that is the thing we must work upon. Recognising that, we have in a way an easier avenue of approach than other movements, which are divided by class, creeds, and dogmas.

Again, I have found that while in some countries there is special antagonism by the official Church, and even by official Labour, it has been my experience that the various members of the Church are desirous of having the information by which they may limit their numbers. I have found the same with Labour. While official Labour may object to the theories of the advocates of Birth Control, and particularly their economic theories, as far as the individual is concerned, they agree to the right of the individual to have this particular knowledge.

So it is my hope that out of this Conference will come a great awakening of all people, of all creeds and all nations, and that after that we will recognise that we must get to work on the two fundamental urges of humanity—sex and hunger. They must go hand in hand if we are to bring about the great international goal of peace.

Now, it seems to me that the thing to do to-day is to leave our discussion and expression of the various opinions that we all have until after the papers have been read, and inasmuch as some of the writers of the addresses on this afternoon's programme have indicated their desire to read their papers at another section—I think at the medical section—that leaves us more time for discussion, and also, perhaps, for an extra paper.

### C3 MOTHERHOOD.

BY EDWARD CECIL.

No one has more influence for evil in the world than a C3 mother, and yet when one is considering the immense amount of C3 motherhood which exists in this country, it is amazing to find that whereas the minor causes of this distressing social phenomenon receive a great deal of attention, the major cause is hardly ever spoken about. It always requires a certain amount of courage to go to the root of any problem, and I suppose this is the real reason why so many well-intentioned people hesitate about going to the root cause of C3 motherhood.

It is, of course, chiefly amongst the poor, and especially amongst the very poor, that we find C3 mothers. It is not, I think, sufficiently realised, that just because the poor are so very numerous, the harm done to the community by the evils associated with and caused by poverty is immensely greater than the harm done by the evils which spring up in the middle classes and amongst the really well-to-do. Frivolity in mothers, extravagance in mothers, over-indulgence in pleasure in mothers, irresponsibility in mothers, all these lamentable symptoms of the failure of mothers to realise the immense privilege of being a mother, which are more or less observable amongst the

rich and the fairly well-to-do, are no doubt deplorable, but the vast majority of the mothers of the nation live under conditions of life in which frivolity and over-indulgence in pleasure are impossibilities. One cannot over-indulge in recreations and amusements when in one's life recreation and amusement hardly exist at all. When we, therefore, consider the health, the happiness, and the social well-being of the nation as a whole, we ought to give our first attention to C3 motherhood as it exists in the most numerous class of the mothers of the nation, rather than as it exists in the small and favoured classes. And yet we find the very opposite being done. We hear sermons about the mothers of Mayfair who forget the joys of motherhood in the delights of Monte Carlo. We read diatribes against the mothers of the middle classes who leave their children to the care of nursemaids, and we open our daily papers and peruse highly-coloured descriptions of some tragedy or other of unmarried motherhood. In short, all our attention is given to the sensational problems of the comparatively few, whereas, if we wish to be useful, we should be considering the life conditions of the immense majority.

Considering, therefore, motherhood below the level even of that now much-advertised social complaint middle class misery, considering frankly and simply motherhood in the working classes, in skilled and unskilled labour, let us examine what it is which causes C3 motherhood in the mean streets and the slums.

In considering the lot of mothers amongst the poor, and especially amongst the very poor, philanthropic people concern themselves chiefly with palliatives. There are people who want to give bounties for babies, free milk, and free education, and even extra nourishment and holidays for mothers. All sorts of schemes are propounded, all of them more or less in the nature of doles, and all of them more or less tainted with charity and patronage, and tending to make the mother dependent rather than independent. But I am not concerned with palliatives. I care little for sops and schemes to soften bad conditions. I care more for probing to the root cause, and to any other causes which I can discover. Eradicate or modify the root cause and get rid of any minor cause, however insignificant, and not only will good be done, but permanent good will accrue. Palliatives leave the evil

conditions to go on for ever. Eradication of causes means that the evil conditions cease and are removed, not only from our generation, but from the generations to come.

Well, the great root cause of C3 motherhood amongst the poor is too much motherhood. By this I do not mean that there are too many mothers. Unfortunately there are not as many as there should be. For owing to the appalling conditions which the mothers of the poor have to enjoy, there is now a shrinking in the girls of the working classes from ever getting married at all. What I do mean is that the mothers of the poor have far too many children. What chance can there be under modern conditions of life, especially under modern conditions of life in towns, for the mother herself, or for her children, when children are brought into the world at the rate of one per year?

Rules of life which were all very well for people who lived a nomadic life, wandering about in tribes over deserts, and stretches of pastoral land, become farcical, and finally grotesquely horrible and tragic, when they are applied to people who live in mean and narrow streets, and who eat and sleep and live and die in small and ill-ventilated rooms in towns and cities, where such food as the poor can obtain, with their limited means, is of almost incredibly inferior quality.

Now I say that, at the very least, a child is entitled to its mother's love, and its mother's care, and its mother's attention for the first two and a half years of its life, and that a mother, if she has to have time to get the benefits of motherhood, must give at least this period of constant intercourse with her child. If this minimum is infringed upon we get a C3 mother and a C3 child. What may we then expect, and what do we, as a matter of fact, get, under the practice of unlimited motherhood in our mean streets? We get that which we deserve for refusing to give knowledge to the poor and ignorant, we get thousands and thousands of C3 mothers, and tens of thousands of C3 children. Almost half the women out-patients of our voluntary hospitals are women who are suffering from the effects of unlimited motherhood.

It is not my business here and now to enter upon the domain of medicine, suffice it to say that there are methods, perfectly clean, healthy and harmless methods,

which can safeguard a woman, however poor, from being broken by motherhood.

I am not now concerned either with these methods or with the methods by which the ignorance of the women of the poor should be enlightened. Neither am I concerned with the mass of prejudice which always stands in the way of lifting the curtain of ignorance from the vision of the poor and needy. Throughout the whole of the history of the world, and particularly throughout the now happily discredited Victorian period, to say nothing of the history of the Churches, it has always been the policy of some people to keep the poor without knowledge. It is therefore in no way surprising that there are people to-day who want to keep the women of the poor in the darkness of ignorance. But the purpose I have at heart is to impress upon the community as a whole the sheer folly of keeping in the body of the nation this great national sore of C3 motherhood. And I wish to emphasise as much as I possibly can, that treating the sore with poultices and palliatives is not removing the sore. Doles to motherhood are useless, bounties for babies are sheer folly, no self-respecting man ought to stand being given a dole. Why should I or any other man expect a mother to have so little self-respect as to be content to be dole-fed? The only way to cure C3 motherhood is to teach the mothers of the poor how their motherhood can be regulated and controlled in accordance with the means of the family, and the physical capacity of the mother. That is why I say, as I have always said, that Birth Control, and nothing short of Birth Control, is the Magna Charta, or Charter of Freedom, for the women of the poor.

## THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE STATE.

BY MRS. B. I. DRYSDALE.

The gradual dissemination of socialistic ideals during the past half-century has, during the last decade, resulted (1) in a number of Acts of Parliament giving State aid for specific conditions as a right for the alleviation of poverty due to natural causes; and (2) the tremendous growth of

that leaning on the State—as on an omniscient and benevolent God—by the sick or indigent, and a rapidly growing irresponsibility of the individual for the results of his personal acts. Indeed, the former responsibility of the individual to the State is being gradually replaced by the assumption of the responsibility of the State for the individual.

In this country the change over to this latter position has been gradual, and has never been clearly or openly defined by social or legal statutes, unless we take the Poor Law of 1834 as such a definition, any more than the previous condition of individual responsibility to the State was defined. At this present moment we are muddling along with no rule of life as to the claims of the citizen on the State, or of the State on the citizen. The result is, with the difficulties of the aftermath of war, a growing discontent and unrest is found among the unemployed workers, and a tendency to blame the present individualist and capitalistic State for the existing misfortunes; while, to some extent, credence is given to those agitators who would overthrow the present condition of things—with no guarantee that such a change would improve matters.

It is here that it would be well to emphasise the vital necessity for three conditions, without which no State nor citizen can hope to flourish:—

- (1) Individual worth.
- (2) Individual effort.
- (3) Regulation of families in direct proportion to individual worth and individual effort.

A democratic State can be no better than the sum of its citizens. In this country, for better or worse, we have chosen a democratic State without any guarantees on the part of its electors of individual worth or effort other than that of keeping out of prison. Therefore the biggest number has the biggest power. The biggest number at the present day is the wage-earning section, including the unemployed. It stands to reason that in an election every one votes for the party or individual member who will do the most for him or her; hence the unemployed, the unfit, the lazy, together with the remainder of the skilled and unskilled wage-earners, have, if they choose to employ it, a superior electoral force to the more skilled, more educated and more thrifty section of the com-

munity. Possibly it is due to the women of the better wage-earning class, who are not so easily won by specious arguments and promises, that we have not at the moment a Government representing this bigger and less educated and less responsible section. To make our country safe and prosperous, we must therefore concentrate on the individual and urge by all means in our power the necessity for making him responsible for his personal acts. Foremost among these is *parenthood*.

Part of the chaos at the present time is due to confusion of thought among the authorities and the mass of our people as to their duties in this respect. Church and State have in the past definitely taught and urged the duty of large families. During the last forty odd years, following on the wide publicity of Birth Control knowledge due to the Bradlaugh and Besant trial, the better educated and better endowed sections of the community have rationed their families to the number they could do well and independently by, while the masses during that period have been left in the darkness of savagery in respect to this important knowledge and its use.

Civilisation implies a responsibility for the life of each citizen. Till recent years this responsibility did not go farther than the protection, through the law, of attacks, both on the life and property of the citizen, from members of the community, and a minimum of support in cases of destitution.

During the last ten or fifteen years, however, the State has assumed a responsibility for the well-being of its poorer citizens by taxing the remainder for their benefit.

This movement, which assumed the right of each individual to maintenance and care, should at the same time have deprived such citizens of some of their independence of action—principally in the matter of producing mouths without the means to feed them. Civilisation in its own defence, and for its continued existence, must limit the amount of poor quality citizens, as John Stuart Mill so strongly considered.

This is the difficulty in which all modern States are finding themselves. Either the individual or the State must be responsible for the quantity and quality of its citizens. Savagery would not spare the weak and ineffective. Civilisation spares, protects and nourishes them—at least partially. But it forgets that in fairness to its

self-supporting citizens, and to its own existence, it must not encourage the reproduction of the unfit.

Lack of Birth Control among this class is rapidly bringing civilisation, even in this country, to a dangerous pass.

The present day, therefore, finds us with a majority of persons, many of whom are quite unable to support the families they produce, still labouring under the idea that they have benefited the State, obeyed God's law, and are in every way qualified for the admiration and support of their fellow-citizens. A common reproach with many of them is that without their numbers we should have lost the war with Germany, whereas the fact remains that Germany and Russia, with larger numbers, lost the war to the birth-controlling nations. It is, however, this disproportion between the numbers of the trained and educated on the one hand and the merely born and dragged up on the other which forms the danger to this and other birth-controlling nations, which have not, like Holland, attended to the question of quality as well as quantity.

The wrong teaching of socialistic bodies in respect to limiting production of goods has also done an enormous amount of harm. The error lay in confusing production with reproduction, and competition in production with competition due to large numbers. This fallacy will have to be exposed and the workers taught that the true enemy is the producer of unskilled and feeble citizens, not the man who works faster and better than his fellows. To be born is not necessarily a virtue, nor does it constitute the right to live. Unless a person can put into the community at least as much as he takes out for himself and his dependents, he is of no value to the community. Hence the importance of producing the healthy, virile, enlightened individual, who in turn will pass on his qualities and environment to his children. Hence the necessity for allowing, in an improved and healthy State, more children to the better endowed than to those feeble in mind or body. Hence also the prime necessity for hard work by manual or brain workers to produce an abundance of the necessities and comforts of life. And hence, finally, the need for a control of numbers to that which the parents can rear well by their own efforts.

The State, therefore, should make it clearly understood



that as it exists by the will of its citizens, as it owns nothing but what is given it by those citizens, and can only return to them what is so given, if the citizens demand sustenance for all on given terms, the State would necessarily at the same time be obliged to limit the numbers to those that could be nourished under such conditions. As it is obviously absurd to tax the thrifty and prudent, as at present, to support the thriftless or unfit, the State would also, in its own interests, be obliged to put a *veto* on the over-production of the less useful type of citizen.

So that, with much complication, much interference and control (paid for, of course, out of the general wealth), the State would have to make the same conditions as can now easily be imposed on the individuals by State encouragement and an enlightened and rational public opinion in favour of Birth Control. Every one understands and practises Birth Control save the poor and ignorant, and there are easy methods available for enlightening them. The thrift and enterprise of the individual should be encouraged in the interests of the State by as little taxation and interference as possible. It is not the wealth of the rich that makes the poverty of the poor, but the incapacity, ignorance and over-reproduction of the latter.

Finally, as to the proportion of the less skilled manual workers of the future in relation to brain and skilled workers, due thought should be given. It is certain that, as time goes on, much of the less skilled manual labour will be done by machinery, and better done. Mere numbers will therefore tend to become burdensome to society, and must be replaced by efficient and highly-qualified workers. Such manual labour as is skilled, and better done thus than by machinery, will always command high wages. But "hands" alone—weak, idle, unskilled, untrained—will certainly be more and more a drug in the market. Unskilled manual workers are, even now, the least useful class of the community and form the biggest section. The same may be said of the fortunately smaller proportion of unskilled clerks and shop assistants, etc. If we are all to have an abundance of the good gifts of life, the idea that the mere coming into life constitutes a claim to a comfortable subsistence will have to be abandoned. First the parents, on behalf of their offspring, and then the children as they grow up and enter the labour market, will have to justify the condition of existence which they demand.

Nothing can come out of nothing. The State, to be virile, happy, healthy and secure, must be composed of individuals of that type, born and reared, nourished and educated in the belief that on the individual himself rests the well-being of the community.

## THE FEMININE ASPECT OF BIRTH CONTROL.

BY MISS F. W. STELLA BROWNE.

I must begin by stating that I represent a very small minority in the movement in this country; so small a minority that, when I remember the divergence of opinion on the subject, I wish more than I can say that I might be able to approach the clarity and vigour with which Mrs. Drysdale has just expounded an entirely opposite point of view. But I fear you will have to pardon my deficiencies. I can at least promise to be brief.

In my opinion, as a Feminist and a Communist, the fundamental importance and value of birth control lies in its widening of the scope of human freedom and choice, its *self-determining* significance for women. For make no mistake about this: Birth Control, the diffusion of the knowledge and possibility of Birth Control, means freedom for women, social and sexual freedom, and that is why it is so intensely feared and disliked in many influential quarters to-day. For thousands of years births and the rearing—and often the losing—of unlimited broods of babies were considered to be women's business *par excellence*. But that women should *think* about this business, that they should judge and examine it, that they should look at their future and their children's future with what Chesterton has—in a somewhat different context, it is true—described as “bright alien eyes,” this is, indeed, camouflage it as you may, the beginning of the end of a social system and a moral code.

Let me develop very briefly and sketchily my assertion that Birth Control means sexual freedom. The ostensible reasons for the established form of patriarchal marriage have always been (a) the inheritance of property, and (b) the protection ensured to the young children and to their mother during her child-bearing period. But when

marriage no longer means the subjection of unlimited motherhood and the economic dependence of mothers, the main social reasons for its retention as a stereotyped monogamous formula will be at an end. Observe, I do not say that Birth Control will abolish or diminish real monogamy: there will probably always be as much, or rather as little, monogamy as there has always been. But it will no longer be *stereotyped* as the one lifelong and unvarying form of legally recognised expression for anything so infinitely variable and individual as the sexual impulse.

Now the demand for Birth Control has long ago ceased to be academic. It is becoming very urgent and more widespread than many persons, even among those interested and sympathetic, quite realise. This demand touches the lives of the majority of women in this and every country very acutely. Any one who knows the lives and work of the wives and mothers of the working class—or, as I, a Communist, would prefer to style it, the exploited class—who has helped them and striven to teach them, not in the spirit of a schoolmistress, but as a fellow-woman and a friend—knows that these women are in no doubt as to the essential righteousness of their claim to control their own maternity. But how? Hardly any of these women, if she can speak to you fully and frankly as a friend, but will admit that—often more than once—she has, on finding herself, in the hideously significant phrase they use, “caught,” had recourse either to drugs or to most violent internal operative methods in order to bring about a miscarriage. And these operative methods have, of course, been applied absolutely without antiseptic or aseptic precautions, and without any of the rest which is as essential after such an experiment as after a normal confinement at full term. Yet it ought not to be beyond the powers of medical and chemical science to invent an absolutely reliable contraceptive! Think of the marvels of destruction in the shape of asphyxiating and corrosive gases all ready for the next great war for liberty and civilisation. Think of the knowledge we have already attained of the structure and functions of the endocrine glands, and the work which has been done in the direction of modifying, renewing or transforming sexuality and procreative power by Steinach, Friedländer and Unterberger. Surely a science which can perform such wonders, though the technique is obviously only in its first stages,

should be able to prevent conception without injuring health or impairing natural pleasure !

Well, women demand that science should do this ; and meanwhile, they are taking matters into their own hands. The English mind has always been impatient of social theories and the development of principles to their logical conclusion. But what I am going to put before you now are not *speculative theories*, they are *historical facts*.

In that unique experiment in constructive civilisation, the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, under the administration of Comrade Alexandra Kollontay, the Commissariat of Public Health has been functioning since 1918, and in 1920 a law was passed by which any woman about to become a mother, and under three months pregnant, should be entitled to have an abortion procured by a qualified physician, and to rest and care after the operation at the expense of the State.

In the early part of this year a Bill was brought before the Czechoslovakian Parliament by a woman-deputy, Madame Landova-Stychova, containing the same provisions as the Soviet law ; and a vigorous agitation is being developed among proletarian women in Germany and Austria for the enactment of a similar statute by the Reichstag. This agitation is led by the Feminists of the Left Wing and by several prominent Socialists—for the Continental revolutionary, unlike many of his British brethren, has realised that Birth Control is not a capitalist red herring, but a requisite for life itself in starving and tortured Eastern and Central Europe. The agitation is entirely spontaneous, the expression of the women's misery, of their desperately defiant mother-love. They cry aloud, " If you have done this to our children, and if you can only offer them slavery and starvation, you shall have no more."

Now I am *not* concerned here to vindicate the moral right to abortion, though I am profoundly convinced that it is a woman's primary right, and have argued the case for that right in the Press, both in England and America. I am told, however, by one of the leaders of our movement, to whose penetrating judgment and wide nursing experience I give the highest honour, that abortion is *physiologically injurious* and to be deprecated. It is open, perhaps, to question whether the effects of abortion itself have been sufficiently separated from the appalling bad

conditions of nervous terror, lack of rest and lack of surgical cleanliness in which it is generally performed. But *granted that it is injurious per se*, the demand for effective contraception is all the stronger. The ancient codes, the decaying superstitions and prejudices of an old theoretical morality which has never been thoroughly accepted in practice, are losing all the sanctity they ever had. For an increasing number of persons throughout the world, including all the most mentally capable and physically vigorous, *they mean just nothing at all*.

It is up to science to meet the demands of humanity ; and one of the most urgent of those demands is that of true eugenics (not privilege and property defence) that life shall be given, as Anna Wickham says, "frankly, gaily," or—not at all. Which shall it be ?

### NEO-MALTHUSIANISM AS A NECESSITY OF CIVILISATION.

BY PROFESSOR J. FERCH.

Neo-Malthusianism, which is popularly known as Birth Control, is vastly expanding. At its inception it only attracted the attention of a very limited number of intelligent people ; its value has been differently rated and has been the impulse behind the writing of a large number of books, pamphlets and the like, particularly medical and juridical, which, frequently, were of a controversial nature. Further, political economists were passionate disputants of the theory of neo-Malthusianism, which led to a one-sided support or opposition of the cause, and resulted in the regrettable error being in some quarters accepted as truth that the call for limiting the rate of birth is solely a materialistic necessity. The most ardent opponents arose and were the cause of the reproaches urging the sanctity of the child, the weakening of patriotism, and selfishness or egoism. Every sentiment, as well as religious and scientific doctrines, was speculatively employed, and even the power of the Government was called upon to take action, as we all know, unfortunately with success, against the alleged undermining of the power of the State. Any popular treatise about the advantages of neo-Malthusianism was suppressed, while its abuse has been encouraged and helped in every way possible. A person speaking

privately or at a private meeting about the limitation of the birth rate was in danger of social ostracism. Public meetings were forbidden. Advertising, the distribution, or selling of contraceptive devices were also not allowed. Newspaper articles, pamphlets, books or literature for enlightening the masses were confiscated and suppressed. Persecutions of every kind were directed against the protagonists of neo-Malthusianism for their alleged immorality which militated against the highest human sentiment. This attitude should be particularly noted for comparison with the altered mind of the present generation regarding the value of neo-Malthusianism.

The foregoing having been the position for a little over ten years, it has not only prevented a full development of neo-Malthusianism, but has threatened it with retrogression. It cannot be denied that during this period agitation for the limitation of the birth rate in many ways strengthened the hands of opponents, as frequently the economic, *e.g.*, the materialistic, necessity was emphasised too largely, because it has not been sufficiently recognised by the supporters of neo-Malthusianism that the spiritual conception of neo-Malthusianism is the principal element which will make it invincible, and lead it to triumph over those unscrupulous opponents speculating with the emotions of the masses. Neo-Malthusianism must be considered, not from the point of view of a scientific branch of knowledge, or of any public doctrine, but solely from the point of view of civilisation and humanity. It must not lead to a selfish lightening of the burden of life, but to an enjoyment of the altruistic pleasure of living. It is my opinion, based on great experience, that in this lies the strength of the present-day neo-Malthusianism, and means inevitable victory in the future. Against the false play of our opponents upon the emotions of the masses has to be set the human happiness which must result from the adoption of neo-Malthusian principles, and through the watchword, "Not Quantity, but Quality," should be emphasised mainly the motive of humanity, and not that of pure materialism. Furthermore, the alleged "immorality" can be proved to be the highest degree of morality.

This re-orientation appears to me to be of the greatest importance for the development of neo-Malthusianism. But it is not right that this should remain the knowledge

of a limited number of intelligent people ; it should be spread, and impressed on the minds of the masses. In order to attain this object, the cause for adopting neo-Malthusianism must not be reasoned out on a scientific footing, but the effect looked for in the humanising and civilising direction. The guiding principle of the agitation must be psycho-idealistic, and not the physiological materialistic point of view. The urge to be fortunate and happy is a most powerful stimulation.

The longing for happiness is the impetus behind all human actions and thought. Happiness does not only consist of the comprehension of materialistic values, but mainly of understanding the value of spiritual life. And mainly this is nothing else than a manifestation of sexuality, married life, family life, motherhood and the love of children and parents.

Love and motherhood are greater than life. A combination of the two results in a successful married life ; it produces the highest attainable earthly happiness, and a state of civilisation in which the child is considered to be the most precious gift in life. This combination of love, kindness, readiness to help, and self-sacrificing spirit, may be developed in a person to such an extent that a perfect human being is produced thereby. In view of this we may ask how is it possible that many millions of people live in sorrow instead of happiness, married life is feared, motherhood is transformed into a martyrdom, and the childhood of many is lived in a horrible desert of privation ; and that civilisation amongst the masses is still on a very low level, bordering on barbarianism ? How is it possible that to-day the lamentation of Goethe, " Must it be that what is called happiness by the human being, has to become the source of his misery ? " is still true ?

The principal reason for distress is contained in that great problem, whether sexuality is to be considered a fortune, or only as a subordinate expedient, and whether married life will serve only for the creation of children, or for producing a higher state of civilisation and happiness. The community which is still affected by antiquated religious dogmas takes up the point of view of blindly following the sexual instinct to create in a soulless manner an unlimited number of children. This is what I term the " quantity " theory. Neo-Malthusianism,

which is based on intelligence, has perceived that every generation will create its own morality according to the continuously changing mode of living, and that the development of civilisation calls for the very best, namely, what I term "quality" people.

All thinking people of to-day are bound to come to the conclusion that the creation of children, although forming a part of, is not the sole mission of, married life.

This leads up to evolving true morality. It is moral to create happiness and reduce sorrow. It is immoral to create and increase sorrow. The theory of quantity is opposed to a better mode of living, and will create economic and thus a psychical distress; this again will create indifference, and is opposed to the interests of civilisation. Lack of civilisation will render a person less able to find and understand the meaning of happiness, and thus will create more sorrow. In short, the blind fulfilment of the sexual instinct to reproduce is opposed to the present needs of life, and the tormenting result of its indulgence must offend logically and morally.

What is the position to-day? Intellect has produced a realisation of the right of the individual to psychical and bodily happiness. The early paternal roof with its patriarchal ideas is dead, it has been replaced by tenements. The wife is not only a mother, but, unfortunately, has in most cases to be a breadwinner together with her husband. The economic strain of present-day conditions compels couples to view with alarm the prospect of a family in their evil circumstances; poor accommodation, the need for the woman to work, as well as the responsibility of the child's future, all tend to make the parents cautious about bringing children into so uncertain a world.

This condition, however, is not really leading to an unnatural moderation, but to a happier sexual life with limitation of conception. The highest ideal of married life is the creation of the child really desired, "fewer, but healthier and happier children"—"not quantity, but quality."

To those without personal experience of the conditions it is difficult to conceive how this law is one of iron necessity in Austria owing to the vast economic misery there prevalent. Austrian children were only saved with the help of foreign countries, and even to-day most of them are kept alive only through the aid of the American relief



missions. For families with already a large number of children, the birth of another child means an economic trial, which very few parents can stand. A ninth of the total number of confinements end in stillborn children, 22 per cent. of the children born alive die within the first year of life. Tens of thousands of married couples have no home owing to the scarcity of houses and the impossibility of buying the necessary furniture and articles required in a household. Families of twenty persons live in two rooms only. The enormous spread of those terrible maladies, gonorrhœa, syphilis and consumption, enforce childlessness upon many. The precarious existence and income of most fathers intensify the feeling of responsibility towards the unborn child. Most of the pregnant women become martyrs, as they cannot feed themselves properly, and therefore are in an unfit state to bear children. Further, owing to the horrible dearth, hygienic preparations for the reception of the expected, as well as for the born child, are completely wanting, and there are no guarantees about the nursing, bringing up and education of the offspring. Mothers are forced to send their children to strange but kind people in foreign countries, in order to keep them alive. Frequently confinements take place on the floor of a room barely covered with straw, as the furniture has to be sold in order to keep the children already living alive.

Medical examinations held in the schools of Vienna have shown that out of 184,000 Viennese boys and girls only 6,000 are normally nourished, while 178,000 are suffering from malnutrition; 75 per cent. are afflicted with, or in danger of, consumption, hospitals are overcrowded with children suffering from consumption of the bones, so that even at an age of twelve years they cannot stand or walk. Owing to high prices it is impossible to buy children's linen, and it very frequently will happen that newly-born children have to be wrapped in paper. Very few mothers of the vast majority of the people are in a fit condition to nurse their infants owing to weak health and ill-nourished bodies, and beside this it is practically impossible to obtain cow's milk. Up to a very short time ago, mothers received for newly-born children one-half to three-quarters of a pint of milk a day at a reduced price. This so-called milk was adulterated with 67 per cent. of water, with the result that most children

died of catarrh of the bowels. Many die owing to the cold of the rooms, as it is impossible to provide coal or wood to prepare a warm bath for the newly-born child. It is within my experience that in large families actually the last shirt had to be used for the newly-born child. And this did not happen in Russia or in an uncivilised country, but in Vienna, in Austria, which is one of the cultured countries in the world.

A child born under such conditions does not bring happiness, its arrival is feared; it fills married life with sorrow, it does not allow any scope for the joys of parenthood, and it is doomed to live an inhuman life. It is not a strengthening of, but a burden to, society. Under these circumstances the limitation of birth is an economic, hygienic and social duty. Religious dogma and political laws are unsocial, as they command the unlimited creation of children, but at the same time they do not provide for the child, or only to a very limited extent. Useless motherhood will socially, morally and hygienically weaken the people. In Austria we know nothing of the thirty shillings bounty or such piteous parodies of "prizes" for the birth of a child, as every thinking person is convinced of the uselessness of such bounties. Nobody would be tempted to be so immoral as to increase their family for such unsocial and immoral bounties; on the contrary, the unlimited creation of children is viewed by the greater number of the present generation as careless and unsocial. The recognised fact that neo-Malthusianism stands for the limitation of sorrow, lifts it to the status of the highest type of morality.

The fact that this revolution of thought and feeling amongst the Austrian people has taken place in such a comparatively short space of time is, in part, accounted for by the present conditions obtaining in that country, but mainly it is due to the manner in which neo-Malthusian agitation has been advocated. We snatched neo-Malthusianism from the scientists and economists and appealed strongly for consideration for the mother and child in the name of civilisation and humanity. We declared our work a task of civilisation devoted to transforming the mock love for mothers into a real, helping and sorrow-quenching love. We showed up the crown of thorns worn by those mothers who add new children to the miserable children already living. We appealed to all the

happy people who find a great joy in their children to pity the poor mothers, who have to withhold from their offspring daily and hourly that which they would readily provide for them, even at the sacrifice of their own lives. We announced the limited creation of children to be a moral and social law, which will render possible a more happy home and life, and therefore is the most inspiring aim and ideal of any civilised human being.

We condemn childlessness and animadversion to children. The child is the highest expression of human happiness. It should not produce anxiety, horror, alarm or distress, but should be looked forward to and greeted with a warm longing, psychical delight and passionate love. Its creation should be positively desired and the moment for this should be chosen freely by the parents. The creation of a child really desired is the most moral, social and sensible demand of humanity.

Twelve years ago I started to teach the doctrine of neo-Malthusianism among the Austrian working-class people by writing a pamphlet about its social importance for the mass of the people. I mentioned also the economic necessity, but my chief theme was the true and thoughtful love of mother and child, and the possibility of filling the home of the working man with happiness by regulating the birth of the children. I am the child of a working man, and know something about the distress caused by unlimited birth of children, the tragedy of the mother become old before her time, of the mother frequently burying a dead child. Her life is devoid of happiness, and owing to increasing distress her married life becomes miserable, her husband is driven from the wretched home into the public-house, and thereby the poor children are uncared for and often hungry. Large families are the main cause of the existence of so many rascals and low-minded fellows. This is undeniably true.

Slowly this knowledge has become general, partly in consequence of the economic stringency of the existing conditions, and partly owing to the increasing education of the masses. The war has greatly advanced the cause. The wholesale slaughter of so many men in the prime of life disclosed the hollow fallacy of a high birth-rate being of interest to the country. The downfall and dissolution of our old Empire made it possible to agitate our cause freely and openly. I founded the "League against

Compulsory Motherhood," held public meetings, wrote and published pamphlets, books and theatrical plays, and the progressive newspapers supported our cause.

By pointing out the cultural and purely human element of our movement and the necessity of preventing the pauperisation of the mass of the people through the creation of too many children who cannot be supported—or even kept alive, we won the approval of a great part of the population. Every influence in Austria to-day which is working for humanity and culture is ranked on our side. Our opponents are the war-mongers and shouters, who, owing to the limitation of the birth of children, fear for their ideal of a new war, and further, a certain class of people who, for antiquated religious reasons, do not care anything about humanity, and adopt a pitiless and hypocritical attitude.

As already stated, we chiefly emphasise the misery of mothers and children in large families, comparing their wretchedness with a family abiding by the laws of neo-Malthusianism.

Nobody who has the slightest feeling for humanity can object to or turn a deaf ear to our propaganda. The intellect as well as the simplest feelings are attracted, so that the individual can see and is bound to admit that our striving is directed towards and based on the highest morality, and we demand nothing else than what is called for by the best in civilisation, namely, healthy, loving, and thinking parents, a happy home, few, but mentally and bodily healthy children, and thus human lives worth living.

We untiringly uphold love for the child. However, this requires a home which can provide for the welfare and development of the child, it calls for healthy and thoughtful parents who are aware of their responsibility towards the child. The home must be full of joy, laughter, happiness, sunshine and prudence. Homes in which misery, hunger, want, illness, quarrels, demoralisation, brutalisation, and so forth, are daily guests cannot advance the development of the children. Such horrors produce unhappy children, whose ailing bodies fill the sickbeds and finally the coffins. Therefore, neo-Malthusianism ought not to be treated as a juridical, medical, economic or religious question. The truth is that neo-Malthusianism is a question of, and for, the child, and for every feeling,

thinking and loving human being, and in particular of parents.

Intended limitation of the birth is already practised by most married couples. Nobody can question this. Only the modes of application differ owing to the deficiencies in the enlightenment of the people, and, therefore, they cannot produce the desired effect. In Austria, at our meetings and in publications, we advise people to consult only qualified medical practitioners. We ourselves recommend a certain contraceptive device, namely, the occlusive-pessary, the use of which we explain in cheap pamphlets and in our newspaper, and we supply the addresses of doctors. Through articles published in the daily Press and trade union papers, through lectures among all classes of people and at factory meetings, our cause is already widely known all over Austria, so that there are not very many people who are not aware of the aims and importance of neo-Malthusianism. I would like to remark that our cause gains in strength week by week, even among the agrarian population.

Unnatural and uncivilised is the want of humanity which causes millions of men to perish on the battlefields, and tens of thousands of human beings to die of starvation. It is unnatural to give birth to a child which is condemned to live in misery and hunger, or which is shortly ready for the cemetery. It is natural, human and logical, to prevent the squandering of power, energy, happiness and life.

The limitation of births is international in appeal. Wars should be prevented, the idea of a war of revenge should be combated, and the children already alive should be educated and maintained in a human way. This will prevent a weakening of the nation.

Moral ideas are changeable, they are expressions of the necessities demanded by life at a given time. It is immoral to deliver into the world a child which is bound to be brought up in unhappy surroundings. It is also immoral to ask others to bear children under such conditions. The community has no interest whatever in beggars, tramps, invalids, or criminals, recruited in most cases from people who had a wasted or unhappy childhood.

More attention should be paid to the tenements filled with sorrow, hunger, illness, and suffering, so that the living children may be better cared for. This will stop the depopulation of countries.

The fear of the economic embarrassment caused by a large family prevents many men from getting married, and thus causes an increase of prostitution and venereal disease.

It is a deliberate falsehood to declare that neo-Malthusianism will weaken the motherly love which is alleged to be produced only by the creation of unlimited children. Every true and humane doctor will stand by and defend the advantages offered by the proper application of the laws of neo-Malthusianism.

Married life should bring beauty, happiness, and joy, and not sorrow, grief, and unhappiness. Not duty, but love, not grief, but happiness are the objects and ambitions of all human efforts.

From my remarks it will be apparent that ours is one of the leading movements in Austria, and every meeting held, even in the smallest and remotest village, is a new success and adds new supporters to our cause. However, the Austrian movement against compulsory motherhood may differ from the neo-Malthusian movement propagated in those countries where the laws withstand the will of the people. We also fight against a law, the abolition of which appears to us and the majority of the people of Switzerland and Germany to be inevitable, as a consequence of the spread of neo-Malthusianism.

It will not harm us to admit that at the present time there is no absolutely reliable means for preventing conception. What is to be done in the event of the contraceptive device failing? Many mothers take refuge in the most desperate means of alleviation, namely, artificial abortion. Legions of women are forced to take this step. This opens up a gigantic problem which cannot be overlooked. The legal prohibition of medical aid and the high fees which have to be paid for such secret help, forces many women to consult a quack or to take measures themselves, whereby annually thousands of them succumb to an early death or become and remain ill for their lifetime, are imprisoned or have to spend the rest of their lives in fear of jail. Every loving and humane person can imagine the bodily and psychical crisis passed through by the woman and her family at such a time. What dark lives and anxieties! It must be remembered that the poorest mothers only suffer through, while the moneyed classes evade, this law by paying high medical fees. In Austria,

to-day, this knowledge has led to a milder judging of such cases, and owing to the influence of our propaganda we have the satisfaction of witnessing judges passing low sentences. Nevertheless, the consequences are still terrible.

The opponents of neo-Malthusianism are also opponents of this reform. Victory is problematical, the final fight is very difficult and calls for all our energy, as we have to combat the lowest defamation of our cause. Bills, introduced in the Parliaments of Switzerland, Austria, and Germany, demanding exemption from punishment for artificial abortion carried out under the care of a doctor, and for humane reasons within the first three months of pregnancy, prove the justness of our reformatory efforts. Russia has already passed a similar law and more will be said about this in the near future. It stands to reason that new laws and their motives and consequences are openly discussed in the countries in which they are introduced. A matter which has been before Parliament cannot be suppressed.

Finally, perhaps some people feel they are entitled to ask for stronger emphasis of the real and material necessity for advocating the objects of neo-Malthusianism; these can be given. But our experience has shown that this may not be the most successful means of agitation. Neo-Malthusianism appeals to the feelings. The brutally materialistic attacks on our ideas by selfish opponents must be countered by appeals to the best sentiment in people.

We have to emphasise again and again that we and our supporters not only have to live a sensible and harmonious life, but that we have to work hard to make the many others believe in a more civilised life. In the interest of civilisation and humanity it is our life-task to enunciate and work for the execution of the following emphatic commandment:—

“Mothers, bear only human beings whose lives can and will be based on a happy childhood, lived in a happy home under bright conditions. Sanctify your kisses, so that they are given in happiness and again breathe happiness for a new life.”

Those people who desire to help in protecting the unborn against sorrow and misery have to be impressed with this moral idea. It is a social, ethical, and human

deed to dry the tears of the present, and to work for a happier, better, and sorrowless future. Neo-Malthusianism and clean human conscience are the most important necessities for the preparation of such a future.

## THE PERSONAL AND FAMILY ASPECT OF BIRTH CONTROL.

BY DR. C. V. DRYSDALE, O.B.E., F.R.S.E., ETC.

Our nation and race is made up of individuals—men, women, and children—all seeking after happiness.

There are certain people who maintain that the welfare of the individual is inimical to that of the State or the race, and others who claim that a life of self-sacrifice is necessary for the sake of a glorious hereafter. Certainly there must be certain restrictions on the liberty of the individual, as a poor person could greatly increase his wealth by robbing others. It is obvious in this case, however, that he only gains at the expense of the community, and the net result of such conduct would be to reduce the comfort of all owing to the feeling of insecurity it would cause. But as a general rule we should start from the principle that whatever enables individuals to improve their lot by their own skill and exertions is an advantage to the community, unless there are very good reasons to the contrary in a special case.

We will consider the national and racial aspects of Birth Control later, but for the moment let us simply take the case of a young man and a young woman at the threshold of life, and see how the possibility of Birth Control affects their prospects.

Every year a large number of young men and girls arrive at the age when they fall in love and wish to marry. If they know nothing of the possibility of Birth Control they are confronted with two painful alternatives. They may marry with the almost certain prospect of children arriving every one or two years, for whom their income will not enable them to provide decently, or they may decide to wait until the young man's prospects have improved and they have saved enough to make provision for a home and family.



However commendable such prudence may be, it is open to serious objections. A considerable proportion of the more primitive types will not exercise it. It is as natural for human beings to mate as the birds, and no community can be a happy one if late marriage is the rule. It has a most injurious effect on the health and spirits of women, and a worse one on men, as a certain proportion of them have recourse to prostitutes, which, quite apart from its moral effects, leads to the dissemination of venereal disease, which is one of the most serious race-blasting influences.

#### MARRIAGE WITHOUT BIRTH CONTROL.

Suppose, then, that our young man and young girl rush into marriage, as so many do. They may have just enough to set up a little home and to live on, and start married life happily. But probably within a year the first child arrives, and the strain commences. It is quite common among the poorer classes for a fresh child to appear every year, and life then becomes one ever-increasing struggle against hopeless conditions, or an abject surrender. The young girl quickly loses her charm and freshness and becomes a miserable drudge, beset by children day and night. She has no chance of recovering her strength after each confinement before falling pregnant again; she is insufficiently fed, and her children are born in squalor, and pine under her eyes from want of proper conditions.

As regards the young husband, he may be a decent, hard-working fellow, fond of home and children, but life soon becomes intolerable if the children arrive too fast. Instead of arriving home after his day's work to a cheerful home with a happy wife and pleasant meal awaiting him, he finds a tired, dispirited woman harassed by children crying round her or demanding her care on every side, and without the time or means to prepare a satisfactory supper. If he is a good husband, as many of the working classes, to their honour, are, he takes his share of looking after the children, and may be very happy with them if there are not more than two or three, but beyond that things become impossible, and he may be glad to escape to the more genial atmosphere of the public-house. Few temperance reformers have ever considered the effect of large families on starting a man on a career of drunken-

ness, but there can be little doubt that if all were known, a great deal of the drink evil is attributable to the hopelessness which ever-increasing families plunge both men and women into.

#### CAN THE POOR SUPPORT LARGE FAMILIES ?

It is easy to talk glibly, as so many armchair theorists or religious enthusiasts do, about large families being the happiest, and to quote examples of families of ten or a dozen brought up well on a small wage. But when Mr. Seebohm Rowntree made his famous inquiry into the cost of maintaining a family containing three children in York, he found that 23s. 8d. per week was the absolute minimum upon which the bare necessities of life, without providing a penny for illness, amusement, or luxuries, could be obtained. In our large industrial towns, where rents are higher and a certain amount of travelling for the man is generally imperative, 30s. would have been about the figure, and as the index number of the cost of living is now still nearly 200, this means £3 a week at present.

At the time when Mr. Rowntree wrote apparently about 2,500,000 adult men wage-earners were in receipt of 25s. a week or less, so for many of these a family of more than two children was an economic impossibility. We may take it that conditions are even worse to-day in proportion to the cost of living, and that a two-child family is the utmost that can be supported by the average wage-earner in decency and health.

It is easy to blame the economic or social system and to say that wages should be higher. Perhaps they ought, though there are grave difficulties in the way which we shall consider later, but why should we subject men, women, and children to torture until things are improved, if they *can* be improved ? We must start from the bedrock fact that the great majority of wage-earners cannot deal with more than two children properly.

Even when both parents are strong, healthy, and virtuous, life becomes a misery when the family increases too rapidly. After the first two or three children arrive more house room should be available, but, instead, the margin for rent gets less ; and this is the great cause of overcrowding, with its horrible hygienic and moral evils. At a meeting held in Berlin before the War the Socialist

leaders who inveighed against family limitation were howled down by the people, who declared that large families were the great cause of prostitution, because of the crowding of the sexes together and the forcing of the girls on the streets.

But when, as so often happens, one or both parents are diseased or defective, large families mean a hell on earth. At our meetings in poor districts we have had poor young women of only twenty-five years of age telling us how they had married in their 'teens and spent their lives in miscarriages or bearing dead or diseased children every year. Women suffering from consumption, heart disease, and other painful and hereditary complaints all go through this terrible agony, and for what? Only to launch helpless maimed children into the world to die early or be a burden to themselves or the State.

Any one who would refuse instruction in Birth Control to such women is a monster in human shape and an enemy of society. There is no objection, national, religious, or moral, in this case which is worthy of the slightest respect.

#### MARRIAGE WITH BIRTH CONTROL.

Now let us suppose that our young man and young woman are aware that Birth Control is possible and that they can obtain the information just before marriage. This removes practically every bar to their immediate marriage. Among the poor, both the young men and young women become self-supporting at an early age, and they can keep on working and pool their wages, waiting for their first child until they have built up their home, and the husband's wages are sufficient for the wife to leave her work and start their family.

The moral cleansing of society which would result from the general early marriage of young men would be immense. It may be contended that it would not do away with promiscuity, but it is certain that all efforts to do so will be vain without it. This is the moral argument for Birth Control, and has been a corner stone of the neo-Malthusian doctrine from its inception.

When we lecture in the streets of the poor quarters we always say to the young men and girls around: "Do not wait to marry until you have enough to support a

family. Get married as soon as you want to and wait for your children until you have built up a warm nest for them. Learn to live together first and be a comfort to each other, before undertaking the responsibility of parenthood. The knowledge of Birth Control is free to you ; use it for your own happiness and that of your children to come.'

Our young couple can then enter on their new life together in love and confidence. The husband can return home from work to find a comfortable home and a smiling wife awaiting him ; he can lavish a few comforts on her, and they can develop mutual interests. He can keep himself neat, have adequate food and rest, and have time for study, so that he can advance in efficiency and rapidly improve his position. Should slackness of employment come he can have some reserve behind him, and not be forced into fighting desperately with his fellows for the poorest jobs.

For the wife, as we have frequently said, the possession of Birth Control knowledge is her Magna Charta, her real emancipation from slavery. By being able to have her children only when she feels able to do justice to herself and them, she becomes mistress of her fate, and from the point of view of the race the eugenic effect of Birth Control would be enormous. Women who are free from passive maternity will rarely consent to bring diseased or defective children into the world, or start them under too unfavourable conditions.

Lastly, from the point of view of the children, they can start life under better conditions with a sufficiency of maternal care. Instead of being pushed aside for the next comer, they can be properly fed, clothed, and housed, and be started on their school life with bodies prepared to take advantage of education. They need not be snatched from school at the earliest possible age and forced into the first blind alley occupation, in order to help the family ; they may even be able to pursue their studies to a secondary or technical school and start their working lives well equipped to be efficient workers.

All these benefits can be obtained by the knowledge of healthy methods of Birth Control, and it has this priceless advantage over all other schemes for human betterment, that it is ready for immediate adoption by any one who wishes, without costly or elaborate welfare schemes or

Government action of any kind. When we go out for an evening's work in the streets or halls, and give out forms of application for our practical leaflet, we know that we have given a chance of salvation from further misery to a dozen or twenty suffering couples. There is no absolute need for more ; we may never see them again, but at the cost of a few pence we have put the opportunity of controlling their destinies into their own hands, and their gratitude is shown, not only by the letters we receive, but by the fact that although our forms distinctly state that the leaflet will be sent without charge of any kind, the majority of applications contain at least a few stamps, and the average contribution has actually covered the cost of this branch of the Malthusian League's activity from its start.

#### RESOLUTION.

At the conclusion of the session the following resolution was put to the meeting :—

“The Fifth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference calls the attention of all thoughtful men and women to the great benefits which Birth Control can confer on themselves and their children, by enabling young people to marry early and escape temptation, and by enabling them to regulate their families in accordance with their health and resources and to bring up their children in comfort to be happy and useful citizens. It calls in the name of humanity upon all those who have already experienced these benefits to join in the effort to extend them to the poor and suffering, whose lives are burdened with unlimited families, and thus to help in getting rid of destitution, immorality, and disease and elevating humanity.”

Passed, with two dissentients.

(Signed) MARGARET SANGER,

*President of the Section.*

*Wednesday, July 12th.*—MORNING SESSION.

## ECONOMIC AND STATISTICAL SECTION.

*President* . . . PROFESSOR J. M. KEYNES, C.B., M.A.

THE PRESIDENT, in opening the session, formally addressed those present, saying :—

Ladies and gentlemen, we have rather a long programme before us to-day, and I am not going to occupy your time. My presidential address I am not going to read to-day, but later, and I have been moved to write a memoir on Malthus, which I hope to read on that occasion.

Malthus was a moderate man, and I do not think he always has full justice shown to him to-day. There is a suggestion that he did not see the future clearly, and that while he had some good ideas, they need modification now.

That is not the case. The science of the whole thing is to be found in Malthus' first edition of 1798, and it is well not to forget that he had tremendous influence on all nineteenth-century thought. That is evident from the fact that it was the reading of Malthus that put his ideas first of all into the head of Darwin. I believe it is in the first edition of Malthus that the phrase "Struggle for existence" first appears in literature.

### THE CRITERION OF OVER-POPULATION.

BY DR. C. V. DRYSDALE, O.B.E., F.R.S.E., ETC.

When is a country over-populated? It seems very important that we should be able to give a definite answer to this question, as the misconceptions concerning it are so numerous. For example, it is often said that this and other countries are not over-populated because "wealth has increased faster than population," or because the density of their populations is less than in some other countries.

It ought not to require proof that density of population is no index of over-population. A sparsely-populated country with a rocky soil, or in primitive conditions, may have far poorer inhabitants than a densely-peopled, fertile country with rich stores of coal and minerals and a highly-developed industry. Over-population must be relative to the resources and state of development of a nation, and density does not afford us the slightest clue.

And the criterion of increase of wealth in proportion to population, though apparently more plausible, is no less fallacious. The wealth of a nation is expressed in terms of money, and depreciation of the currency, such as has been recently witnessed in so many nations, may cause an apparent increase of wealth while the people are poorer in all the necessaries and comforts of existence. And even if the currency is unaltered, it is obvious by the very definition of wealth that it is no criterion of well being. Wealth consists of all useful and desirable objects which have an exchange value—the machinery and implements of production, no less than the products themselves—and if the law of decreasing return involves the use of more and more capital for the production of the necessaries of life, the wealth of a country may increase greatly, even with a diminution of the standard of life.

And lastly, even if increase of wealth per head represented a real increase in the standard of existence, how would that prove that a country was not over-populated? At best it could only prove that it was less over-populated than it was formerly. If a person who has been suffering from a severe illness commences to recover, we do not immediately say he is well; and an improvement of the standard of comfort from the frightfully low one of the past, though of good omen, does not mean that a sufficiency for every one has been attained, as is painfully evident.

In the true Malthusian sense over-population exists whenever the combined exertions of the community fail to procure a sufficiency of the necessaries of life for the complete physiological health of the whole community. One way of ascertaining this would be to obtain the total net food supply of a country due to its own production and excess of imports over exports, and to compare this with the ascertained physiological requirement for full health and strength. This was first done for the whole

civilised world by our esteemed colleague, M. G. Giroud, who showed that the total food supply only provided two-thirds of Attwater's standard of physiological ration of nitrogenous food, and disposed finally of the facile "plenty for all if it was only properly distributed" contention. The food crisis during the last war caused the Governments of Great Britain and Germany for the first time to make similar inquiries for their own countries, and although their investigations appeared more optimistic than the above, due, partly, to their making insufficient deductions for industry and inevitable waste, and to their adopting a low standard of requirements, apart from the fact that they were dealing with countries which were far above the average of prosperity, these reports showed quite distinctly that there was certainly no plenitude of subsistence.

But the above criterion, though a good one if the facts are carefully compiled and impartially handled, is too complicated for ready adoption. Fortunately we have another which is easily attainable, and which is probably more satisfactory as being less open to difference of opinion.

What is the effect of insufficiency of subsistence? The answer is poor nutrition and diminution of longevity, not so much by direct starvation, as by diminution of resistance to disease. Whenever the average duration of life is low, we may have reason to suspect over-population. In certain cases it may be due to inherent unhealthiness of the climate, or to vicious modes of life, and it can only therefore be taken as an indication, but whenever we find it we should consider the probability of over-population.

Now, how are we to find the longevity or average duration of life of a community. In some few cases this figure is given us by the official returns, but only in a few. But practically all civilised countries keep a complete record of their birth and death rates from year to year, and these figures are of the utmost importance to students of the population doctrine. It can easily be shown that if we had a community without any migration, and in which all who were born lived to the same age,  $L$  years, then  $L = 2303 \frac{\log b - \log d}{b - d}$  where  $b$  and  $d$  are the birth and death rates per thousand. If the rate of increase is



slow,  $b - d$  is small, and the formula reduces to the simple relation,  $L = \frac{2,000}{b + d}$ , which is equivalent to saying in words that the longevity or average duration of life is 1,000 divided by the mean between the birth and death rates, or divided by the death rate, plus half the rate of increase. If there is no increase at all,  $b = d$ , and  $L = \frac{1,000}{d}$ , the well-known rule which many high authorities have taken as being universally true, thereby gravely assuring us that a steadily maintained birth rate of ten per 1,000, as in New Zealand, is impossible, because it would mean an average duration of life of  $\frac{1,000}{10}$ , or 100 years. As a matter of fact it would mean nothing of the kind unless there were no increase of population.

Of course, none of these rules are accurate for countries having a large migration or deaths spread over all ages. But they are becoming more and more accurate as time goes on, as migration and death at early ages diminish, and they are already of the greatest importance, especially for a clear understanding of the population problem. For example, if we take the second simple relation,  $L = \frac{2,000}{b + d}$ , then if the longevity were constant, and the birth rate  $b$  fell, then  $d$  would increase by an equal amount to make  $b - d$  constant, or the correlation between the birth and death rates would be  $-1$ . This is what we are always threatened with by actuarial or statistical opponents of Birth Control, who tell us that as the birth rate falls further the death rate will rise, and that we shall therefore rapidly approach a state of real depopulation, in which the numbers will diminish from year to year. This would certainly be true if the longevity remained constant, but it has never yet happened or shown any signs of happening. Even in France, with its low birth rate, the death rate fell with the birth rate during the ten years 1904—1913, the correlation between the birth and death rates being  $+0.5$  instead of  $-1$ , and in this country a fall of the birth rate from 24 before the war to 22 last year has been accompanied by a fall from 13.7 to 12.

Now, if over-population or pressure of numbers on food exists, it is clear that what sets a limit to the rate of

increase is not the birth rate, but the rate of increase of subsistence, and this, apart from fluctuations of harvests, remains fairly constant for considerable periods in normal times. In that case the death rate is simply equal to the birth rate minus the rate of increase of food, and if the latter is constant, the death rate must rise or fall with the birth rate, instead of moving in the opposite direction, and the correlation should be  $+ 1$  in cases of severe over-population falling to zero as its intensity diminishes.

This then gives us the true criterion of over-population. Whenever we find a country of low longevity—say, under fifty years—we may suspect over-population, but the decision as to whether the low longevity is caused by over-population, or by other factors depends upon how the death rate varies with variations in the birth rate. If they vary in opposite directions the cause is not over-population, but if they vary in the same direction it is fairly definite proof of over-population, and as a matter of fact the correlation in the whole of Western Europe was no less than  $\cdot 82$  from 1841 to 1905, while that for England and Wales from 1904 to 1913 was  $\cdot 90$ . Until these figures fall to zero there can be no question that over-population still exists, and that the birth rate should be further lowered, unless any extraordinary development in the productive arts arises.

This criterion of over-population ought to appeal to the simplest common sense. Every one will admit that the reduction of the death rate should be the prime object of civilisation, and if the reduction of the birth rate helps to bring this about, it simply means that pressure of population on subsistence has existed, and that it is becoming mitigated as the birth rate falls.

This is the principle which has been kept steadily in view in the neo-Malthusian movement in this country, and by its aid we are able to gauge the effects of our work, and to judge of the figure to which the birth rate should be reduced in every country, so that poverty in the sense of insufficiency of the necessities of life may be eliminated.

### THE CRUX OF MALTHUSIANISM.

PROFESSOR KNUT WICKSELL (Sweden).

There has always been some uncertainty about the real meaning of the Malthusian doctrine, and this, no doubt,

depends upon some faults in the doctrine itself, grand and all-important as it may be in the general effect.

In the first edition of Malthus' book—by the way, quite another work than the later editions, and one that in several respects well deserves to be reprinted—there is no uncertainty whatever. Its contents can be given as it were in a single syllogism. Malthus said: "If a people were to live under happy circumstances it would double the number of its population at least every twenty-fifth year. Now a people cannot double its number every twenty-fifth year, or anything like. Consequently no people can ever be happy, the great mass of it, and under a system of equality the whole of it must needs be wretched." In the last two chapters he then tries to console us for this rather gloomy view, saying that people really have no business to be happy on earth, but only to prepare themselves for the future state.

In the following editions, Malthus, as everybody knows, tried to mitigate those terrible conclusions of his in pointing to the possibility of a moral restraint—late marriage and chastity in the single state—as a way of checking population without misery or vice. But the amelioration was not a very essential one, because Malthus himself did not believe much in the effectiveness of that moral restraint.

In his polemic with Mr. Arthur Young, in 1806, printed in the Appendix of his Principle, he has in this respect some utterances which should not be forgotten.

"Mr. Young," he says, "has asserted that I have made perfect chastity in the single state absolutely necessary to the success of my plan, but this is surely a misrepresentation. . . . I have said what I conceive to be strictly true, that it is our duty to defer marriage till we can feed our children; and that it is also our duty not to indulge ourselves in vicious gratifications, but I have never said that I expected either, much less both, of these duties to be completely fulfilled. In this, as a number of other cases, it may happen that the violation of one of two duties will enable a man to perform the other with greater facility, but if they really be both duties and both practical, no power on *earth* can absolve a man from the guilt of violating either. This can only be done by that God who can weigh the crime against the temptation, and will temper justice with mercy. . . . Whatever I may have said, in drawing a picture *professedly* visionary for the

sake of illustration, in the practical application of my principles I have taken man as he is with all his imperfections on his head. . . .”

The difference in the results seems, therefore, not to be very essential, in practice the alternative would be very much the same : misery *or* vice.

It would be easy, of course, to drive those reflections of Malthus into absurdity. If indeed, God, according to Malthus, is likely to be rather indulgent towards the unchastity in the single state, why should He be so very particular about the use of contraceptives in the matrimonial state ? Even there the temptation is very great indeed. Why should not God in this case “ weigh the crime against the temptation ” and be willing to “ temper justice with mercy ” ?

Of course it is preposterous to place a question of the greatest social bearing solely under the narrow aspect of ecclesiastical morals. If there were no other objection to a loose sexual life than the wrath of God, a *modus vivendi* might perhaps be got at. Unfortunately there are other consequences, the scourge of venereal disease, the unspeakable abjectness of the phenomena of prostitution and so forth. But on those things Malthus does not speak a word.

To my mind this half-heartedness of Malthus has been the great hindrance of the success of his doctrine. At any rate for the next three-quarters of a century the practical application of his teachings almost totally failed, except perhaps in France, not because of people being ignorant of what he had said, but because they did not care for it. And when the propaganda of the Malthusian League took up the doctrine on more rational lines, almost another half-century had to be spent in order to convince people of the rather obvious truth that late marriage is not a blessing, and the use of contraceptives the only real way out of the dilemma.

During all this time another side of the Malthusian problem has been almost completely neglected, namely, the question not of the proper *way* of working out the limitation of numbers required, but the deciding of the proper *amount* of that limitation.

For a good many people, even among Malthusians, this later question does not exist at all. They will say : If parents only limit the numbers of their children according

to their power of supporting them, the proper amount of population will come of itself ; but that is not always true. Circumstances may be such that it is comparatively easy for parents to breed and keep a rather great number of children, but when those children are grown up, there may eventually be a frightful state of over-population. For instance, in Sweden, the relative smallness of mortality amongst children seems to prove that most children with us are kept by their parents tolerably well, if, of course, in a very simple way of living. But nevertheless we have, for many decades, had a constant need of emigration, and if that is stopped, as in fact it was during the war, the consequence at once shows itself in a tremendous amount of unemployment.

On this point I am of a somewhat different opinion from the present Malthusian League and Dr. Drysdale himself, although I may not quite have fathomed his arguments. They seem to believe that as long as there is a sufficient parallel between this decrease of mortality and the simultaneous decrease of natality everything is good and well, and nothing more is to be required. But this view seems to me to be somewhat superficial. The parallel in question cannot be but occasional, because there is no necessary connection between present mortality and present natality, or at any rate only a very small one.

I, therefore, think that we must attack the problem in a more direct way and ask ourselves, What would be under present circumstances or those of the near future the *best* amount of population ? In other words, I would say that over-population exists as soon as the present number could be *diminished with advantage*, and from this point of view I venture to say that there is at present no country in Europe, even France not excepted, where the conditions of the people, as well in the moral as the material respect, would not be immensely ameliorated if its number were reduced to one-half. In regard to the Swedish population, I have tried to research this question in detail, and I came to the conclusion that we would be, in all respects, far better off if the present population of six million was going back to something like  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million. Then the extremely small lots of arable land available for the present farming population would be extended so as to give full occupation for each family of farmers. And one of the most

important of our natural resources—our forests—which now are in a great danger of a rapid exhaustion, would then raise themselves anew at the same speed at which they are hewn down by the axe. In respect of other countries, I have not been able to make any detailed research of that kind, but I really think that it would be possible to carry through the same demonstrations for them ; I lean to the opinion so often uttered by the late Dr. C. R. Drysdale that even the France of his time was “terribly over-populated.”

Furthermore, looking at the statistics of the present time, for instance, in Sweden or in Germany, there seems to be a very great probability that the countries of Europe will, at no distant time, change their present continuous increase of population into a more or less stationary state, and then even go back in numbers. The poorer classes are in this, as in other things, sure to imitate sooner or later the social customs of the well-to-do classes. The figures of Berlin, for instance, taken before the war, did show, if I am not mistaken, a greater falling off of natality among the labouring population than among the well-to-do classes, and the well-known statistician Professor L. Bortkiewicz, of Berlin, predicted already in 1914 that the population of Germany would come in twenty-five years to what he expressed as the critical point, where deaths and births keep one another in equilibrium so that the German population from that date would become stationary just as the present French population. Of that space of time now only seventeen years remain, and the circumstances of the war have no doubt made the prediction still more probable. However, my opinion is, that the English population and that of my own country will still sooner have come over to the stationary state.

In this, of course, there is nothing to frighten us, because the stationary state apparently is the only *normal* condition of any people, but the question is : Will that stationary state be got at in the *present* number of European populations, or will those populations at first have to go back from their present state ? For my part, I believe the last, and I would exhort Malthusians, if things are coming to this, not to be frightened out of their positions by the general outcry which is sure to arise when in the future populations are actually going back. From what I have said

before, it would follow that such an event by no means is necessarily to be regarded as a token of *degeneration*, but much more as a token of *regeneration*, and of the coming of a new and happier generation.

### EMIGRATION AND THE BIRTH RATE.

BY PROFESSOR ROBERTO MICHELS (University of Turin).

The present food shortage is synonymous with pressure of population and struggle for existence, and is owing to a relatively excessive birth rate ; people have more children than they can provide for. Certainly the neo-Malthusians are right in one sense : food supply has increased so slowly that two things are needed for the elimination of poverty ; a social system encouraging effort, and a low but eugenically selected birth rate.

However, to quote one of the greatest English economists, John Stuart Mill : “ Besides the importation of corn, there is another resource which can be invoked by a nation whose increasing numbers press hard, not upon their capital, but upon the productive capacity of their land. I mean emigration, especially in the form of colonisation. Of this remedy, the efficacy as far as it goes is real, since it consists in seeking elsewhere those unoccupied tracts of fertile land which, if they existed at home, would enable the demand of an increasing population to be met without falling off in the productiveness of labour.” \*

In countries where the means of subsistence are inadequate for the population there are several reasons why emigration should be encouraged by the State :—

(a) *Economic*, because the surplus of population forms a category economically useless and unproductive, and destined to inevitable unemployment.

(b) *Moral*, because the nation incapable (for reasons intrinsic or otherwise) of nourishing its own citizens has lost the right to keep them by force.

(c) *Political*, as emigration constitutes a safety valve without which the masses, turbulent, exasperated and starving easily, have recourse to revolution.

In Italy, the first consequences of emigration are advantageous :—

\* John Stuart Mill: “Principles of Political Economy” (London: Standard Libr. Co.), p. 142.

(a) Improvement of wages of the labourers remaining in the mother country, which is easily understandable owing to the diminution of competition caused by the exodus of surplus labour.

(b) Augmentation—though often temporary—of foreign trade, the exportation of men, needing and promoting the exportation of national *goods* in corresponding quantity, the emigrants carrying with them their customs and habits, trade following the emigration.

(c) A sensible improvement of the national wealth caused by the reflux of the economies made by the emigrants abroad (these economies have been made by great expenditure of vital energy and a high spirit of sacrifice and abnegation) and sent home like rivers of gold. Indeed, in Italy the savings of emigrants sent back in the year 1919 have exceeded by half a million the sums sent back in the year before the war, and in 1920 attained two milliard francs. The Italian emigrants in South America subscribed to the Italian War Loan 1,732 million lire.

(d) An improvement in the distribution of landed property due to the fundamental land hunger, which impels the returned emigrants to buy land, and to dismember and divide the big properties or *latifundia*.

Besides, often emigration, in spite of its evils, produced and still produces one of the mightiest phenomena in the world: the rising of new civilisations. Thus by the means of emigration England gave her language, her law, her race and her customs to more than one of the greatest nations of mankind. Spain, Portugal and France did the same, though in a lesser degree.

According to the law of compensation of Levasseur, every period of exceptional mortality is counterbalanced by a corresponding elevation of birth rate in the following period. This law explains to us why great wars, as de Maistre has already stated, are not followed by depopulation.

In some measure an analogous law may, however, be observed affecting emigration. As Gonnard has stated, the leakages caused by emigration are rapidly closed by an increasing birth rate. In the first moment after a strong emigration, population is naturally decreasing, but this effect is often only temporary. In the year 1857 emigration assumed accentuated dimensions, while at the same time the birth rate grew from 3.85 per cent. to



4.15 per cent. Anyhow, the law is not general. An example of the non-existence of the law is given by Ireland, from which in the years 1851 to 1891 3,304,842 people emigrated (82,627 per year average) without having an equal number of successors by birth rate. In Basilicata, a province of Southern Italy, where in the last twenty years before the war emigration has been very strong, there has been observed during the same time some diminution of population.

The facts (first) that modern emigration implies a disproportion between the area of a country, the means of subsistence, and the population living on it, and (second) the danger that a very large percentage of the emigrants are, in the long run, lost to the mother country, because they embrace the nationality and mentality of the nations where they enjoy hospitality, gave rise in times of strong national feeling, such as during the Great War, to the hope that after peace the phenomenon would cease, or at least confine itself only to the colonies of the country concerned. In the minds of many economists that hope became during the war almost a certainty with the growth of the old manufactures and the rise of new branches of industry, due both to the necessity of being self-supporting and the potent help of the State. Indeed, during the war, industry absorbed everywhere, even in the weaker and industrially less advanced countries, the whole surplus population; nay, forced even the military authorities to leave a good many of the young men at work in order to render possible the regular service of the absorbing machinery of production. Why should not these new industries survive the war, procuring profit for everybody and putting an end to emigration?

But the economist patriots were the victims of a terrible delusion. Their war-nights' dream broke down in the most definite way. Peace showed that many of the new branches of industry had been mere glass-houses, whose fruits were not able to resist the open air of competition, because depending absolutely on the *Etat fournisseur*. On the contrary, emigration came up again immediately, and with the utmost violence.

The American Commission of Emigration, sent by the United States Government to Europe with the precise order to get information on the proportions European emigration would take if unrestricted, made enquiries

which gave amazing figures with regard to the masses liable to emigrate.

The present crisis has led the English Prime Minister to say in Parliament that it seemed almost impossible to prevent frequently recurring periods of serious unemployment, and that the present crisis was so grave that even England might have to face the problem of emigration. This admission of over-population startled the House. In Italy the emigration problem immediately became as serious as it had been before 1914.

In the defeated countries the need of emigration was similar. If, nevertheless, emigration from Germany is not, or not yet, so great as—given its present economic conditions—it ought to be, and emigration from Austria is even very small, the main causes consist, firstly, in the difficulty for countries of low exchange to get the foreign *high* money necessary for the voyage and requested by several States as a condition of entry ; and, secondly, in the high chances of export industries going on splendidly in some countries because of the low exchange.

To-day it can be stated without exaggeration that every State and every nation is a closed unit, economically as well as demographically, and that nothing is more difficult than to get passports, unless you belong to the class which, instead of desiring to earn a living abroad, is ready and able to spend money there.

It may be altogether preferable that the migrants should pass to the colonies politically dependent on the mother country, because only in that way can they be preserved for the nation to which they belong. It must be considered as one of the most important tasks of every State by every means in its power to make its colonies accessible to the maximum possible of its own countrymen, offering them conditions of life and wages not inferior to those at home. However, it would be impolitic and inhuman to close to emigrants the way to foreign states, or to the foreign colonies. England is perhaps the only State in Europe whose citizens do not emigrate except to English-speaking and English-governed countries. With the exception of some small numbers of wealthy people enjoying their wealth in some of the luxury towns of the South, and who constitute a very small section of the community, there are no English who live under foreign rule. The other nations came too late in the distribution

of the world, and are therefore obliged, in the case of high birth rates, to send their surplus population to foreign countries.

As Sir Sidney Low stated in the Press some months ago:—

“In fifty years Japan will have 100 millions of people, a population nearly equal to that of the United States, locked up in a group of islands not much larger than the United Kingdom, and far inferior in natural resources. Japanese statesmen see their country faced with the prospect, at no distant date, of a desperate struggle for sheer existence. The people must get food and elbow-room somehow, or they must perish. ‘They must,’ says a native writer, ‘either expand into the neighbour’s backyard, or die a saintly death in righteous starvation, and Japan is not that much of a saint.’ Japan is not that kind, or any kind, of saint. She is inhabited by a warlike, virile, singularly energetic race, which believes in helping itself. From her own ricefields, cultivated as they are to the last inch, she cannot raise food enough to keep her growing population alive. She must either send her superfluous millions away, or develop her industries sufficiently to be able to buy abroad all the imported supplies she needs.”

The exportation of manual labour is generally the effect of unemployment. Such labour is absorbed, replaced, and tends to cease with the increase of industrial development, as happened, for instance, in Germany, when for forty years the emigration to America amounted to about 200,000 persons yearly, and disappeared when Germany became a highly industrial country. Friedrich Naumann put the question in the following terms. He stated that a nation with a good birth rate has either to export goods or to export men, and that it is preferable for a country to export goods. Of course, for Germany after the War, the question changed greatly.

In other countries, for instance in Italy, inhabited by a vigorous, strong, healthy people, with profound family feeling and very large families, but lacking coal and iron, and, therefore, the technical possibility to become a first-class manufacturing and exporting nation, the question cannot arise. For Italy and other countries emigration is a *vital question*, and its unimpeded course is essential. Even their foreign policy will depend

on the manner foreign States treat their emigrant nationals.

But Italian emigration is not only a part of "sacred egoism"; in sending her sons abroad, Italy is conscious of making at the same time a very valuable gift to foreign States. Indeed, emigration is often due to, or is the result of, division of labour. Historical traditions and technical inheritance and capacities on one hand, and perhaps even physical differences between the different races, have created in many countries very definite conditions of the division of labour. We know countries where certain categories of economic services are fulfilled almost exclusively by foreigners. For instance, Italian navvies build the railways in Switzerland.

In order to avoid conflicts between immigrant and native labour the best way would be that immigrants should perform a certain type of labour for which they are better equipped than the labourers abroad (emigration of *specialised labour*).

Therefore, the most urgent question for overcrowded countries is this: they have to take measures against the numerous measures of the States which in ordinary times need immigrants, but which, driven by the economic crisis, not only refuse to accept new ones but tend even to extradite the strangers within their gates.

It may seem easy for the countries of large emigration to find means strong enough to compel the countries with restrictive legislation to change their policy. Indeed, they may gain their point by treating foreigners in their own countries as a sort of hostage for their countrymen abroad in order to defend their interests efficaciously. As the strangers, for instance in Italy, belong mostly to the higher and highest classes, this may seem a practicable way. However, this policy is difficult of application, and for the reason that, from the economic point of view, the rich strangers constitute an income for the benefit of the nations which give them hospitality.

Population is still badly distributed over the world, both from an economic and from a demographic point of view. Therefore, one of the cares of mankind ought to be to spread men and women in such a way that a determined population should be settled in territory fit to support it. That is now still possible. For how much longer it is

impossible to tell, as we do not know exactly the creative factors of the future.

## THE POPULATION PROBLEM IN JAPAN.

BY BARON KEIKICHI ISHIMOTO (Tokyo).

Birth Control, in the last analysis, is the only way for Japan to meet the problem presented by a growing population and a static food supply. The thorough investigation of the increase in population, of the possibilities of emigration in various directions, and of the question of importing food, leads to the conclusion that Japan must regulate her population, whether it is moral or immoral to do so.

The investigations made last year showed that the population in Japan increases by 600,000 to 700,000 every year. It goes without saying that the situation will become more serious if this state of affairs is left to itself, in view of the fact that Japan is already one of the most densely populated countries on earth.

There are two ways of seeking a solution of the question, one peaceful and the other not. As to the latter, we must hope that such an idea is impossible in the future in view of the international naval holiday decided upon by the Washington Conference. In that case attention must centre round the other method—that is, the peaceful one. What is meant by it? It offers three alternatives—emigration, importation of foodstuffs for the ever-increasing population at home, and Birth Control. Is it possible for 600,000 to 700,000 persons to emigrate every year?

### EMIGRATION : NOT EVEN ENOUGH SHIPS.

It is necessary to study the Japanese population abroad in order to see whether it is possible or not. The Japanese population abroad stood at 590,000 in 1919, 490,000 in 1918, and 450,000 in 1917. The rate of increase is very small, and it must be remembered that the 590,000 Japanese abroad are the result of the constant emigration during the past fifty years. This is in spite of the fact that although emigration to America and Australia is made difficult, emigration to Siberia and Manchuria and other parts of Asia has been easy. The average increase of the Japanese population abroad is between 10,000 and

20,000 a year. In this figure the Japanese children born abroad are included ; thus the actual rate of increase by emigration is reduced to a low figure. It is, therefore, safe to declare that it is impossible to deal with the annual increase of 600,000 to 700,000 people in Japan by means of emigration.

What is the reason for this failure of Japanese emigration ? The opposition in America and Australia is, of course, the principal reason. The policy of these countries is due not only to racial prejudices and political reasons, but also to the low character of the Japanese immigrants in general.

What, then, of the emigration to Korea, Manchuria, and Siberia ? The Japanese emigrants to these places cannot compete with the Korean and Chinese labourers, who work for 30 to 40 sen a day. This is most convincingly illustrated by the fact that the immigration of Japanese farm workers in Korea for the last ten years amounted only to about 30,000, in spite of the indefatigable efforts of the Oriental Development Company. It is, therefore, impossible for Japan to solve her population difficulty satisfactorily through emigration unless she finds some suitable country where Japanese can live in comfort.

Viscount Takahashi, the Premier, thinks that Central and South America offer bright prospects for Japanese emigrants, and urges the people to go there. But it costs about Y.200 (£20) *per capita* for emigrants to go there, and another Y.200 before the immigrant can find a job. Thus about Y.400 will be required for each emigrant. Supposing Japan sends 600,000 people there, it will cost about Y.240,000,000 (£24,000,000). Such a huge expenditure will be impossible unless the Budgets for the navy and the army are permanently halved.

The question of steamship accommodation must also be taken into consideration. A steamer of the type of the T.K.K. *Shinyo Maru* can carry about 800 passengers, and it takes about two months for the ship to go to Central or South America and return. Supposing six return trips can be made a year, one ship can take 4,800 people a year. Thus it will be seen that 120 ships of the *Shinyo Maru* type would be required to carry 600,000 people there annually. The *Shinyo Maru* is a 20,000-ton ship ; thus, 2,400,000 tons of shipping per annum would be necessary. Now the total tonnage of Japanese shipping stands in the

neighbourhood of 2,920,000, according to investigations made in 1920. These facts show that it would be impossible for 600,000 people to emigrate each year even from an economic point of view.

#### NO HOPE IN RICE IMPORTS.

Next, attention is drawn to the possibility of providing for the ever-increasing population by means of imports of foodstuffs from abroad. The first question that has to be considered in this connection is the relation between the Japanese people and the rice supply, which is their staple foodstuff. The increase of population in Japan during the last ten years has been 14 per cent., of land under cultivation 5 per cent., and of rice production 10 per cent. As the standard of living rises the consumption of rice increases year after year; to-day the average consumption of rice stands at 1.15 koku (1 koku is about 5 bushels) per head per annum. The import of rice has become imperative to cope with the increasing demand. The yearly import during the six years between 1913 and 1918 averaged 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 koku. What will be the relations between the population and the rice supply in 1931 if the situation is left alone? The population will stand at 62,000,000 (allowing 12 per cent. increase for the decade), the rice consumption at 86,000,000 koku (at the rate of 1.4 koku per head per annum), and the rice production in Japan at 66,000,000 koku (allowing 10 per cent. increase for the decade). Thus it will be seen that Japan will be suffering from a shortage of as much as 20,000,000 koku of rice a year. Calculating the price of rice at Y.20 per koku, Y.400,000,000 will be required to import the shortage.

The trade of Japan has increased from two to four-fold in the last ten years, while the import trade in rice will have to be increased five to six times in the coming ten years. As a matter of fact, the rice import has been the worst of all import trades. In short, it would be impossible to anticipate such a fantastic increase in the importation of rice. Yet the authorities of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce always try to assure us of the possibility of meeting the increasing shortage of rice in Japan with imported foreign rice. The facts cited above, however, do not warrant such an optimistic view. For dealing with the food problem a scientific study is

necessary of means for the increase of rice production on the one hand and the prevention of unnecessary consumption on the other. In a country like Japan there may yet be room for the prevention of unnecessary consumption of rice, but as regards the increase of production it may safely be declared impossible, as is shown by the fact that no country in the world produces so much rice per acre as Japan. The producing capacity of the rice fields in Japan is taxed to the maximum extent. This view is endorsed by Dr. Otohei Inagaki, the best authority on the subject in Japan. It would be impossible to solve the food problem except by eating rice mixed with various inferior cereals, which the Japanese people cannot stand.

#### BIRTH CONTROL.

Now the remaining way of solving the population question lies in Birth Control. Apart from whether it is right or wrong, Japan will have to adopt this policy in order to cope with her ever-increasing population. There is no other adequate remedy. It is most important for both the Government and the people of Japan to make a serious and careful study of the question. It is not the intention here to argue whether Birth Control is good or bad, or to discuss means for enforcing it. Birth Control is now the most important question of the world. In England, America, France, and Germany the stage of argument is already past, and these countries are now entering on the stage of practice. Two of the greatest men of thought in the world, Bertrand Russell and H. G. Wells, have warned the Japanese nation that Japan must adopt Birth Control, advice which the people of Japan cannot overlook.

#### BIRTH CONTROL AND ORGANISED LABOUR.

BY EDWARD G. PUNKÉ, A.M. (Harrison Fellow in  
Sociology, University of Pennsylvania).

The First American Birth Control Conference held in New York City last November, Mrs. Margaret Sanger's tour of China and Japan to impart to those peoples knowledge concerning race restriction, and the International Birth Control Congress held in London this July,



should be of great interest to Organised Labour and its leaders and spokesmen. This is because the advocates of race restriction are striving for the same end as Organised Labour, namely, the bettering of the condition of life of the human race, and particularly of that portion consisting of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

Emphasis on the elevation of the standard of life has been a most important characteristic of the labour struggle in the United States since the real beginning of labour unions nearly a century ago. Those at all familiar with the industrial and labour history of the United States are well acquainted with the important part played by labour unions in obtaining our tax-supported schools, the abolition of imprisonment for debt, the passing of the Homestead Act, and much of our modern social and factory legislation. Pre-eminently, Organised Labour in America has concerned itself with social welfare in the broad sense.

It is with this splendid record of Labour in mind that advocates of Birth Control, as a means of race elevation, appeal to Labour and Labour's interests for support in pushing their programme. Organised Labour is vitally interested in raising the standard of life of the toiling masses. To obtain that elevation in the standard of living, the prime requisite is the increase of real wages among the working classes, particularly the unskilled and semi-skilled.

Under the present economic system, however, wages are, at least partly, dependent upon the relative supply of, and demand for, labour. Other things equal, the larger the supply of a certain type of labour in proportion to the demand for it, the lower will be the wage of that labour. On the other hand, the smaller the supply relative to the demand, the higher will be labour's pay.

Unfortunately, owing to immigration and other forces, unskilled and semi-skilled labour in this country is relatively too great for the demand for it. This class of workers, bidding against each other, beats down the wage of labour. Moreover, this class, in which there is a vital need for a larger wage, is the most difficult and last to organise. It is therefore largely denied the gains flowing from collective bargaining. Here numbers mean weakness.

A lessening of the number of unskilled and semi-skilled workers relative to the demand for that type of labour is a vitally important measure for Organised Labour and those

really interested in the welfare of the toiler. To a limited extent this is what labour unions strive to do.

Judicious Birth Control spread after the manner of dissemination by the Neo-Malthusian League of Holland, or that of Great Britain, offers one of the easiest, safest, and racially most beneficial means for the diminution of the size of the manual working classes. Only the United States, through the asinine stupidity of a few puritanically minded individuals and law-makers, legally prevents the giving of such information to the people. Imitating the Federal Government, which classes all contraceptive information in the same category with obscenity and indecency, many States have made the dissemination of such knowledge a misdemeanour or felony.

However, despite this Federal and State legislation, Birth Control is now practised almost universally among the more educated and better situated classes of the population. Through their education, better financial position and social connections, these groups can, and do, obtain the needed contraceptive information. Their low birth rate testifies to the extent to which they practise voluntary parenthood.

On the other hand, the high birth rate of the poorer classes—the unskilled and semi-skilled groups—indicates how effective this anti-Birth Control legislation is for the less well-situated groups. The poor are penalised for their poverty. Thus our present society presents a most topsyturvy condition—those most able to rear and educate a larger number of children have few; while those unable to decently rear and train but a few have many.

Further, it is chiefly these poorer classes—the low wage groups—who overstock the labour market with their type of labour, who furnish the children to work despite the various child labour legislation, who beget cannon-fodder and machine tenders. These classes, through their ignorance and stolid hopelessness, are the joy of the war-makers and conscienceless employers. Likewise, these groups—not from desire but from lack of knowledge to do otherwise—propagate offspring most recklessly, without regard for the latter's future education and chance of ever winning a decent livelihood. It is these classes who most urgently need the knowledge and opportunity of employing modern, scientific Birth Control.

Hence the Birth Control movement offers Organised

Labour and its leaders a unique opportunity. To-day voluntary parenthood is recognised as a most important step toward the regeneration of mankind, toward the elimination of poverty, with its attendant misery and hopelessness, and toward the prevention of over-population, with the resulting threat of more war, with its gigantic reversal of race improvement. Birth Control offers a welcome relief to the working-class mother, who has a child with almost annual periodicity, and sees in the future only a monotonous repetition of this thankless task, ended, finally, by the grave.

Now, by virtue of its name, and of its constituency, Organised Labour is the champion of the working classes—women as well as men—not only of the skilled and better situated, but also of the unskilled and semi-skilled, of the poorest and worst conditioned. Its mission, its purpose in existing, is the raising of the standard of life of the working groups—the emancipation of the toilers from their heritage of long hours, low wages, large families, and the resultant ignorance and misery. Further, it is duty-bound, if it would remain true to its early record of social achievement, to get behind all important movements for racial and social betterment.

Voluntary parenthood, then, for the poor as well as for the well-to-do, has an irrefutable claim to the support of the Labour movement. This is true because Birth Control for the lower classes offers a most important means of elevating the standard of life of those groups.

English Labour, the leader in so many fields, clearly recognises this. It is putting its shoulders behind the Neo-Malthusian League in Great Britain. It is helping to diminish the number of labourers competing for a given job, aiding to lessen the number of scabs and unemployables by furthering the dissemination of contraceptive knowledge and materials among the poorer members of its constituency. Briefly, it has grasped the tremendous significance of voluntary parenthood as a weapon in the struggle for bettering the conditions of the workers.

It is only a matter of time, moreover, until American Labour must assume the same attitude, if it is to forward the true interest of its members and of the large unorganised group for which it speaks. This is inevitable. For it will avail Organised Labour little to attempt to unionise all the workers, to limit the number of competitors

for a given job, to have helped in restricting immigration from abroad, if it does not aid in limiting "immigration from heaven."

Further, Birth Control is practical, immediately applicable, and not to be attained at some unknown future date. In the words of Dr. Marie Stopes, of England, who has been running a Birth Control clinic in London's slums :—

"This ideal differs from those far distant Utopias which are generally presented in being really a practicable and achievable ideal. We have already to-day sufficient physiological knowledge to check (if one could only get everybody to know it) the birth of every diseased, unhealthy, unprepared-for child. Once stem the onrush of those who enter life in such quick succession that they snatch the bread and milk from each other's mouths, and do nothing but defeat each other's chances of life, or if they live, live weakened, doomed, or diseased lives—once stem the onrush of those who are a total loss to the State, an anguish and drain to their mothers, and a misery to themselves, and then we shall find in each home the joyous creators of children born in love and loved before their birth."

Such, then, are the things judicious Birth Control holds in store for mankind, and particularly for the poorer classes. As the chief spokesman of those classes, Organised Labour has a unique opportunity and a solemn duty to perform—it must forward the spread of voluntary parenthood knowledge among the poor and disinherited, it must help emancipate the working-class women from the bane of unwanted, uncareforable children.

### THE LOGIC OF THE SITUATION.

BY HERBERT M. MAGOUN (Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.).

The idealist frequently chases rainbows. He delights in chasing them. Oftentimes he is certain that a pot of gold awaits him at the end of his run. Disappointment only seems to whet his appetite and stimulate his ardour. Those who venture to disagree with him he regards as pessimists, or as sadly lacking in sentiment. Practical common sense he has little use for. It stands in the way of his theories, and his precious theories outweigh all

other considerations. Idealists include those who would abolish war. They forget that war has always been the result of economic pressure of some sort, due either to an excess of population or else to a lack of material things of which the inhabitants of some region less favoured than another near by have felt the need.

Human greed, like the urge of animal hunger, has thus driven many a people into war, and it will continue to do so until the cause is removed. An adequate supply of what is needed, combined with a change of heart to correspond, is a part of the process ; but it is not all of the requirement, and it never can be all of it while present conditions prevail.

Physicians who would abolish disease are idealists ; for men continue to eat foolishly, and so store up in their systems vast amounts of waste material, and that waste material furnishes an ideal lodging-place for germs and other things inimical to human welfare. Meanwhile, in other parts of the world, men, women, and children are starving for the lack of food equivalent to what such people waste ! Excesses are harmful, including an excess of food.

Famine men do not speak of abolishing. It is too elusive. It depends on too many circumstances. The element of chance in agriculture is too great. And the teeming population of parts of our planet furnish too many mouths to feed with what they have as an available supply of sustenance.

Looking at things as they are, one cannot but see that the idealist's dream of a warless world, and of one free from disease, is a dream of Utopia which many seem to imagine is a sort of heaven somewhere, not knowing that the word itself means literally "nowhere." It was originally intended to suggest the impossible, not a place of delight in reality, although the fact was obscured.

Impossible the idealist's dream certainly is, so long as present conditions are allowed to persist, for the abolition of war and disease can only mean, on the present basis, the enthronement of famine. This can be shown beyond dispute if one will but consider the matter on a logical basis. It will be explained shortly.

To exchange pestilence and sword for gaunt famine the world over would hardly be suggestive of progress, but that is exactly what idealists are seeking to do, albeit

they know it not. An exception must be made to that statement; for there are idealists who are practical and offer an adequate solution of the difficulty. They are assembled in this Convention. They advocate doing something that will make the abolition of war and the prevention of disease possible without at the same time plunging mankind into a condition far worse than that from which men now try to escape.

Many will dispute this, and some will even consign persons of the sort here assembled to a climate more than tropical, and, what is more, such people are common. They little know how short-sighted and foolish they are, or to what an extent they stand athwart the path of progress and serve to render impossible the very ideal they seek. If they could succeed, they would really be the enemies of mankind, not the friends that they profess to be so vociferously. To leap from the frying pan into the fire is not to better one's condition; but that is what many idealists are trying to have us do, and that is why they are our foes and not our friends, regardless of their protestations. If any such are listening to these words, their indignation is doubtless being stirred to the depths. Until they have heard me through, however, it may be well for them to control their choler, for the case will be presented to the present assembly as a jury, and the point will be proved. Let them refute it if they can. Otherwise let them hold their peace and not presume to criticise men and women who are wiser than themselves. We will attend to the matter in detail. Suppose we start with a single human pair, and allow the population to double once in fifty years. That is a decidedly conservative estimate, taking the entire world into consideration. If we begin with two, we shall have four in fifty years, and eight in 100 years. That is all because a century can only mean four times as many as we started with, on the basis laid down. A second century will therefore mean but thirty-two persons in all at its close. A third will end with 128, a fourth with 512, and a fifth with 2,048.

"Well," you say, "it has taken 500 years to obtain a paltry 2,000 or more, and what does it all amount to?" Listen, and you will soon find out. It may take a little patience, but it will profit you in the end.

Please verify the computation. Two times two are

four. Twice that makes eight. Four times two is therefore the story for the first century. The rest is merely four times eight, then four times thirty-two, then four times 128, and then four times 512.

We will now discard the forty-eight. That leaves but 2,000. Our multiplications for the next 500 years will thus be exactly as before, except that we must place three ciphers after each number. The final result will accordingly be 2,048,000. That will be the population at the end of 1,000 years on the basis followed. To make it easy to go on we will call it only two million.

The third 500 years will offer no changes in our figures, save only the added ciphers. The two millions of our first 1,000 years are but a drop in the bucket, so to speak, of the world's population; but 1,500 years will require six ciphers after our amounts, and that means at the end two billion and forty-eight millions. Forty-eight million people cannot be wiped out without making a ripple in the world's affairs; but we will drop them just the same and charge them up to the World War. Two billion will answer every purpose, and make our computation that much easier; for we will go on and complete a period of twenty centuries.

The figures will not change apart from the ciphers, of which there will now be nine. That means two trillion and forty-eight billion as the inevitable population of the earth in only 2,000 years on the basis laid down. The result is incontrovertible, for figures will not lie, even if statistics will. The World War was called "impossible" and "out of date" before it happened; but it came for all that, and some of us felt it. My own boy came home with a wound stripe as well as a Croix de Guerre, and suffering made me think.

Now notice another thing. If we include those discarded forty-eights, we shall obtain a number more than 150 billion higher than we did, and that 150 billion may be perhaps 100 times the present population of the earth. Surely our allowance has been ample, and the results are conservative.

"But," you say, with a fine show of indignation, "no such increase has ever happened, or ever can, in the population of the world." You feel free to blame me for the suggestion, as well as to criticise me for making it? Are you honest enough to tell me why there has been no

such increase? Can you think of any possible reason apart from war, pestilence, famine and earthquakes? And you would blithely abolish war and pestilence, leaving to earthquakes and famine the task of keeping the population within bounds that the earth can feed. That means famine for all mankind. Can you dispute it?

You can—on one condition. If the world will practise Birth Control, and keep the births on a par with the deaths, then you may abolish war and banish disease without producing something far worse. But so long as births exceed deaths, just so long will war be inevitable in the long run; for grim necessity will compel men to fight for food or die of starvation.

Before the War Russia was increasing her population at a rate that meant a doubling in twenty-five years, and Japan is said to be increasing hers at the rate of about 600,000 a year. They do not want so many, and it is a common sight in their street cars to behold mothers nursing children two or three years old. That is their way of warding off too rapid an increase in the family; but it is a broken reed on which to lean.

An honest and open-minded consideration of the matter forces one to the conclusion that Birth Control is the only logical way of meeting the situation, if a way is to be opened for the abolition of war and the banishment of disease on our planet. Nothing short of that will do. Nothing else is practicable. If it involves some increase of immorality, it will also involve a decrease of the number of criminals born to curse the world. In any case, it offers the only road to a peaceful future. That is the logic of the situation.

## INDIAN POPULATION PROBLEM.

BY PROFESSOR GOPALJI AHLUWALIA (Professor Biology, Ramjas College, Delhi).

### I.—INTRODUCTION.

India resembles a vast garden literally choked with weeds, fine roses being few and far between. Our people are only too numerous, and exhibit the unfortunate tendency to increasingly multiply their kind. Sheer numbers



prevail, quality being relatively rare. Race degeneration proceeds apace, and racial poisons are fast increasing in strength and extent. A thousand and one evils are rampant abroad. The social reformer, the educationist, the statesman, the philanthropist, and, above all, the eugenist, are groping in the dark. The field becomes vaster with the effort.

## II.—ABJECT POVERTY.

India, celebrated in the earliest ages for her immense wealth, was at one time the richest country in the world. Sultan Mahmud, of Ghazni, was so much struck by the splendour and magnificence of Kananj, that he declared that "it was only rivalled by the high heavens." The spoil of Nadir Shah was valued at £625,000,000. But, unfortunately, the present condition is disappointing. The average annual income per head, as computed by eminent Englishmen (Famine Commissioners of 1880; Sir Robert Giffen, 1903; and Sir Patrick Playfair, 1912), is Rs. 30 (say £3); that in United States being £39; United Kingdom, £37; France, £27·8; and Germany, £22·2. (*Vide* Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics.") The average wealth per head in India was computed by Sir Robert Giffen in 1903 at £10; that in United Kingdom, £334; United States, £270; France, £252; and Germany, £246. The aggregate wealth of India was estimated at £3,000,000,000; United States, £18,000,000,000; Germany, £16,000,000,000; and England, £15,000,000,000. Now mere courtesy styles India as "the brightest jewel in the British Crown."

Comparisons are odious, and averages reflect but little the chronic poverty of the masses. The richer classes represent only a microscopic minority, and the poorer classes constitute the telescopic majority. "Ill fed, ill clad, ill lodged, the mass of the people of India lead a dull and dreary existence." The teeming millions simply count their days of life and drag on a miserable existence. And even that is threatened by constant famines and epidemics.

## III.—THE ULTIMATE CAUSE.

No complex results can rightly be ascribed to single causes. But the relative importance of influencing factors

can be fairly indicated to a great extent. Of all possible causes of our extreme poverty—loss of spiritual and moral ideals in practical life, the break-up of good old systems under changed circumstances, persistence of old-world habits, customs, manners, and even prejudices, lack of sufficient and suitable education, and the much-maligned political disabilities—thoughtless, irresponsible and extensive breeding, particularly among the middle and poor classes, is one of the basic, if not *the* basic, factors.

Dense ignorance prevails, even among the educated classes, on sex, hygiene, eugenics, and Birth Control. Orthodox morality, spurious sentiment, false modesty, and even sham hypocrisy, blind people to the most real issues of life.

Little do the people know even the homely facts of science, the truest saviour of mankind. What we need most is a living realisation of and a practical lesson from the inherent and ultimate tendency of every organic being. As a rule, it naturally increases at so huge a rate that, if not destroyed, the earth would soon be covered by the progeny of a single pair. Linnæus, the celebrated Swedish naturalist, made very interesting calculations. If an annual plant produces only two seeds—and there is no plant so unproductive as this—and each seed should “fulfil its mission,” there would be two plants in the second season, four in the third, eight in the fourth, and so on in geometrical ratio, until in twenty years there would be a million plants. Now let us consider the case of an insect. A single flesh-fly (*Musca carnaria*) produces 20,000 larvæ, reaching their full size in five days, increases ten thousand-fold in a fortnight, and if allowed to breed at this rate only during three months of summer, it would produce at the end of the season one hundred millions of millions of millions flies. Linnæus asserted, and rightly too, that a dead horse would be devoured by three such flies as quickly as by a lion. Nay, “even slow-breeding man has doubled in twenty years, and, at this rate, in less than a thousand years, there would literally not be standing room for his progeny.”

But from day to day, month to month, and year to year, we notice a modest increase in the numbers of plants, animals, and men, far below the theoretical calculations. The plain fact is that in nature there is a cut-throat struggle for existence, a blood-and-iron competition among

organisms seeking food, shelter, or mate. True, indeed, is the poet's picture of

"Nature, red in tooth and claw . . ."

The vast majority of potential and actual organisms die in the struggle. Thus we have "the survival of the fittest" or "the destruction of the unfit." Therefore we arrive at the striking conclusion that in nature "death is the rule and life the exception." If man, with all his reason, submits to nature, recklessly multiplies like wild plants and animals, and exercises no prudence to escape from the unfortunate consequences of the unrelenting struggle for existence, he belittles his very name. With him "life should be the rule and death the exception."

#### IV.—OUR HIGH BIRTH RATE.

Early and universal marriages, little parental responsibility, and no prudence, are the causes of a very high birth rate in India. "Everybody marries, fit or unfit, and becomes a parent at the earliest possible age permitted by nature. . . . For a Hindu marriage is a sacrament which must be performed regardless of the fitness of the parties to bear the responsibilities of a mated existence. A Hindu male must marry and beget children—sons, if you please—to perform his funeral ceremony, lest his spirit wander in the waste places of the earth. The very name of son, 'Putra,' means one who saves his father's soul from the hell called 'Putra.' A Hindu maiden, unmarried at puberty, is a source of social obloquy to her family and of damnation to her ancestors" ("The Population Problem in India," P. K. Wattal, p. 3). The Mohammadan faithfully follows the Hindu example.

The population of India at the beginning of the nineteenth century is estimated to have been roughly 100 millions, and in 1911 it was 315 millions. What a huge increase! Of the total population, among males, 49 per cent. are unmarried, 46 per cent. married, and 5 per cent. widowed; among females, 34 per cent. are unmarried, 48 per cent. married, and 17 per cent. widowed. Among male bachelors, three-quarters are under fifteen, only one in twenty-four is over thirty years. Among spinsters, more than three-quarters are under ten, only one in fourteen is over fifteen years, and at reproductive age

period, fifteen to forty, the unmarried female population is only 6 per cent. Early marriage is a curse in many parts of India. Up to the age of fifteen, no boys and girls are married in England, but in India 6 per cent. males and 20 per cent. females are married. An early marriage becomes really funny when the would-be life-partners understand it little, and later in life can hardly remember it, except a feast or a dance in its connection. But it becomes a positive absurdity—and such cases are many—when male or female friends, sometimes unmarried themselves, solemnly promise to marry their issues should they happen to be of opposite sex.

Another regrettable feature is almost universally met with. Parents value and love their offspring differentially. Census officer, 1911, observes: "Sons are eagerly sought for, while daughters are not wanted." The proportion of females per 1,000 males was in 1881, 954; 1901, 963; and in 1911, 954. In many parts of India, particularly in Bengal, daughters are very much dreaded because of the costly dowries to be provided at marriages, often by running into lifelong debts. Many a heroic girl has burnt herself in the fire before her marriage to save her poor father from the impending financial and social peril. True, indeed, some over-burdened parents exclaim on a birth of a daughter, "Ah! Here is another decree of 5,000 rupees."

Our birth rate is, with the exception of European Russia, the world's highest. The average birth rate for 1,000 living persons for decennial period 1902—11 is, for India, 38·58; European Russia (1896—1905), 48·47; Japan (1900—9), 32·85; Germany, 32·31; England and Wales, 26·8; and France, 20·25. Twenty per 1,000 is a fairly satisfactory birth rate.

The birth rate per 1,000 living, excluding still births, for Delhi, the capital of India and Imperial city (a typical Indian city), is :—

Year.	Birth Rate.
1913 . . . . .	47·21
1914 . . . . .	49·11
1915 . . . . .	50·97
1916 . . . . .	48·72
1917 . . . . .	53·28
1918 . . . . .	50·93
1919 . . . . .	50·94

Year.	Birth Rate.
1920 . . . . .	49.42
1921 . . . . .	51.82

A continuously high and sad record, indeed.

#### V.—THE UNFORTUNATE CONSEQUENCES.

Premature, reckless and excessive breeding leads to any number of undesirable results, chief among which are the following :—

(1) *Smaller Natural Increase and Fecundity.*—Our survival rate is very low in spite of our high birth rate. As regards fecundity, a little comparison will be instructive. The total number of females of reproductive ages (fifteen to forty-five) in England and Wales in 1911 was 8,988,745, and the birth rate per 1,000 such females was 98; the total number of such females in India in 1911 was 71,535,861, and the birth rate per 1,000 such females was 128. That appears to be rather a satisfactory increase. But if we calculate the birth rate per 1,000 *married* females of reproductive ages, we find the Indian birth rate is only 160, while the English birth rate is 196. The reason is not far to seek. Too early, irregular and excessive cohabitations and unsatisfactory or bad conditions of feeding, clothing, housing and living, undermine the health, strength, and consequently the reproductive power of women.

(2) *High General Mortality.*—Alas! our death rate is the highest in the world. The average death rate per 1,000 living for the decennial period 1902—11 is, in India, 34.2; European Russia (1896—1905), 31.41; Japan (1900—9), 20.86; Germany, 18.39; France, 17.32; and England, 15.15. The death rate per 1,000 living, excluding still births, for Delhi (a typical Indian town) is :—

Year.	Death Rate.
1913 . . . . .	43.65
1914 . . . . .	40.01
1915 . . . . .	34.16
1916 . . . . .	38.88
1917 . . . . .	36.46
1918 . . . . .	74.08
1919 . . . . .	46.40
1920 . . . . .	37.50
1921 . . . . .	41.11

What a disappointing record !

(3) *High Infantile Mortality*.—This is the saddest aspect of our high birth and death rates. A greater misery and keener bitterness than the death of a child is difficult to imagine. It leaves lasting shadows over the lives of its unfortunate parents. And India leads the world in infantile mortality. The average mortality rate of infants under one year per 1,000 births for 1902—11 is, for United Provinces (India), 352; Burma, 332; Bombay (India), 320; Punjab (India), 306; Bihar and Orissa (India), 304; Bengal (India), 276; Chile, 293·4; European Russia (1895—1905), 260·5; and Hungary, 207·6. The average Indian infantile mortality rate is 250.

The average infantile mortality rate per thousand births for Delhi, the Imperial capital (a typical Indian town), is :—

Year.	Infantile Mortality Rate.
1913 . . . . .	346·40
1914 . . . . .	313·42
1915 . . . . .	249·33
1916 . . . . .	265·66
1917 . . . . .	256·24
1918 . . . . .	323·32
1919 . . . . .	268·33
1920 . . . . .	232·54
1921 . . . . .	232·39

“ The infantile mortality rate during the year (1921) was 232·39, against 232·54 in the preceding year (1920), that is, a decrease in this rate by 0·15. This is a feature of interest and *great satisfaction*, as this figure records the lowest infantile mortality rate in the sanitary history of Delhi ” (Delhi Municipality Health Report, 1921, p. 2. *Italics mine*). A matter for congratulation indeed! There appears the following significant observation: “ High infantile mortality prevails in quarters inhabited by the poor and the ignorant, and it varies inversely (in an inverse ratio) to the social status of the population ” (p. 5).

(4) *High Female Mortality at Reproductive Ages*.—The average number of female deaths per thousand between the ages five to fifteen, and fifteen to thirty, in 1911, is (those for fifteen to thirty being shown in brackets), for Madras, 923 (1,232); United Provinces, 897 (1,080); and Bombay, 970 (1,043). Phthisis or some other respiratory

disease or ovarian complications are the chief causes of deaths within ten years of early marriages. The resulting misery is deplorable.

(5) *Short Average Life Expectation.*—We learn that in days gone by the people of India lived to good old ages. In the daily prayer of Hindus there is a *mantra* (hymn) whereby the devotee prays God to grant him a life of at least a hundred years. But in *Kaliyugya* (this dark age) persons who live a hundred years or more are rare.

The following comparative table speaks for itself :—

*India and England : Average Life Expectation. In years at decennial ages, deduced from the Censuses of 1891, 1901, and 1911.*

Age.	Males.					Females.				
	India.			England.		India.			England.	
	1891.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.
0	24.59	23.63	22.59	44.07	46.04	25.54	23.96	23.31	47.70	50.02
10	35.46	34.73	33.36	49.65	52.35	34.40	33.86	33.74	51.98	55.02
20	29.24	28.59	27.46	41.04	43.67	29.28	28.64	27.96	43.45	46.36
30	23.66	22.90	22.45	33.06	35.29	24.69	23.82	22.99	35.43	37.84
40	18.75	17.91	18.01	25.65	27.27	20.20	19.12	18.49	27.81	29.65
50	14.28	13.59	13.97	18.89	19.85	15.59	14.50	14.28	20.63	21.87
60	10.12	9.53	10.00	12.90	13.38	10.87	10.02	10.11	14.08	14.81
70	6.48	5.80	6.19	8.02	8.25	6.80	5.98	6.22	8.74	9.13
80	3.65	3.07	3.06	4.40	4.64	3.76	3.12	3.06	4.84	5.10
90	1.69	1.23	1.15	2.32	2.37	1.75	1.64	1.10	2.68	2.55

(Taken from "The Population Problem in India," P. K. Wattal, p. 18.)

Thus the average life expectation of a male at birth in India is 22.59 years, whereas in England it is 46.04, that is, twice as long. Nay, the average life expectation of a male at birth in India in 1891 was 24.59 years; in 1911, 23.63; and in 1911, it came down to 22.59. Similar are the records for females and other ages. Nothing could be more unfortunate than the downward tendency exhibited by figures representing average life expectations in India.

(6) *Misery and Disease.*—Untold worry, misery, pain and suffering are the inevitable consequences of high birth and death rates. Infectious diseases play havoc in

the country. Fully a fatal dozen have been recognised. The following are the notifiable infectious diseases: smallpox, chicken-pox, measles, diphtheria, scarlet fever, enteric fever, typhus fever, erysipelas, cholera, plague, tubercle (phthisis) and influenza. In Delhi alone (population on March 18th, 1922, 248,302—by no means a big town), the chief causes of deaths in 1921 were: fevers, 3,918; respiratory diseases (excluding lung tubercle), 3,037; dysentery and diarrhoea, 448; tubercle (including lung tubercle), 350; and cholera, 307. The total number of registered deaths in India in 1917 was 7,803,832, of which fevers accounted for 4,555,721; plague, 437,036; cholera, 267,002; and dysentery and diarrhoea, 260,984. The total deaths from plague in all India (British and native states) from 1896 to 1917 exceeded eight millions, averaging nearly half a million a year. The figures are shocking and significant.

(7) *Racial Degeneration*.—Racial defects and poisons are multiplying from day to day. The physique of the people is surely deteriorating. The tall, stout and strong are being fast replaced by persons lean, lank and bony—objects fit and proper for the study of a student of medicine. The extent and pace of growing degeneration justifies anxious thought and speedy cure.

#### VI.—A SURE REMEDY.

A selective lower birth rate will surely go a great way towards checking the evil. Then only will the right sort of material be ready for the social reformer and the eugenicist. Puberty marriages should be universal for fit persons. Late marriages should be exceptional. *Brahmacharya* (continence), lifelong or partial, is possible and highly desirable for persons of rare capacity, who can really live an absolutely chaste life in thought, word and deed. Half-hearted or inconsistent attempts at continence lead to more evil than good. *Brahmacharya* represents the ideal condition, and it is naturally possible for the gifted few.

Normal enjoyment in wedded life and right living should be encouraged. Sexual excesses should be denounced. Blessed will be the day when there will be sheer vulgarisation of the knowledge of sex hygiene, eugenics and Birth Control. Till then, the marriage and parenthood of the unfit should be under social or State control.



## CONCLUSION.

It is confidently hoped that the leaders of Indian thought will muster courage, blow up obsolete ideas, shake off old-world prejudices, and lead this ancient land aright on the noble path of national regeneration to her eternal glory.

## RESOLUTION.

At the conclusion of the session the following resolution was put to the meeting :—

“ The Fifth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference desires to point out to all workers and employers the great economic advantage which will arise from the adoption of Birth Control by the wage-earners. The prosperity of modern industry depends not on unlimited supplies of cheap, inefficient, discontented labour, but on the co-operation of intelligent, efficient and willing people aided by the machinery they are competent to use. Birth Control enables the wage-earners first to live decently and maintain and increase their efficiency on their present wages, and secondly, to increase wages by restricting the supply of fresh labour to the moderate number of efficient workers for whom adequate equipment is available and who can, therefore, with absence of undue competition, command high wages by their superior productivity.”

Carried.

(Signed) J. M. KEYNES,

*President of the Section.*

Wednesday, July 12th.—AFTERNOON SESSION.

## MORAL AND RELIGIOUS SECTION

*President* . . . THE REV. GORDON LANG.

THE PRESIDENT opened the session by reading a paper on :—

### THE MORAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF BIRTH CONTROL.

It gives me great pleasure to be able to take part in this Conference. I am certain that there could be no more important session than the one we are about to engage in. It does not appear that the churches are very much interested in over-population. They are certainly not troubled with it so far as attendance at services is concerned. The trouble is that the organised demonstrations of religion fail lamentably to come into direct contact with the needs and conditions of daily life. Whatever other effects may have followed the War, it has left the churches practically bankrupt of power and prestige, and the power of the pulpit is at its lowest ebb. We have recently been treated to the sorry spectacle of a Lord Bishop urging an increase of population as a guarantee of success in the next war. Such is the ineptitude of the leaders of religion. Peace is an integral part of the Christian religion, and the best guarantee of peace will be the adoption of Birth Control. The tendency just now is to measure the value of life in terms of quantity rather than of quality, but the Founder of the Christian religion has said: "I came that they might have life and that they might have it more abundantly." That is a question of quality beyond doubt, but is it possible of full application to-day? I more than doubt it.

There is no important problem of the day that Birth Control will not assist to solve, and to some problems it

is the only solution. If we consider our local affairs with the present ruinous rates, we shall at once be made to realise that a very large proportion of our expenses are really superfluous and in no sense an investment, inasmuch as we are spending large amounts of money on palliatives for imbecility, physical deformity, and relief in the way of funeral expenses, some sort of medical treatment and maintenance of a more or less unsatisfactory nature for thousands of children unwanted by any one at all, and especially so by their parents. There is nothing at all immoral in Birth Control or its advocacy. In fact, the immorality is there stark and stiff in the present position of things where little ones are produced as the result of ignorance, apathy, or gusts of passion, and left to flounder about in the world, often handicapped from the very commencement of life. A society which tolerates that sort of thing is seeking disaster, and, in my opinion, is guilty of the gravest immorality.

I am afraid I do not quite accept Dr. Drysdale's view that most of the organised opposition to Birth Control has gone. I believe that it is merely sleeping and will arise with greater vigour than ever as the movement begins to take its proper position. So far as the working classes are concerned there is an appalling amount of ignorance and apathy, largely due to the "comfortable" doctrines they have been taught from the pulpits as to the joy and Divine favour to be found in the possession of ultra-large families. It is significant that this doctrine is preached usually by people who are careful to practise the very reverse. There are all sorts of insidious suggestions floating about as to sterile marriages and abortion. Birth Control certainly has no connection with the first matter in normal cases and is the only substitute for the latter.

Ministers of religion and doctors are continually brought up against the sordid and seamy phases of life, and can reveal secrets that would appal many people. We might not all agree that Birth Control will prove the final solution of the unemployment problem, but we are bound to admit that the lack of it is responsible for the gravest aggravations of the present misery and suffering of the working people. Under present conditions children come unwanted after months of dread for the mother. Every birth of an unwanted child is an

immoral act, and the result of the thousands of such births which take place every week, and which are responsible in the long run for that worst kind of competition, the bitter struggle of the unfit to exist alongside of their healthy brethren. Is it not a moral objective to desire a happier, healthier, and better-equipped race? Why, the distinction between quantity and quality is one of the elementary rudiments of a child's education. It is of no avail to point to past exceptions. Men and women who have been members of very large and very poor families, and yet have attained to greatness as citizens, have done so in spite of these drawbacks, and not because of them; and if they have done so well under such handicaps what might they not have done if they had been in possession of all the advantages which a proper exercise of Birth Control would afford? If people turn thoughtfully to international affairs they will perforce have to take the view that the greatest barrier to war and practical incentive to world peace is the prevention of over-population. We are, treating our women with less care and discrimination than the average farmer deals with his stock. We are allowing little ones to be produced as easily and carelessly as are flies, and we trouble as little about them subsequently until we become painfully conscious of their existence by having to "foot the bill." Morality is even now at a low ebb because the greatest facts of life are forced into an immoral servitude. The unlimited procreation of children in homes where starvation is already present is immoral. I have frequently visited families crowded in miserable hovels where little mites of ten and twelve knew all the worst features of the facts of life and discussed them in all the worst ways.

I have officiated at the funeral of a woman who died suddenly at the birth of her thirteenth child. The housing accommodation for the whole family of fifteen had been three rooms, and the children were taking their meals around the table on which their mother's confined body lay. Naturally, the funeral had to be speeded up. Again, I have buried five children from one home with phthisis, five had been buried previous to my ministry, and some subsequent to it. This woman still continued having children regularly and burying them with equal regularity. It is sometimes suggested that Birth Control would do away with love, but few things could nullify affection more

rapidly or more thoroughly than the cruel poverty and fear which paralysed homes where poor people were having a constant succession of babies. I have no hesitation in affirming that Birth Control will prove the greatest aid to morality. As it was we have the reverse. I have seen men in drink demanding foully and brutally satisfaction from their wives. I have seen the same men battering their wives because another little one was coming. Yet the churches—some of them—prate about the immorality of restricting births. The doctors and the clergy know that abortion is rife. Our medical friends could startle the supposedly civilised community if they prepared and published statistics showing the numbers of ruined women and deficient children who are so because of the drugs taken and the operations performed in an agony of endeavour to prevent childbirth.

Abortion is immoral and illegal, but it will continue until Birth Control, which is both moral and legal, is generally known and practised.

I regret that the leaders of Labour are not more actively identified with this movement, which means so much to their rank and file. The worst paid workers possess the largest families, and it is foolish to neglect those remedies and ministries which lie to hand. We frequently hear a lot about class distinction, but it is nowhere so marked as in this matter of Birth Control. The educated and wealthier people practise it. The poorer members of the community, through ignorance, superstition and dominance, do not.

In conclusion, I would say that Birth Control is indeed the Workers' Charter, because it means freer access to the good things of life, greater independence and better equipment. It is the insignia of the freedom of the unborn race, because it guarantees to them, through voluntary parenthood, that they would be wanted, loved and provided for, with vast possibilities of service and development ever before them. The spread of this knowledge will mean, too, the removal of women's futile martyrdom.

## NEO-MALTHUSIAN MORALITY AND RELIGION.

BY DR. C. V. DRYSDALE, O.B.E., F.R.S.E., etc.

Although invectives against Birth Control have almost died away, there can be no doubt that the one thing which prevents its full, open acceptance and acclamation is that it is supposed to be regardless of morality and, indeed, to aid and abet "immorality" by "making vice safe." I have put the word immorality in quotation marks, because, although there are many kinds of immorality, there is only one which appears to be popularly recognised, viz., sexual licence. A person may break all the other commandments and be a pest or danger to society, but so long as he keeps within the prescribed sexual code he is not generally thought of as immoral.

The propaganda of Birth Control by preventive devices is, however, especially marked out for moral condemnation, because it certainly robs sexual licence of its worst terrors; and whatever good it may do in other directions, and whatever relief from suffering it may afford, these benefits are held as naught in comparison with this awful possibility.

It will probably come as a surprise, therefore, to many to learn that neo-Malthusianism was founded as much on moral considerations as on economic ones, and that the leaders of the propaganda have been as greatly concerned for the former as the latter.

Students of ethics will hardly need reminding of the school of morals founded by Bentham under the somewhat unfortunate title of Utilitarianism, the motto of which was "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," *i.e.*, of the majority of the community, and it was on this principle that the modern doctrine of Birth Control was based, first through a suggestion of James Mill in 1820, afterwards carried into effect by the practical propaganda of Francis Place in 1822. The writings of the latter show a clear appreciation of the moral side of the question even from the conventional standpoint, and although it is quite true to say that the advocates of Birth Control are less severe as a rule in their judgments on sexual laxity than most of the puritans, for reasons which will appear, it is equally unfair to charge them with encouraging or even being indifferent to such laxity.

The Utilitarian or happiness doctrine of morality does not necessarily come into conflict with theological morality; on the contrary, it preserves every part of it which people as a whole really believe in. To-day we believe in religious toleration, but we do not certainly allow a person freedom in following his religious beliefs if they are obviously contrary to the well-being of the community. To take an extreme case, the devotees of Thuggee, without doubt, consider that they are performing a highly meritorious act in strangling their victims, but our toleration of their religion does not extend to absolving them from punishment for their actions, and this simply means that in the last resort the principle of Utilitarianism of the well-being of the community transcends all other considerations. It is difficult to believe that an all-wise and beneficent Deity could command us knowingly to injure our fellow-creatures, and it is certainly contrary to the whole spirit of Christianity.

And even coming nearer home, we do not allow our national religious faith to prevail regardless of consideration of earthly well-being, except as a scourge for what we dislike. Many devout Christians find no difficulty in taking heed of the morrow and of laying up treasure on this earth, and are, indeed, disposed to be censorious of the improvidence of those who literally obey the scriptural injunction. Quite apart from any question of hypocrisy, the acquiescence of society in this practice is due to the realisation that forethought is essential for human well-being.

One other illustration must be given as it touches the very root of theological opposition to Birth Control. Apart from the general exhortation to increase and multiply which was given when, according to the Scriptures, there were only a few people on the earth, the only passage in the Bible which can be read as condemnatory of Birth Control is the story of Onan, which has led to the general denunciation of all contraceptive devices by the Roman Catholic Church as "Onanistic." Now, what appears to be missed in this story is that Onan refused to conform to the definite Mosaic injunction recorded in Deuteronomy xxv. 5—10, that a man (presumably whether already married or not) is bound to marry the widow of his deceased brother, and to raise up seed to his brother, and that he shall be subject to the scorn of the community if he

refuses. It would therefore appear at least justifiable to ascribe the wrath of the Lord to Onan's refusal to obey the law, rather than to the particular manner in which he did so, as there is no other pronouncement against it in the Scriptures; but theological opponents are discreetly silent on this point.

What, however, I wish to point out is that those who call upon Old Testament Scripture as a basis of morality have no right to select isolated instances, but must accept the whole of its teaching, including the above injunction and the acceptance of polygamy. The fact, again, that we have not only discarded these practices, but look upon them with abhorrence, is an indication that human judgment and reason has pronounced them unsuited to civilised society as being incompatible with earthly happiness.

The evolution of morality in the Bible itself is shown by the contrast between New and Old Testament teaching, and the modern ascetic clerical doctrine that sex-union is only justifiable for reproduction, and that Birth Control is only permissible by partial or total continence within marriage is strongly negated by the teaching of St. Paul (1 Corinthians vii. 5): "Defraud ye not one the other, except it be with consent for a time, that ye may give yourselves to fasting and prayer; and come together again, that Satan tempt you not for your incontinency." In this chapter St. Paul clearly endorses the neo-Malthusian advocacy of general early marriage as a safeguard against sexual irregularity for those that have not a vocation to celibacy, and warns against attempts at prolonged continence in marriage.

And when we take a broader view and consider other religions, we find cases like the Areeoi cult of Polynesia, where Birth Control even by abortion is enjoined as a religious ordinance, and many others which permit it. These occur when circumstances have caused the pressure of population upon substance to be clearly recognised, and they afford instances of the general rule, that *Salus populi suprema religio* as well as *suprema lex*, and that all communities instinctively feel or at least act on the belief that what conduces to the welfare of the whole of society, apart from the advantage of any individual, is in harmony with the Divine will. We must believe that our intelligence was given us for the purpose of avoiding evils and



the improvement of our earthly lot, and if we recognise this by taking advantage of medical science to cure us of disease, and of inventions for increasing the comforts of existence, there is surely no reason why we should refrain from exercising our intelligence to escape from the dire consequences of over-population and the remorseless struggle for existence.

All this goes to show that Utilitarianism, however derided and disliked in name, is the real religion which we instinctively follow, and it certainly does not quarrel with the highest religious view of the marriage relation, although it recognises the futility of attempting to enforce it on those who are constitutionally or through their environment unable to rise to it. In view of the natural equality of numbers of the sexes, of the mutual support of lifelong companionship, and of common parental responsibility for children, enduring monogamic unions are most certainly the ideal, and promiscuity is strongly to be deprecated for its gratification of impulses without thought of their ultimate result, for the risk of disseminating race-blasting venereal disease, and for its general failure to provide satisfactory conditions for the rearing of children.

So far Utilitarians, purely from considerations of earthly happiness, are in full agreement with the most orthodox theologians and conventional moralists; but where they differ from them, *toto cælo*, is in the motive which prompts their opinion, and the methods by which they seek to achieve the ideal. The idea that sex-union is a part of our lower nature, unclean in itself, and only to be sanctified by a religious ceremony and expiated by unlimited child bearing, is absolutely abhorrent to the neo-Malthusians, who, on the contrary, view it as essential to the complete expression of sex love, and as a physiological and psychological need for the majority of virile individuals. This point of view was strongly expressed by Lord Dawson at the last Church Congress, and it is certainly in accordance with natural human feeling.

And on the practical side of promoting sexual purity the difference is no less fundamental: neo-Malthusians follow Huxley in regarding man as a risen ape rather than as a fallen angel, and primarily as an animal whose physical needs have to be met before a high degree of culture, refinement, and morality is to be expected from him. While yielding to no one in their respect and admiration

for self-sacrifice in a good cause, and recognising that such self-sacrifice will always be required, they are totally opposed to asceticism for its own sake or for the acquirement of merit. It is because of the neglect of the physiological or animal constitution of mankind that thousands of years of moral precept and thunderings have proved vain ; while the forty-five years of neo-Malthusian propaganda based on a recognition of this animal nature have resulted in an immense improvement in public decency, the almost complete disappearance of lewd suggestiveness, and their replacement by earnest and reverent discussion of moral problems. In view of the approximate natural equality of the number of the sexes, of the need for lifelong companionship and of common interest in and responsibility for children, general early monogamic marriage forms the natural and legitimate provision for sex expression, and all who are anxious for sexual purity should carefully consider how it may be facilitated, even though some may quite rightly reject all idea of coercion in the matter.

General early marriage, though possibly not a complete preventive of promiscuity, would most certainly prove the strongest possible deterrent to it. Not only would it satisfy the cravings of sex hunger and thus reduce the demand for promiscuity, but it would also reduce the supply of unmated women who are forced to minister to it. In a community where the numbers of the sexes were equal and all women were married at an early age the market for prostitution would be practically dried up even if we were to admit an inherent polygamous character in men. Whatever may be said by ascetic moralists concerning the fundamental unregeneracy of humanity, it is absolutely certain that no amount of moral precept will secure sexual purity without general early marriage, and the neo-Malthusians who are engaged in promoting this reform are doing far more for securing such purity than all the professed moralists, just as those who are providing plenty of innocent relaxation for the masses are doing far more for the cause of temperance than all the teetotal fanatics in the world.

Now, there is one way, and one way only, of promoting general early marriage, and that is to let it be known to all young people that they can marry as soon as they desire without the fear of the economic handicap of unlimited

families. Instead of exhorting our young men to postpone marriage until they have secured a good position, and turning a blind eye on any habits they may form in consequence, we should advise them to marry as soon as they can decently support themselves and their wives, and to postpone having children until their circumstances permit them to do justice to them. Among the wage-earning classes we may even go further and advise young men and women to marry in the early twenties when they are both earning. Quite apart from the economic and moral considerations above mentioned, it is highly desirable that economic factors should not enter too greatly into love and marriage, and that young people should learn to live together and cultivate mutual understanding before entering on the sacred responsibilities of parenthood. In fact, I am quite certain that as time goes on and the possibilities of Birth Control become recognised, an entirely new view of the marriage relation will arise. Biologically speaking, marriage ought to date from the first conception, and society has no concern in sexual relationships so long as all children are healthy and properly looked after by their parents, and that venereal disease is not propagated. The whole question of divorce will inevitably have to be reconsidered in this light.

Of course these great reforms will be viewed with horror by moralists of the old school, who have an ineradicative fear of the sex instinct unless it is rigidly cabined and confined. But, although there is certainly a risk of a considerable amount of irregularity in the transition stage, the remedy lies not in denunciation, but in education. It must be clearly recognised that contraceptive knowledge must and will become general even among unmarried persons, and attempts at suppression are both unjustifiable and futile. What is now urgently required is that a rational code of sex education should be developed on utilitarian lines, fully accepting and pointing out the advantages of Birth Control, but at the same time inculcating the sacredness of parenthood and the lifelong happiness to be derived from constancy, as contrasted with the fleeting pleasures of change. A brief attempt has been made in this direction in the Malthusian League's practical leaflet, but it appears to me that neo-Malthusians, having already achieved their first great aim of securing public interest and sympathy with the Birth Control movement,

should concentrate attention on sex instruction for the young in order to secure the best effects of their propaganda, and to remove the fear of sexual anarchy which deters many otherwise sympathetic people from endorsing the movement.

And this brings me to my last great point concerning religion itself. Religion has no necessary connection with theology ; it strictly means the moral principles by which we shape our conduct. Utilitarianism is scientific religion, and neo-Malthusianism is its most important outcome. The breeding of the human race for quality and quantity is the greatest of all possible powers for improvement, and it would be difficult to set limits to its possibilities. It would certainly be possible in a few generations to produce a race of human beings as far above the present average as racehorses are above poor broken-down hacks, and so endowed with strength and independence as to have no need for what Nietzsche calls " slave morality," which has been such a conspicuous feature of theological and social morality. Neo-Malthusianism is, in fact, a most important part of true religion, and its exponents who seek to direct Birth Control for the benefit of humanity and for race improvement are religious in the best sense of the term. It is certainly true that morality, like every other department of human affairs, requires its teachers, and if the Church, which is the self-appointed guardian of morality, would realise the real meaning of religion and develop its teachings in harmony with the advance of scientific knowledge, it could do immense good. Birth Control is fast becoming part of the definitely accepted code of all earnest, thoughtful people, and if the Church is to retain their respect it must hasten to accept it and to help in directing this wonderful new power for the best results. The Malthusian League has done its best to circulate the new knowledge, with due consideration of moral precautions, and it is greatly to be hoped that the Church will realise its possibilities, and join in the effort to give this great help to suffering humanity while accompanying it with sound moral teaching.



## BIRTH CONTROL AS AN ESSENTIAL BACKGROUND TO MONOGAMOUS MARRIAGE.

BY EDITH HOUGHTON HOOKER.

One of the facts that experience constantly reiterates is that the forces of evolution cannot be turned backward by human hands. Evolutionary processes may be retarded by the intervention of mankind, but eventually they prevail over stupidity, prejudice and misconception.

History is replete with evidence to show that monogamous marriage represents the evolution of sex, both in its racial and personal aspects, to the highest point of usefulness among human beings. Accompanied by suitable divorce regulations, giving love full scope as the final arbiter in the relations between the sexes, the one man and one woman union appears to be the ideal toward which humanity is trending.

Westermarck tells us that "marriage was derived from the family, not the family from marriage," and he adduces adequate ethnological proof that marriage has survived the test of time in response to the law of natural selection. The old saying that "the home is the backbone of the State" indicates the common appreciation of monogamous marriage as an essential institution for the preservation of the racial life.

Among human beings sexual selection is phrased as the spiritual emotion called Love. This mysterious and potent force that binds men and women together in a life-long union acts to insure the improvement of the race stock. At the same time it tends to stimulate the individual to his highest development when social conditions do not unduly interfere.

In considering Birth Control in its relation to monogamous marriage, it is of fundamental importance to recognise the dual nature of sex, first in its relation to the racial life, and second in its relation to the happiness and productivity of the individual. Monogamous marriage without Birth Control is, and presumably always will be, an untenable institution for large numbers of individuals. Human fertility far exceeds the physical strength of the average woman and the earning power of the average man.

Delayed marriage results in prostitution and venereal

disease, for the sex impulse is too powerful to be consistently denied by the majority of men long after full maturity has been achieved. If marriage is to take place in the early twenties, which under civilisation would seem to be the normal mating time, the number of offspring must be regulated to accord with the strength of the woman and the earning power of the man. Too frequent pregnancies may wreck the health of the wife, and result merely in non-viable products of conception, while a larger number of children than the father can support entails unhappiness, privation and eventual disillusion.

Almost any fairly reasonable person is ready to admit that common sense should operate in the utilisation of human fertility, but there are those who contend that self-control and not Birth Control should be the method adopted. These persons apparently consider the emotion upon which marriage is founded as functioning in its expression only in the production of offspring. This limited and puritanical viewpoint is doubtless derived from the association of sex with sin, for it regards love as lust, and looks upon the child as in the nature of an expiation.

That love in marriage has an additional function in that it tends to preserve the institution itself, and to protect wedlock against venereal infection is a fact patent to any student of social conditions. There may be those who will claim that these are sordid grounds for demanding the right of sexual expression for married people irrespective of procreation. Such persons will say that this viewpoint reduces the wife to the level of the prostitute, and that any man who is so base as to seek sexual satisfaction outside of wedlock merely because the family has reached maximal dimensions deserves to contract venereal disease.

In order to weigh fairly the soundness of this claim, let us examine the actual bases of monogamous marriage. Two persons of opposite sexes are brought together by the force that is called love, they marry in order legitimately to express their affection for one another through sex. We are, of course, here assuming that love is the only right basis for sex relations, and that marriages founded upon ulterior considerations such as money, social position, political expediency, and the like, are defiant of civilised sexual ideals. We are also assuming that procreation, in the absence of love, is not a sufficient ethical basis for marriage, for human beings should mate, not as the beasts

are mated, but in response to a spiritual emotion. This man and this woman love one another, therefore humanity grants them the right to sexual companionship under the name of marriage. Now, they may or may not desire to have children, they may or may not be able to have children, they may desire to have as many children as possible, or they may desire to have a certain number of children, and then no more.

Statistics show that the majority of divorces are sought by childless couples, therefore we may infer that the presence of children tends to convey permanence to the institution of marriage. Statistics, however, also show that the greatest number of desertions occur in families where the number of children exceeds the earning power of the father, therefore we may infer that too many children tend to disrupt the family, and to break up the home. Almost all prostitutes testify that the bulk of their substantial trade comes from middle-aged married men.

From this brief glance at the facts, monogamous marriage appears to be based upon love, children and the home, but as an institution to suffer when there are no children at all, or when there are too many children for the family to support. It is obvious that the common joy and responsibility involved in offspring must act to cement wedlock; why then do too many children tend to invalidate the institution? First, because love is one of its essential bases, and love in marriage normally expresses itself in sex relations. Second, because when the wife fears pregnancy, she tends to deny her husband the natural means of expressing his affection for her. Third, because the expression of an emotion tends to confirm it, and true sexual sympathy acts to overcome transitory disagreements. Fourth, because the intimacy of married life stimulates sexual desire, which when unsatisfied, often leads to illicit relations, divorce or separation. Those who would maintain that the wife falls to the level of the prostitute when she satisfies her husband's sexual passion, irrespective of procreation, fail to comprehend the significance of love in the relation of human beings.

Through their caresses the man and the woman are brought closer together, they express their affection without the paltry medium of words, and the troth being again plighted, they recognise one another once more as mates, and their spiritual and physical being is satisfied.

If, on the contrary, sexual expression is denied, the hunger remains, and unworthy objects take on an unreal lure potent in precise relation to the emotional repression. For the wife to permit her husband to express his genuine affection for her through sex is not in any wise to degrade herself to the level of the prostitute, for she accepts a real emotion, spiritual as well as physical, the essence of which is altogether lacking in the other instance.

Sex between married people is a communion of the body and spirit as one, the denial of which is in the end the repudiation of love itself. With sex relations barred when there must be no more children, the husband and wife become farther and farther apart, the ordinary friction of daily life is never compensated, they are in the deep sense no longer mates at all, and disharmony and disillusion follow. Sexual abstinence in married life is, therefore, seen to be a disintegrating force; it tends to separate husband and wife, and to eliminate the natural bond of monogamous marriage.

It is unfortunate that the average individual is so ignorant of the small compass of monogamy at the present time. The very great majority of men, probably 90 per cent., are unchaste before marriage, and afterwards an enormous number revert to their promiscuous habits. As a vehicle for the sex life of the race, promiscuity and not monogamy to-day is numerically the more important institution. More civilised people are actually promiscuous than monogamous at the present time. This may seem an exaggerated statement, but it is backed up by the facts. Venereal disease gives additional testimony. When we realise that only through monogamous marriage can the racial life be assured a maximum opportunity for full development, the importance of extending the sphere of this institution becomes apparent. The great number of celibate teachers, trained nurses and women workers in various fields, the large groups of unmarried men and the ranks of prostitution itself, might be vastly reduced if marriage did not necessarily involve unlimited procreation.

A complete sex life rightly lived, is of untold developmental significance to the individual, yet many persons of both sexes are denied the happiness of marriage merely because their economic status is not such as to permit large families. The sex impulse in humanity is too potent



and too vital a force to be dammed back by prejudice and prurience ; if its natural channel, monogamous marriage, is closed, by restrictive laws against divorce and Birth Control, it will break through, inundating the world with vice and venereal disease. If humanity would but look deeply into the facts with an impartial mind, it would see that evolution itself demands the full recognition of Birth Control. Marriage is essential to the ultimate creation of the superman, but marriage is an untenable institution for the majority of people when it is divorced from Birth Control.

Those who call themselves idealists and who contend that the expression of sex should be restricted solely to procreation do not comprehend the significance of love in human life. They overlook its creative power in the spiritual world, and reduce the relation of men and women to a species of prostitution, for which the price paid is the child. Mankind must remake its ideals in this sphere to the end that love may shine forth as the pure and lofty guardian of sex. Where the union between a man and a woman is blessed by love, there need be no fear that its natural expression will result in degradation.

Life and love are one, and the welfare of both the individual and the race will be best conserved when this fundamental truth is recognised. The problem of sex will never be solved by vain repression. Sex is affirmative, not negative, so far as humanity is concerned. Unrestricted procreation is an impediment to evolution, a menace to monogamous marriage, and an unnecessary handicap to man's happiness through self-expression.

Stupidity, prejudice and misconception still block Nature's path, but the power of love will one day overcome these obstacles. The divine experiment must be completed, and love, fully expressed, offers the only medium for this achievement.

CONTRACEPTION IS NECESSARY FOR THE  
ELIMINATION OF POVERTY, AND IS THERE-  
FORE MORAL.

BY B. DUNLOP, M.B.

There is a proportion of religious people who will demur to the view that contraception would be moral if it could be proved to be absolutely necessary for the elimination

of poverty, maintaining that the use of contraceptives is sinful, whatever the consequences may be. I believe, however, that the majority of religious people would say: "If it were proved that contraception is absolutely necessary for the elimination of poverty, we should regard it as moral; for we cannot believe that God wishes poverty to continue if, by using the intelligence and knowledge He has given us, we can eliminate it." I, therefore, wish to submit to you my economic argument for the contention that contraception is absolutely necessary for the elimination of poverty.

(1) *Even in the relatively prosperous decades immediately before 1914 the world's food supply was only being increased at the rate of 10, or less, per thousand a year.* This statement is supported by such estimates as are available of the world's food supply in different years. I prefer, however, to base it entirely on the fact that before 1914 the world's population was increasing at the rate of only 10, or less, per thousand a year. I frankly admit that this contention rests upon a Malthusian assumption that the survival rate (*i.e.*, the natural increase of population, or the birth rate *minus* the death rate), still generally represents the rate at which the food supply of a country is being increased. To me the survival rate certainly represents (see my paper in the Medical Section) the food increase rate of a country, if that country still has many underfed people in it, and also if it does not have its population increased by immigration. To the world as a whole this applies much more obviously. When one considers the poverty and struggle of the vast majority of the world's inhabitants, one has to admit that there must be quite a negligible waste of food in the world, and that the world's survival rate must be a fairly accurate measure of its food increase rate. Moreover, according to at least one well-known estimate, the world's population was only increasing at a rate of about 5 per thousand a year, and I believe it to be the true one. So my "10, or less" allows a large margin for any increasing waste, and for errors of estimation. It might be added that the war has greatly reduced the world's food production, but this effect of the war may pass off quickly.

(2) *There is no reason to believe that the world's food supply will ever be increased any faster than it was being increased in the decades immediately before 1914.* Indeed, there is

considerable reason to believe that the world's food supply will soon cease to be increased at all. The late Sir William Crookes predicted a coming decline of food production in the world unless nitrates to replenish the soil were manufactured from the nitrogen in the atmosphere, which is generally a very costly process ; and Professor Henry E. Armstrong, F.R.S., stated in *The Times* of January 6th that the world's food supply would now diminish owing to the scarcity of phosphates in the world, and cited many large tracts, including the wonderful first wheat lands of Canada, which were becoming relatively infertile from the exhaustion of the phosphates in the soil.

(3) *Without contraception, the world's birth rate could not be reduced below 28.5 per thousand a year.* What was the lowest birth rate before 1877, the year when contraception began to spread rapidly in Europe and started the falling birth-rate movement ? Except for France, Belgium, Ireland and Norway, there had not been a country whose birth rate was not well over 30 per thousand a year, as the world's birth rate still is to-day. France, and presumably Belgium, had already adopted contraception. Ireland had a low birth rate because always so many of her young men and women emigrated and had their large, poverty-causing families in other countries. The case of Norway impressed me when I read Malthus. He found that Norway had an extraordinarily low birth rate about the beginning of the nineteenth century, because the men were not allowed to marry until they had passed through the army, because even then very many of them could not marry until their parents or others died and vacated their farms, and because Norway was a small and purely agricultural community where the need for parental prudence was unusually obvious and appreciated. And how low did the Norwegians then keep their birth rate with that unique amount of sex repression ? Or rather, as we may be certain that there was as widespread an amount of auto-eroticism among them as prevails in all countries where late marriage is the rule, one should ask : How low did the Norwegians keep their birth rate with that unique amount of abstention from sexual intercourse ? They only kept their birth rate down to 28.5 per thousand a year !

(4) *There is no reason to believe that the so-called " safe*

*period*” method of Birth Control (now allowed by the Roman Catholic Church) would alone keep the birth rate down below 28·5 per thousand a year. Here I wish to draw your very special attention to the gradual and immensely significant advance which has been taking place in the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church to Birth Control. Only about ten years ago a pamphlet on marriage, by Father Keating, could be bought in the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Westminster which upheld the old Roman Catholic doctrine that married couples must not limit their families even by complete abstention, and not even if it were probable that mentally defective children would be born! Next, complete abstention was allowed. A few years later the Right Rev. Monsignor Browne made a pronouncement (see p. 393 of the First Birth Rate Commission Report) that the intermenstrual or *tempus ageneseus* or so-called “safe period” method of Birth Control was permissible under certain circumstances. After this, one often heard Roman Catholics saying that this method was “moral restraint,” and was allowed by their Church; and in the last few days we have had Father Degen and Father Mahoney stating publicly and explicitly that the Roman Catholic Church allows it. However, it is so irksome and unsatisfactory a method of Birth Control that no large proportion of married couples would adhere to it, and it is so uncertain a method that even if all the couples in the world were to adopt and adhere to it, the birth rate could probably not be reduced below 28·5 per thousand by it alone. It might be added here that there is the beginning of a movement among Roman Catholics in favour of sterilisation of the unfit—sterilisation being, not castration, but a very satisfactory method of permanent contraception. The Roman Catholics have had to yield to the Birth Control movement, and now confine their opposition to contraception by mechanical or chemical methods and by onanism.

(5) *A birth rate of 28·5 per thousand a year means that the population is trying to increase at a rate of over 18 per thousand a year.* This is so because a population with a birth rate of 28 per thousand a year would have a death rate of 10 per thousand, *i.e.*, would have an average duration of life of 55·5 years, if there were ample good food for all (see my paper in the Medical Section).

(6) *Therefore, if the world's inhabitants even managed by*

*“moral restraint” alone to keep their birth rate down to 28·5 per thousand a year, as the Norwegians did, they would still be trying to increase at about double the rate at which the world’s food supply was being increased before 1914. This means that they would be trying the impossible, and would merely be perpetuating serious food shortage, i.e., poverty.*

*(7) Therefore, without a world birth rate far below 28·5 per thousand a year, i.e., without contraception, poverty cannot be eliminated. I think I have proved that, as I have often argued with Christian friends: “If God disapproves of contraception, He must approve of poverty.”*

### CONTROL OF PARENTHOOD AS A MORAL PROBLEM: THE CASE FOR AND AGAINST BIRTH CONTROL.

BY SIDNEY E. GOLDSTEIN (Free Synagogue, New York).

Birth Control, or the control of parenthood, is a scientific problem ; it is a legal problem ; it is also a moral problem. Because it is as much a matter of morals as of economics and law and science it comes within the range of religious discussion, and must concern all ministers and every man interested in the establishment of ethical standards and the development of their implications. No one of us can escape the duty to study a programme so world-wide in its sweep, and to declare ourselves upon a movement so elemental in its appeal, a movement that some men welcome with hope in their hearts, and others condemn as a menace to our social and spiritual welfare.

Doubt comes not when we discuss the defective ; but when we turn to Birth Control among those who are physically, mentally and morally fit to become parents. Before we consider the case for and against Birth Control, however, let us acknowledge what we know to be the truth : that large sections of society are everywhere consciously and deliberately limiting the birth rate. This is not a matter of personal opinion ; it is a statement based upon close observation, special investigations, and a study of the vital statistics of civilised countries. These statistics prove that the birth rate in England has dropped from 36 per thousand in 1877 to less than 25 just before the war ; and in the fact that a similar story is told in almost every State

in Europe and in America. The question to-day is not : Shall we control the birth rate ? The question now must be framed in this way : Is the control of parenthood wise and right ? Shall the knowledge that is now in the possession of some sections of society be extended to all ? By "extended" I do not mean, let me emphasise, indiscriminate and promiscuous distribution of information. I mean the scientific instruction and education of men and women, married or about to be married, by licensed and expert physicians and nurses.

The arguments against Birth Control sum themselves up in four sentences. First, Birth Control leads to race suicide ; second, Birth Control is contrary to the law of the State ; third, Birth Control encourages immorality ; fourth, Birth Control violates the commandments of God. What validity and value have these arguments ? Do they rest upon the solid foundation of fact ? Those who speak of race suicide point, as a rule, to the large number of wealthy women who are without children. It is true that many women of the wealthy classes do not have children ; but it is also true that these women are more conspicuous than representative of womankind and that their childlessness is not altogether a matter of regret.

The second argument is that Birth Control is contrary to the laws of the State. This is true of a majority of our States, but not universally true, even in America, and the arguments based on such laws can be disregarded in a paper presented to an International Conference.

No legal tradition can be allowed to curb or cripple a movement that means improvement and progress of the human race.

The third argument is that Birth Control encourages immorality and desecrates marriage. The burden of proof rests upon those who advance this argument. It is for them to prove that there is more immorality and a lower standard in married life in America and England and Holland to-day than there was forty or fifty years ago. Nowhere have I found even an attempt to prove this contention. To say that Birth Control leads to immorality among the unmarried means only one thing. It means that the morality and chastity of women is based upon fear. No fouler indictment could be framed against the virtue of womanhood. Women are virtuous not because they fear the consequences of sin, but because they

reverence the right. No knowledge that we can place in their hands will shake the foundation upon which their ethical life is built. To say that Birth Control leads to a desecration of marriage is to assume that there is more immorality and lower standards in small families than in large families. I have taken considerable pains to study the moral standards in families both large and small, and I do not find that the standards in small families are lower than those in large families. On the contrary, I frequently find that in families in which there are many children, all of them are herded into a small home ; there is neither the time nor the room nor the privacy that is necessary for the cultivation of the finer sentiments, and the sanctities that we associate with married life. The holiness of marriage does not depend upon conception ; it does not depend upon contraception ; it depends upon the sense of consecration that a man and woman feel who come together to live in the spirit of an exalted ideal of love. When this sense of consecration is present, no shadow of immorality can enter the temple of married life ; when it is absent, nothing can save us from destruction.

The fourth argument—the one that is expected to silence all opposition—is that Birth Control violates the commandments of God. There are some ministers of religion, I know, who speak as if they had received a special and privileged Divine communication. No such message has come to me, nor have I ever seen a message that bears within itself the evidence of being an authentic mandate from the Deity on the subject of Birth Control.

What now, is the case for Birth Control, what are the arguments that have convinced so many men and women that Birth Control is a legitimate and necessary social movement, with deeper moral and spiritual implications ? The first argument is the child. No one can study child life in large families and not realise the danger to childhood. The statistics gathered by the Children's Bureau at Washington show that the death rate among children in families in which there are eight children and more is two and a half times that in families in which there are four children or less. In large families, moreover, it is impossible for each child to get the tender care and thoughtful supervision needed if they are to be equipped for a serviceable career in the complex life that is ours to-day. How often older boys and girls in trouble tell us

the same story : " I did not get much care when I was little, how could I ? There were too many of us." Fathers and mothers do not mean to neglect their children ; but when they have too many crowded about them in their home they cannot give to each child the study and the stimulation and the guidance that each one requires. It is because we love little children that we want to guard them against the dangers that develop in large families, and that make tenderness and devotion and fulness of love on the part of parents almost impossible.

The second argument is the mother. No one outside doctors and nurses and those associated with hospitals can know the terrible price that women pay for their own ignorance and our indifference. Too many and too frequent confinements undermine the strength and health of mothers, and lead too often to premature and preventable death.

Woman is no longer either the property or the sport of man. She has freed herself from the serfdom of centuries. She has won for herself many rights, and one of the most sacred is the right of voluntary maternity. Women have every reason to rejoice in this right, for voluntary maternity means a longer life for mothers ; it means a continuance of the precious influence of the mother in the life of her children ; it means that the mother will have the time and strength to cultivate those powers that are peculiarly her own, and that, when cultivated, introduce into the world a richness and fragrance and beauty without which we would be deprived of some of our rarest treasures.

The third argument is social welfare. Twenty years and more in social service teach me that families often become a liability and a burden solely because they grow too large and increase too rapidly. My studies show that many and many a family slips down to the line of need and destitution for the simple reason that too many children are born to parents who have a very limited working and earning capacity. The great mass of workers the world over will free themselves much more speedily when they come to see that ignorant and irresponsible procreation only impedes their own advance.

The fourth argument is national and international peace. It is difficult to study the history of India and China and



not come to the conclusion that much of the misery of these unhappy countries is the result of centuries of uncontrolled breeding of children. Excessive increase of population means periodic visitation of famine and plague, and the horrible custom of infanticide. It is difficult to study world-history and escape the conviction that over-population is often the cause and more frequently an excuse for war. In 1914, Germany demanded more territory to accommodate her people. To-day Japan is seeking a section of China and Siberia in order to care for the Japanese who overflow the island empire.

The final argument is that Birth Control vouchsafes us some measure of control over the future. We have not hesitated to extend our control over nature; we do our utmost to bend nature to our use. We have not hesitated to extend our control over vegetation; for decades we have been experimenting with seeds and plants and flowers. We have not hesitated to extend our control over the animal kingdom; for centuries we have watched the breeding of sheep and cattle and horses, and within recent years we have turned breeding into a science.

It is possible through Birth Control to relieve ourselves and society of many imperfections; it is possible through Birth Control to free ourselves for the realisation of those splendid visions that summon us from time to time to vaster enterprises and loftier levels of spiritual culture. Those who feel a passion for finer realms of thought and conduct and comradeship find in Birth Control an instrument of exceeding promise and power.

No movement that can do these things; no movement that can guard the child, preserve the mother, relieve the extent and pressure of social distress, remove one of the excuses and causes of war, no movement that can invest us with the power to determine to some degree the character of posterity, that can teach us to so control our creative instincts that we shall create not suffering and sorrow, but joy and beauty, a world in which each baby will be wanted and welcomed and cherished, can be anything but moral.

THE LEGITIMACY OF EARLY MARRIAGE  
AND BIRTH CONTROL.

BY M. R. SAMEY, M.A., M.D., D.P.H.  
(Ex-District Health Officer of Tippera).

At the prompting of my friend Professor Gopalji Ahluwalia, founder of the Indian Birth Control Society, Delhi, I write this paper for the Fifth International neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference. I do not essay to be exhaustive or *ex cathedra* in this, but merely attempt at making heard the voice of the 315 odd millions of this sub-continent in the council of the world. It is always pleasant to get out of the meshes of parochial interest and, unhampered by racial considerations actuated by political expediency, to speak out and give a bit of our minds in the halls where is articulated a babel of thoughts and tongues.

It is coming to be recognised that the larger interests of humanity cannot be carried away in the ring fence of little national interests. Science has deserted the cloister and has set out on excursion with a vengeance to the hearths of the million.

The efforts of the Malthusian League to bring home to the multitude the heavy responsibilities of unlimited parentage and place at their disposal preventative measures are indeed praiseworthy, especially in view of its being a thankless task.

Men are separated by their opinions. But Pascal has said they will never be strong enough to do without compassion. This sentiment of compassion is at the foundation of all great movements, and the Birth-Control Movement is one of such magnificent magnitude.

Bacon says, "In youth wives are our mistresses, companions in middle age, and nurses when we get old, so that a man has always reasons in favour of matrimony." Hufeland considered that the married state is an indispensable requisite for the moral perfection of mankind. He contended that it prevents debilitating dissipation on the one hand, and cold and unnatural indifference on the other; that it moderates and regulates enjoyment, whilst it promotes domestic joy, which is the purest, the most uniform and the least wasting of any, the best suited to physical as well as moral health. Statistics

show that married people live longer than single. There is no doubt that bachelors take less care of their health than married men, having no partner in life to keep, so to speak, a strict eye upon them. They also, generally speaking, have no one with whom they can share their trials and sorrows, so making the burden of them greater to bear.

No less a philosopher than Bacon holding his brief for matrimony at all times, held that the protagonists of celibacy and belated marriages on economic grounds miss much grist for their mills. Marriage must, then, be accepted as the only course of wisdom for an even tenor of life.

Then, matrimony being inevitable, why not early to avoid sowing wild oats in youth. The office of a parent is an exalted one, no doubt, and a period of apprenticeship is to be served to discharge the onerous duties of the high office. The bewildered youth asks how to shoulder the consequences of half a century of wedlock? What about the baker's dozen of children that must be the upshot of the union?

I concede that it is most wicked to usher immortals into existence, and then leave them to suffer for the necessaries of life, and, above all, to let them grow up ignorant and depraved. The higher we can carry those in the scale of improvement who owe their existence to us, the more perfectly we fulfil our duties to them, and obey the commands of God, uttered through the institutes of nature. The remedy lies in their own hands. The Malthusian League places in their hands effective measures of contraception, quite harmless and safe.

The Hindu *shastras* were fully alive to the pernicious effects of prolific progeny and placed so many safeguards and effective checks on copulation in wedlock by way of astral and calendary restrictions as to admit of hardly a couple of days in the month. Then the practice of knowing one's wife from motives of passion was sternly discountenanced and progeny was the prime motive of legalised wedlock. Only the first-born son was known as such (*putra*), and the rest *kamajas*, or "passion products." The highest meritorious ritual was the practice of "man and wife" sharing the same bed yet avoiding carnal pleasure, and known as the "Great *Asidhara*." Promiscuous intercourse was abhorred and debarred, and *Varna Sankara*, *Jathi Sankara* were sedulously guarded against.

The eugenic idea which Sir Francis Galton perfected to a science is thoroughly portrayed in the "Mahabharata the Great," The Illiad of India. The Great Vyasa, the author of the above, procreated from the Dowager Consorts Royal of Santanu, Amba, Ambica and Ambalica the Great Pandu, Dhritarasthra and Vidura the Good. The first-born Dhritarasthra was blind, owing to his mother having embraced Vyasa in disgust with eyes blindfolded. Pandu was the victim of nervous tremor, the teleology of his mother having quaked in embrace, and Vidura, born of a substitute Sudra woman, was the very emblem of purity, reverence and knowledge.

These instances are of the past, and this country is content to rest on its oars. But what do we see to-day in India? Poverty, stark, naked, undisguisable, stinks in the nostrils with an abominable stench tenaciously.

Compulsory marriage of girls at their pre-puberty stage only saddles girl-wives to boy-husbands. With a millstone around their neck, these boys plod on in the wonderful Indian 'Varsities to come out fully emasculated for the burdens, trials and temptations of life.

A horde of children of cheap-jack appearance throng their hearths and as a positive nuisance a female progeny has come to be looked upon. They must marry their daughters, and match-making is tying a Gordian knot.

The collegiate parvenu sitting in the hired purlieu keeps his head in the very stars, and the poor father of a girl has to "kowtow" seven times before this lord of the celestial empire—for is not terrestrial empire already lost to him, a helot in his own land?—deigns to speak.

His Majesty consents to marriage. What follows? kitchen drudgery.

Dockers being paid better than doctors, and miners better than masters of arts, these sorry specimens of humanity throng the office purlieus to be hooted out neck and all in these days of Inchcape Committees and vigorous application of the retrenchment rod.

The wrong side of the Government ledger is swelled by a crushing military budget, and the Indian *literatti* who, like the Portuguese in Europe, depend on jobs, however poorly paid, are on the verge of extinction by starvation. Dr. Nansen, when he is speaking of the Russian Famine, gives vivid pictures of famine-stricken areas of Russia, and how we wish that some high-souled Indian Nansen

would go out and portray the eternal poverty of the Indian population before well-fed countries!

Any measure that essays to grapple with the "poverty problem" must be hailed with delight in India, and scientific Birth Control is a legitimate step in this direction. China and India belie the doctrine of strength of numbers. The multiplication of helots in the Empire is condemned by the ultra-politician Gandhi Mahatma.

Human life cheapens in value, and the labour market is glutted by this unrestricted procreation of species. The formation of the Indian Birth Control Society comes as a harbinger of relief, and is better late than never.

Like the Devil, the conservatives quote the Bible against these artificial limitations of family, and much spade work is to be done before Indian Zoilism is levelled to the ground by the handful of neo-Malthusian enthusiasts.

But the logic of facts is eloquent, and the Indian middle class which is hard hit by the present economic slump will readily take to anything that holds out a way of relief from the thraldom of poverty. The might of thew and sinew that neo-Malthusian measures impart to the helpless middle classes will be hailed with delight.

With the words of James Allen I conclude :—

Hail to thee, Man Divine, the conqueror  
Of sin and shame and sorrow ; no more weak,  
Wormlike and grovelling art thou ; no more  
Wilt thou again bow down to things that weak  
Scourgings and death upon thee ; Thou dost rise,  
Triumphant in thy strength ; good, pure and wise.

#### RESOLUTION.

At the conclusion of the session the following resolution was put to the meeting :—

"The Fifth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference desires to point out that the practice of Birth Control is not contrary to the dictates or spirit of Christianity, but has been advocated from motives of the deepest compassion for the poor and suffering, and as the only practicable means of securing the highest ideal of marriage and sexual purity. It claims that this ideal can only be secured by making it generally known that young people can marry without the fear of unlimited families, and that universal early marriage affords the only possibility of

eliminating sexual irregularities. It further points out that the spread of contraceptive knowledge can be and has been carried out through the medical profession and by means of sealed booklets issued against suitable declarations in such a manner as to prevent its dissemination among young unmarried persons, and calls upon the Church and all those who have human welfare and public morality at heart to join in the provision of such instruction on these lines, and to supplement it with such moral sexual instruction as will help to guard it against abuse."

Carried, with two dissentients.

*(Signed)* GORDON LANG,

*President of the Section.*

*Thursday, July 13th.*—MORNING SESSION.

## EUGENIC SECTION

*President* . PROFESSOR E. W. MACBRIDE, D.Sc., M.A.,  
LL.D., F.R.S.

THE PRESIDENT, in opening the session, delivered an address on :—

### BIRTH CONTROL AND BIOLOGICAL LAW.

In discussing the subject of Birth Control a zoologist has several great advantages to start with. He knows that the life of man is governed by the same laws as those which control the existence of the lower animals, and that if those laws are violated disaster will overtake us as surely as if we were a race of rats or birds ; and we therefore believe that from the study of the lives of our animal relatives valuable light is thrown on the probable result of human tendencies.

We know that every species of animal and plant, if allowed to exercise unchecked its natural powers of reproduction, would in a few years completely overrun the earth and crush out every other form of life. The reason that this catastrophe does not occur is the terrific death rate, which falls principally on the young. The average frog begins to breed at the age of five years, and produces about 4,000 eggs in the season. If we assume that a female frog lives to the age of seven years (a most modest assumption), and breeds three times, it will in the course of its life give birth to 12,000 young, and of these, on an average, only two survive to reach maturity. That represents an infant death rate which beggars all human comparison.

Death may be due to starvation, overcrowding, and consequent poisoning by excreta, desiccation, and so on. But under ordinary conditions the most frequent cause of death is through the young one falling a prey to some predatory animal.

Under ordinary stable conditions, however, the proportion of one species to another does not vary much from year to year. It is true that amongst fish, one year may be so favourable for the survival of fry as to produce a population of adult fish which will stock the seas for years. But on the whole, the herring population, for instance, does not vary very much if we compare not years, but decades, with each other. It follows, therefore, that the reproductive powers of each species are just sufficient to balance the ravages made on its numbers by external foes.

What I have said is, of course, common knowledge to every well-instructed student of zoology, and the same general balance between reproductive capacity and chances of survival has prevailed in the past with regard to man. If we, however, cast a glance backwards over human history, we must concede that the human race as a whole has been steadily increasing in numbers as the ages have rolled on, and as man's power to produce food has increased. Anthropologists would not estimate the population of the vast territory which now constitutes Canada, in pre-Columbian days, at more than 500,000; the population at present is nine millions. The population of England, as computed from the entries in Domesday Book, was about two and a half millions in A.D. 1100; to-day (excluding Wales) it is 35 millions.

If, through any cause the power of producing food in any region falls off, the population inevitably declines, either by emigration or famine. In Central Turkestan deserted cities are unearthed half buried in sand, situated in places where the surrounding country certainly would not now provide food for any considerable population. Northern Africa once was the granary of the Roman Empire; now the desert in many places reaches almost to the Mediterranean, and the country supports only a scanty population of Arabs.

Now, from very early times in human history, as soon as the tribe with its common interests had been evolved, the problem of preventing the multiplication of the population beyond the capacity of the food supply had to be faced and dealt with. Hence, some form of Birth Control, or more properly speaking, survival control, is found amongst all primitive peoples. Amongst the native Australians the penis was split lengthwise so as to allow of the loss of the spermatozoa. In certain of the Pacific



Islands all children in a family above two were drowned outside the reef. As all classical students know, in Greek and Roman times there existed the practice, sanctioned by custom of exposing all unwanted children in jars, so that they died of exposure. As Professor Myers has pointed out, there came a period in the development of Greek civilisation when the known (Mediterranean) world had been thoroughly exploited by the Greek colonists, and no further expansion was possible, with the then known modes of food production. When this limit was reached severe Birth Control was inculcated. The conquests of Alexander opened up new fields and fresh colonisation, and so permitted a further expansion of the Greek race.

The triumph of Christianity put an end to the practice of infanticide, and so ushered in a time of unrestricted propagation. Infanticide to excess and the avoidance of the marital tie with its responsibilities were potent causes in bringing about that decay of virility which led to the downfall of the Roman Empire. The baby crop failed; the hard-working Latin peasantry with their small farms disappeared, and were replaced by herdsmen who looked after pasture. When, about A.D. 400, Italy was threatened by a Hun invasion, Stilicho, the Roman general, had the greatest difficulty in raising a sufficient army to repel it. His whole campaign was hampered by the knowledge that if his army was defeated there were no reserves available.

When Greece, in the reign of Nero, received the grant of full autonomy from that Emperor, he expressed his regret that such a small remnant of the original population must be sacrificed, partly at any rate to the fundamental aridity of Greece, and the opportunities for Greek migration and overseas prosperity which existed under the Roman Empire.

The opponents of Birth Control will now maintain that since the times of the Roman Empire and the triumph of Christianity in Western Europe, things have righted themselves without Birth Control. It devolves on those, who like myself, regard Birth Control as an urgent question of to-day, to show that there is something unprecedented and menacing in the present situation which was not so prominent in the past. I think that it is quite possible to do this—and the two new factors may be summed up in the phrases, industrialism and humanitarianism, or, put more simply, factories and factory legislation.

Up till the beginning of the nineteenth century England was, so far as food was concerned, practically a self-supporting country ; nay, more, each district was largely self-supporting. The people of Devon, for instance, lived principally on the produce of Devon. The majority of the people were engaged in agriculture, and though peasant proprietors were few the position of the majority of the tenant farmers was in many ways equal, if not preferable to that of peasant proprietors. Farms were passed on from father to son, and when a former bursar of Trinity College, Cambridge, took office, he discovered that certain families had been tenants of College farms for a longer period than the College had existed, and it was founded in 1550. During this long period the population of England had only slowly increased, and yet, so far as we know, early marriages and large families were the rule, and no form of Birth Control existed. The population and the food supply, therefore, must have been adjusted to each other by some form of natural selection. I think a little consideration will show how this selection worked. Travel facilities were few and utilised only by the rich, so that the people of each locality were largely confined to it and all their interests centred in it. When, therefore, the renewal of leases was considered, or the tenancy of cottages determined, the worthless and incapable were not considered, and in a small community every one knew who these were, and so undesirables could not marry and found families. Then the death rate from disease was appalling. A historian has said : "In the good old days people died in the country as quickly as they now die in the slums of cities, as quickly as white people now die on the coast of Guinea."

Dean Inge has calculated that the Black Death wiped out between two-thirds and three-fourths of the population of England, and he further states that the condition of the agricultural labourers in the succeeding century in consequence of this diminution in their numbers was better than it had been for centuries before or than it was for centuries after this time.

A similar visitation traversed England in 1666, and must have thinned the population tremendously. The inspection of old parish registers in Norfolk throws a lurid light on the awful death rate that attended the plague. It is worthy of note, then, when natural checks fail to prevent the growth of animal populations, their numbers, like

those of human races, are every now and then reduced by an epidemic of disease. This is stated to happen every few years to the "Jack Rabbit" populations which inhabit the Mackenzie Basin in Canada. The ravages of "rinderpest" amongst the wild Ungulate population of South Africa may also be cited as an example.

The Irish famine of 1846 and the Russian famine of to-day are also instances of natural correctives to unduly expanded population.

But the position in England became radically altered when we became a manufacturing population. Then our food supply began to come in necessary quantities from abroad, and our capacity to support a population was measured by our ability to exchange the products of our manufactures for food produced elsewhere. Under these circumstances the population of England increased 300 per cent. between the years 1800 and 1900. Large families were the rule, and in the 'seventies the birth rate touched 36 per thousand, which was the pre-war birth rate of Russia. But the infant death rate was appalling, so that the population probably did not increase faster than the food purchasing capacity.

Since 1890, however, the public began to take the infant death rate to heart, and legislative and voluntary assistance was accorded to poor mothers, and the infant death rate has begun to go down. Free education, free school meals, and free medical attendance have followed in rapid succession, and all these benefits have been provided by taxing the thrifty and saving members of the community, who have, in consequence, limited their families. Thirty years ago the clergy used to be reckoned as amongst the most prolific members of the community, and they are rightly regarded as breeders of talent, on account of the number of their children who rose to distinction in science, literature, and public service. To-day, clerical families consist of one or two; and the same is true of doctors' families. Whilst, however, the birth rate as a whole has fallen, the birth rate of the lowest strata of the community has not appreciably diminished. Road sweepers, dock labourers, and people of that class still indulge in large families, and one of the Labour Members of Parliament was congratulated a short time ago on the birth of his thirteenth child. The consequence, therefore, of our baby-saving campaign is to alter the composition of the

population—to increase the proportion of the poorer strains, and to diminish the proportion of the better strain.

To this conclusion it may be objected that intrinsically the children of the poor are just as good material as the children of the better classes, and that so long as the baby crop is good, it does not matter in the national interest what social stratum it comes from. But this position will not bear investigation. Great progress has been made with the effort to measure mental ability, and the validity of the Simon and Binet scale is now generally accepted by psychologists. This scale was evolved as the outcome of thousands of mental tests applied to the school children of Paris. These tests were selected so as to be entirely independent of the substance of what the children were taught. It transpired that a standard of mental capacity could be determined which should be reached by a normal child at each year of its existence up till the age of fifteen. Backward children take longer to reach these standards, and forward children reach them earlier, but, generally speaking, at the age of fifteen mental capacity is fully evolved, although mental attainment naturally depends on the quality and quantity of the education provided.

Now there exist numbers of defective children whose mental capacity never expands beyond that normal to children of certain ages. They may live to be old men and women, nevertheless they remain mentally children. They are divided into groups of different "mental ages," according to the age attained by the normal child when it reaches the standard which they never pass. People of the mental ages of one, two and three are classed as idiots, they are unable to feed or dress themselves, and are consequently locked up in asylums, as otherwise they would perish.

Those of the ages four, five and six can feed and dress themselves, and do simple tasks under skilled direction, but as they are unable to maintain themselves in the world, are also looked after in charitable institutions, and are termed imbeciles. But those who attain the mental ages of seven, eight and nine are just able to maintain themselves, in the most unskilled, lowest paid occupations; they are termed in England "feeble minded," in America, "morons," and they constitute a fertile source of addition to our population, and an ever present source of con-

tamination to society. The justification for this indictment we must now consider.

First, this mental defect is hereditary. This, in my opinion, is one of the most important results achieved by the study of heredity. The proof of this conclusion has been worked out in America as the result of the most painstaking research, the credit for which is due to Dr. Goddard, of the Vineland Institute, New Jersey. This is an institution which receives, cares for, and strives to educate mentally defective children. Now Dr. Goddard established a service of field workers. These were educated men and women who spent some time in Vineland in order to study the children: to see their peculiarities and to learn how the mental tests were applied. Then they were sent to visit the relatives of the children, ostensibly to carry tidings of the health and progress of particular inmates, for which the relatives who had been relieved of the care of these persons were very thankful, but in reality to discover in friendly conversation all they could about the family history of the inmates, and to draw up a chart of the family tree of every child in the institution. Where the workers were convinced that a certain relative had been a defective, a black dot was placed on the chart; where it was clear the relative was normal, the letter N was inserted; where the evidence was insufficient to give a decision, a blank space or circle was marked. The same chart was worked over at intervals of years by quite different field workers as the result of independent investigations; the result was clearly that the chart was blackened as more evidence became available.

The most important results obtained were as follows: when two mentally defective people marry, *all* the children are defective. To this rule, out of 400 cases examined, there were only one or two exceptions, and these exceptions can justly be attributed to adultery on the part of the female parent. In one case mentioned by Goddard, two defective white people had a family of eleven children, of whom nine were defective and two normal, but these two normal were black.

Incidentally this case shows that mental defect being a Mendelian recessive, is of a totally different nature from the characters which distinguish natural races from one another. The negro is in many ways of a lower mental calibre than the white man, but this difference in level is

quite distinct from the steps of mental defect, and so negro fatherhood is able to raise defective motherhood to a normal level.

Goddard further showed that neither syphilitic disease or excessive alcoholism can be regarded as the causes of mental defect. Certainly, defective children occur amongst the offspring of syphilitics and alcoholics, but just as many defectives spring from stocks which are free from these taints. If we could explain how and why Mendelian recessives turn up in other strains, such as albino mice, we might be on the way to discover the origin of human defectives, but this we cannot do as yet.

The Americans have, where opportunity offered, applied the Simon-Binet tests to delinquents detained in prisons and asylums, and have made the extraordinary discovery that a large proportion of these, a proportion varying from 30 to 50 per cent., can be shown to be defectives. This includes criminals and prostitutes and habitual drunkards. Goddard emphasises the fact that defective self control is at the bottom of most of these defects. Even expert criminals are brought to justice by the commission of some appalling piece of folly which seems quite out of keeping with their cleverness in other directions. Again, he says that there are two kinds of drunkards—normally minded and mentally defective. The first kind, under the impulse of a great shock, are capable of pulling themselves up and throwing off completely the drink habit; the second variety will repent with tears and sign the pledge any number of times, and yet within a week after each repentance will be submersed in drink again.

Now our health authorities have never had the courage to institute similar enquiries in this country. Our policy for years before the war was a weakly sentimental yielding to the prejudices of the unselected mob. We have a Board of Control for the feeble-minded, which could easily start some researches such as these. A valued member of the Eugenics Education Society, Mr. Lidbetter, has devoted years of study to the investigation of parish records in the London area. He has shown that the same families, generation after generation, have contributed their quota of wastrels, criminals and paupers to the population, and the spread of education does not seem to have altered the incidence of these. In fact, as Dean Inge

has pointed out, if we compare the first half of the nineteenth century, during which there was no State-provided education, with the second half, during which elementary education was universal, we find in the first period fewer people who emerged into destruction from a working class origin than in the second.

It seems clear, therefore, that in the slums we are engaged in propagating an inferior class of people, and in endeavouring to lower their death rate and preserve all their children alive we are imposing such a burden on the well-to-do classes as to cause them to limit their families to one or two members so as to cease to be self-perpetuating.

But some people point to our empty Dominions as receptacles for our slum-bred population, and talk of the English race overspreading the world. Apart from the fact that were this really so the English race would be represented by very poor material in other countries, the fundamental fact is forgotten that the Dominions are self-governing communities, and resolutely refuse to accept these people at all.

To put the matter in another way, our colonies want immigrants of courage, initiative and adaptability, and these qualities are certainly not to be found amongst our lower classes. In Canada the only classes desired are domestic servants and people prepared to do rough pioneer farming. In Australia the same is true. In South Africa, in addition the immigrant must be possessed of considerable capital. None of these Dominions desire any addition to their town dwelling population. Now we have a superabundance of town-dwellers and rather a scarcity of agricultural labourers. All talk of emigration as an escape from the necessity of regulating our population is thus seen to be futile.

What, therefore, is to be done? Surely the only answer is that the birth rate amongst the prolific classes must be regulated and lowered. How is this to be enforced? The answer is (first) by spreading the knowledge of how to prevent conception, (second) by enforcing parental responsibility for the maintenance of children.

Numerous objections are raised by all sorts of people, especially ecclesiastical, to the first of these devices. In my opinion, all of these objections are founded on pure hypocrisy. All students of social affairs are agreed that methods of restricting or preventing conception are in

almost universal use amongst members of the middle and upper classes, and one is at a loss to know why the critics, who belong to these classes, should wish to deny to the poorer classes this knowledge. As it is, some measure of Birth Control is already practised by these, often by the most dangerous methods. Dr. Marie Stopes relates the case of a girl about twenty who came to her clinic with the request to be relieved of an illegitimate pregnancy. This girl had had six previous pregnancies, and in every case she had been relieved by her mother, who had procured abortion for her.

Then it is urged that if a woman is prevented from developing her natural fertility she becomes neurasthenic. If this were true we should find the vast majority of well-bred educated women neurasthenic, which is farcical. But even if it were true that some few women would run the risk of neurasthenia if they were prevented from having many children, would that not be a minor evil compared with the heart-breaking misery engendered by the endeavour to support a large family on inadequate means? Surely if we regard the welfare of the children alone there is no comparison between the two risks run.

The others urge that a knowledge of Birth Control would let loose a flood of immorality. No one is compelled to become immoral because he or she knows how to prevent conception; and what is the greater risk, that some people should indulge in illicit sterile embraces or that children should be born into the world with the enormous handicap of illegitimacy?

It may be added, finally, that the experiment of the State aiding, instead of preventing, the knowledge of anti-conceptual method has been actually tried in Holland. The results have been magnificent: poverty, disease and infantile mortality have decreased in a remarkable degree, the nutrition of children is so much improved that the stature of the Dutch conscripts has been increased by at least four inches.

Of course it is true that there will always be a residuum of people so utterly careless of the welfare of the State or of their prosperity as to breed reckless, and look to the State, *i.e.*, to their thrifty neighbours, to support their children. The only remedy for such conduct is sterilisation; this can be done either by X-rays or a slight superficial surgical operation. If the practice of voluntary



Birth Control became more widespread, then an enlightened public opinion would be found which would support measures of compulsory sterilisation against those who persist in having families at the public expense.

We may, perhaps, notice finally the argument against Birth Control based on the necessity for an abundant supply of cannon fodder for future wars. To this answer two replies may be given : first, it is physically impossible to support a much larger population on these islands than at present exists, and, second, the late war and the fate of the Russian armies demonstrates the impotence of mere cannon fodder. We want as many healthy, independent, well-bred men as we can support, and when we attain this limit we shall have the material for an army which will protect us against any possible foe.

### THE PROBLEM OF THE UNFIT.

BY HORATIO M. POLLOCK, Ph.D.

(Statistician, New York State Hospital Commission).

The diverse elements comprising human society have been roughly placed into two groups, namely, "life-givers" and "life-takers." To the former group belong the intelligent, industrious, thrifty and generous people who do the work of the world and carry its burdens ; to the latter group belong those who fail to a greater or less degree in meeting their responsibilities and become dependent in part, at least, on the former group. Life-givers are the promoters and upbuilders of civilisation ; life-takers block the wheels of progress and undermine the foundations laid by the life-givers.

Life-givers may be rich or poor, or of high or low rank. It is not their possessions or their position or station that counts, but rather their personal contribution to human welfare. An autocrat who lives in luxury and rules unwisely and unjustly is a life-taker of the grossest sort, while a humble artisan who does useful work in skilful way is a life-giver and is entitled to the respect and gratitude of his fellow men. Life-givers of genius, like Jesus and Buddha, who are able to work out universal principles governing human relations, or like Pasteur and Edison, who search out the secrets of nature, represent mankind at its highest and best. Through their efforts the whole

human race of the present and future is made richer and happier.

The life-takers are not a homogeneous group, but are composed of many types. Some are intelligent and well educated, but lack tact and adaptability; some are temperate, but also lazy and shiftless; some are rich through inheritance, but useless and vicious; some are religious, but lack capacity and initiative; many others are alcoholic, feeble-minded, psychopathic or delinquent. All are parasitic to some degree, and therefore are to be counted as unfit for independent existence. A considerable part of the life-takers might become useful by proper treatment; the others constitute a hopeless assortment of wrecks. The latter group of defectives and incurables are the big problem with which we must deal. Destroy them we must not; reform them we cannot; care for them we must, whether we like it or not.

With the influx of the population into cities the care of the mentally defective and the insane in homes has become less practicable, and consequently institution care is fast displacing home care. The burden of support of these classes is also being rapidly shifted from the family to the State. In States and countries where a high standard of institution care has been provided, the rate of increase of insane in institutions has far exceeded the rate of increase of population. Most State hospitals in America are now crowded far beyond their capacity. State care of mental defectives is usually limited to the lowest grades, and there are always more applicants for admission than can be accommodated. Apparently the burden of both the chronic insane and the mentally defective is continually becoming heavier.

Is the problem then hopeless? Must we go on building institutions to house a continually increasing number of the unfit? Must the products of the thrifty and industrious be for ever depleted to supply the non-productive? Must the general level of society always be kept down by the admixture of disintegrating elements?

Many measures for temporary relief are being advocated. Among the more promising of these may be mentioned the careful study and supervision of school children, the organisation of special classes for abnormal pupils, systematic vocational guidance for children who leave school early, mental clinics, and psychopathic hospitals

for the early treatment of incipient mental disorders, special institutions for defective delinquents, colonies for high-grade mental defectives where they may become self-supporting, and occupational therapy along productive lines for the mentally and physically sick.

These, with better laws regulating the production and distribution of wealth, should do much to improve conditions, but I see no hope for permanent relief unless society awakens to a full realisation of the situation and becomes willing to cast aside some of the prevailing rules and regulations relative to the procreation of the race. It is commonly observed that at the present time much more intelligence and wisdom are exercised in breeding domestic animals and plants than in propagating the human species. The latter is very largely a haphazard matter. Under our present marriage laws there is no opportunity to conserve in large measure for the benefit of the race the capacity, vigour and moral and physical beauty of specially gifted men and women. On the other hand, practically nothing can now be done to check the rapid multiplication of inferior stocks.

In spite of the rapid advancement of science and practical arts of the past half century, in spite of the general extension of institutions of learning, in spite of the higher standards of living and the improved conservation of life, there is practically no evidence that the human race is improving physically, mentally or morally. How could it improve under present methods of propagation? The few eugenic marriages of recent years are more than offset by the many matings of defectives. We have no racial ideals, no standards of selection. We know enough of the laws of heredity to give us a basis for definite measures for race improvement, but apathy and social and religious customs have thus far prevented any concerted action in this direction.

As we sow so shall we reap, was a common observation many thousands of years ago. This great biological principle has been used with marked success in the raising of grains and vegetables, cows and horses, but practically not at all in the raising of men.

What does it profit us to advance in the arts of civilisation if the human race is to deteriorate? What avails physics and chemistry if their discoveries are to be used for destructive purposes? Advanced civilisation demands

highly-developed men and women with strong moral purposes. Without these it cannot endure.

What we need is both positive and negative Birth Control ; positive Birth Control to insure the reproduction of men and women with superior gifts, and negative Birth Control to prevent the reproduction of the unfit.

It is time to cast aside precedents, prejudices and laws that stand in the way of racial progress, and to take a decided stand for race improvement. Mental defectives and psychopaths should not be permitted to procreate, and negative Birth Control should be encouraged among inferior stocks. Society is fully justified in using close supervision, segregation or sterilisation whenever necessary to prevent reproduction among the markedly unfit. Aggressive measures will be necessary to accomplish desired results.

We can never expect to be entirely free from the burden of the unfit, but by taking thought we can lighten the burden for ourselves and future generations. The emphasis must be continually placed on the prevention of disease and defect. The laws of physical and mental hygiene must become common knowledge and must be observed in the rearing and training of children. Venereal diseases must be stamped out. Sentiments that stand in the way of health and social safety must be disregarded. The knowledge of how to live that has been gained through many years of study must be diligently applied for the benefit of the race.

#### BIRTH RATE AND NATURAL INCREASE OF WHITES AND NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY PROFESSOR W. F. WILLCOX  
(Cornell University, Ithaca, U.S.A.).

By natural increase or decrease of a population is meant the increase or decrease resulting from the balance between the natural or biological processes of birth and death. The increase or decrease in the population of the earth in course of time is the only perfect example of a purely natural increase or decrease ; the increase or decrease in the population living on any definite part of the earth, like the United States, is a resultant of accessions partly by birth and partly by immigration, and of losses partly by

death and partly by emigration. In many countries it is difficult to distinguish between natural increase and what I may venture to call migratory increase ; in the United States this difficulty is well-nigh insurmountable. If it be asked : How many births occurred in the United States in 1920 ? The answer is, the number is unknown. If it be asked how many deaths occurred in the United States in 1920, the answer is the same. The number of immigrants, that is, citizens of other countries arriving in the United States with the intention of making it their place of permanent residence, is known with close accuracy. But the number of emigrants, that is, native or naturalised citizens of the United States leaving the country with the intention of establishing a permanent residence elsewhere, is not known, for the Bureau of Immigration has no information about whether departing American citizens intend or do not intend to surrender their citizenship. The material for studying the natural increase of the population of the United States, and of its two main races, then is meagre and unsatisfactory. But the question is an important one, and perhaps a good way to get better information about it is to use what we have and, in doing so, suggest how it might and should be bettered.

#### TOTAL INCREASE OF THE TWO RACES.

As the natural increase of the two main races in the United States is unknown, the total increase may be considered, and for that purpose the increase in each of the six twenty-year periods between 1800 and 1920 is shown below :—

Period.	Continental U.S. Per cent. of Increase of		Ratio for Negroes com- pared with that for Whites = 100.
	Whites.	Negroes.	
1800—1820	82·7	76·8	93
1820—1840	80·5	62·2	77
1840—1860	89·7	54·6	61
1860—1880	61·2	48·2	79
1880—1900	53·9	34·2	64
1900—1920	41·9	18·4	44

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These figures show that in the early part of the nineteenth century the increase of the Negroes was nearly as rapid as that of the whites, but in the early part of the twentieth century it was less than half as rapid. Some of this difference was due, no doubt, to the ending of the lawful importation of slaves in 1808, after which date the whites were steadily and increasingly reinforced by immigration, while the Negroes were restricted almost entirely to increase by excess of births over deaths.

To allow as best we can for this difference, the figures may be confined to those for the Southern States, a section entered by few white immigrants and left by relatively few Negro emigrants :—

Period.	Southern States Per cent. of Increase of		Rate for Negroes com- pared with that for Whites = 100.
	Whites.	Negroes.	
1800—1820	63·0	78·9	125
1820—1840	55·2	60·8	110
1840—1860	63·2	55·1	87
1860—1880	50·1	45·3	90
1880—1900	56·5	33·1	59
1900—1920	46·2	12·5	27

In the early part of the nineteenth century Southern Negroes increased about one-fourth faster than Southern whites ; in the early part of the twentieth century they increased only about one-fourth as fast. From the middle of the last century on for eight decades, with but one exception (1870—80) and that probably only an apparent one, the Southern whites have increased faster than Southern Negroes, and the difference between the two has become greater. In the decade 1890—1900, the increase of Southern Negroes was about two-thirds (68) that of Southern whites ; in the following decade it was about two-fifths (43 per cent.) ; and in the decade 1910—1920, it was only one-ninth (11 per cent.). No doubt the change in the last decade was abnormal, but it seems

doubtful whether the increase of Southern Negroes in the next few decades will be at or above half the rate of Southern whites.

Between 1790 and 1840 the proportion of Negroes in the population of the Southern States increased slowly from 35 to 38 per cent.; in the next forty years it dropped with equal sluggishness to 36 per cent. in 1880. But after 1880, it dropped steadily and much more rapidly to 34 per cent. in 1890; 32 per cent. in 1900; 30 per cent. in 1910; and 27 per cent. in 1920; an average decennial decrease of 2·7 per cent. If the decrease should continue at approximately the same rate, then by the end of the century less than one-tenth of the population in the Southern States will be Negro.

#### THE BIRTH RATES OF WHITES AND NEGROES.

Although these birth rates are unknown, a tolerable substitute may be found by comparing the number of white and coloured\* children under five years of age at successive censuses with the number of white and coloured women of child-bearing age, the potential mothers. Figures of this description can be had for the seventy years between 1850 and 1920. (See table on p. 142.)

If the figures are confined to Negroes and whites, as they can be for the latter part of the seventy-year period, the correction makes little change. In 1920, for example, the number of children among Negroes alone is 98·5 per cent. of that among Indians, Mongolians and Negroes. The figures may be accepted, therefore, as showing the general trend of change in the proportions of children of the two races. The figures show irregular changes for each race before 1880, but after that date a steady decrease in the proportion of children for each race. It is well to keep in mind that the period of Civil War and reconstruction ended about 1877, when Federal troops were withdrawn from the South.

\* In American usage "coloured" is a generic name for all dark races. In this case it includes a small proportion of Indians, Chinese, and Japanese with Negroes, for at earlier censuses these divisions of the coloured were not distinguished.

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*Children under Five Years of Age to 1,000 Women, Fifteen to Forty-nine Years of Age, in Continental United States.*

Date.	Among Whites.	Among Negroes, Indians and Mongolians.	Excess among Negroes, Indians and Mongolians.
1850	613	694	81
1860	627	675	48
1870	562	641	79
1880	537	706	169
1890	473	574	101
1900	465	543	78
1910	440	487	47
1920	425	402	— 23

Accepting the proportion among whites as a standard of reference, the proportion among Negroes in continental United States differed from it at various dates in the last forty years as follows :—

1880	.	.	.	+ 31·5 per cent.
1890	.	.	.	+ 21·4    ,,
1900	.	.	.	+ 16·8    ,,
1910	.	.	.	+ 10·7    ,,
1920	.	.	.	— 5·4     ,,

In 1880 the proportion of Negro children exceeded that of whites by three-tenths ; forty years later it fell below that of whites by nearly one-twentieth, and in no previous decade had the change in relative fecundity been as great as between 1910 and 1920.

To this comparison between the proportion of children of the two races it might be objected that the proportion of white children was probably raised, or its decrease checked, by the streams of white immigrants which have been flowing into the United States in increasing volume, and which are characterised by a high birth rate. These immigrants reside mainly in the Northern and Western States ; the Negroes reside mainly in the South. It is better, therefore, to limit the comparison to the Southern States. The results are as follows :—



*Children under Five Years of Age to 1,000 Women, Fifteen to Forty-nine Years of Age, in the Southern States.*

Date.	Among Whites.	Among Negroes, Indians and Mongolians.	Excess among Negroes, Indians and Mongolians.
1850	695	705	10
1860	682	688	6
1870	601	661	60
1880	656	737	81
1890	580	601	21
1900	581	577	- 4
1910	570	518	-52
1920	499	433	-66

These figures show, like those for the whole country, but more conclusively, that the higher proportion of Negro children reached a maximum in 1880, disappeared at the end of the century, and by 1920 had been replaced by a marked excess of white children. In those forty years the proportion of white children in the South decreased by 24 per cent., that of Negro children by 41 per cent. In 1880 the proportion of Negro children in the South was greater by one-eighth, in 1920 it was less by one-eighth than the proportion of white children.

The younger the wife, other things equal, the more likely is the occurrence of a birth. This rapid decrease in the proportion of children might be due in part at least to a change in the proportion of women fifteen to forty-nine years of age who are in the younger age groups of that thirty-five year period. But a study of the figures for the two races in 1880 and 1920 shows that among the coloured women of child-bearing age there has been no decrease in the proportion at the early age periods, and that the decrease among the white women has been too slight to have been largely responsible for the change revealed in the figures.

How is this change in the relative increase of Negroes, both in the United States as a whole, and especially in the Southern States, to be explained? What differences between conditions before 1880 and those after 1880

explained the sudden alteration in the comparative ratio of growth of the two races at that time? What further differences between 1910 and 1920 accelerated the change which began about 1880?

The second question is the easier to answer, and may be disposed of in a few words. During the decade, 1910-1920, there was an unprecedented emigration of Negroes from the Southern States to the North and West. This was largely, if not wholly due, to the increased demand for unskilled or semi-skilled labour outside of the South and the damming of the currents of immigration from Europe which had previously satisfied that demand. During the last decade the number of Negroes in the North increased 43 per cent., the number in the West increased 55 per cent., while the number in the South increased less than 2 per cent. Under ordinary conditions when the demand for labour is brisk and wages are high, births are more numerous and deaths less numerous. But in the present instance the migration of Negroes was largely an individual migration, breaking up families and lowering rather than raising the birth rate.

On this point we are not left to our conjectures. Beginning with 1915 records of birth in various American States have been gathered and published by the Federal Government. One State after another has been added to those whose records are deemed satisfactory. Thus we have figures for one or more of the six years, 1915-1920, showing the births and deaths of Negroes in various States, most of them lying in the North and West, but some in the South. There are nineteen States outside of the South for which the facts are known, and in every one of them the Negro deaths were more numerous than Negro births. The main cause for the sharp fall in the increase of Negroes between 1910 and 1920, then, was the increased emigration of individual Negroes from the South and the consequent reduction of the birth rate. This was reinforced by the increased migration of country negroes into Southern cities, for in those few southern cities for which the facts are known the deaths of Negroes outnumber the births. In the Northern and Western States, for which the facts are known for 1915-1920, there were 14,253 more negro deaths than births, that is 115 deaths to 100 births. In the Southern cities for which the facts are known, 1915-1919, there were 11,326 more Negro deaths than births, or

127 deaths to 100 births. The increased northward and cityward migration of Negroes between 1910 and 1920 must be deemed the main reason for the check upon the relative growth of that race in the United States during the decade.

This unprecedented emigration of Negroes between 1910 and 1920 from the rural districts of the South partly to Southern cities, but more largely to the urban and industrial districts of the North and West has been mainly responsible for the unprecedented decrease in the birth rate of Negroes. The proportion of children under five years of age to 1,000 between fifteen to forty-nine years of age among Negroes in rural districts in 1910 was 7 per cent. above, and in 1920 it was 4 per cent. below the corresponding proportion among the whites. But in cities of 2,500 the proportion of Negro children in 1910 was 28 per cent. below, and in 1920 it was 37 per cent. below the proportion among white. In view of this very wide difference between the effective birth rates of the two races under urban conditions and the approximate equality of them under rural conditions, the sudden transfer of great numbers of Negroes from rural to urban life between 1910 and 1920 was closely connected with the sharp fall in the birth rate of that race.

There is much uncertainty surrounding the question whether this northward and westward migration of American Negroes and their progressive urbanisation will continue, or whether the current will be stayed or turned back. Contradictory assertions on this point are confidently made, and I do not see how the facts for the country can be ascertained until the next American census is taken.

Let us now examine the change in the proportions of the races in the South which began about 1880 and has continued unabated, if not accelerated, through a period of forty years. The best clue by which to explain this change is to be found probably in a study of the figures for occupations. Unfortunately the detailed racial classification of the persons engaged in gainful occupations, or "bread-winners," did not begin until 1880, when it was made easy by the introduction of mechanical methods. Unfortunately, too, the classification for 1920 was not completed when I left the United States, as I hoped it would be when somewhat rashly I agreed to submit a paper on the subject. Consequently we are limited for the present to the twenty-

year period 1890-1910. Another drawback is even more serious. At the census of 1910 radical improvements were made in the classification of occupations, and these improvements put almost insurmountable obstacles in the way of comparing the later with the earlier figures.

The predominance of agriculture among the occupations followed by Negroes is apparent in the fact that of all the persons reported as agricultural labourers in 1890, 1900, and 1910, the Negroes were 31 or 32 per cent., three times the proportion of Negroes in the general population. Of male agricultural labour more than one-fifth (21 or 22 per cent.) were Negroes, twice the proportion of Negroes in the general population. Of female agricultural labour from three-fifths to three-fourths (60 to 76 per cent.) were Negro. Of the farmers, planters, and overseers, the proportion of Negroes increased in twenty years from 10.2 per cent. in 1890 to 14.7 per cent. in 1910, suggesting a steady improvement in the industrial positions of Negroes within this staple industry. Negroes constitute about one-third of the class of servants and waiters, about the same proportion as they do of agricultural labourers, but with one noteworthy exception. Their importance in this occupation has risen steadily in the twenty years from 27.6 per cent. in 1880 to 32.4 per cent. in 1910. For other leading occupations I can add little to the following paragraphs, printed nearly twenty years ago,\* and still true in their main lines.

“The American Negro, after the turmoil of Civil War and reconstruction, found himself thrown on his own resources as he had never been before. This occurred at the beginning of a period of rapid, almost revolutionary, industrial change in the South, a change which did not at first affect seriously the staple crops upon which most of the Negro's labour as a slave had been spent, but which apparently is beginning to affect even those. In seeking other avenues of self-support than agriculture and domestic service, he is seriously handicapped by unfamiliarity with such work, a lack of native aptitude for it, so it is alleged, absence of the capital often requisite, and a preference on the part of most of the whites, even when other things are equal, as they seldom are, to employ members of their own race. In the industrial competition thus begun, the

\* See A. H. Stone, “Studies in the American Race Problem,” pp. 493-495.

Negro seems during the decade, 1890-1900, to have slightly lost ground in most of those higher occupations in which the services are rendered largely to whites. He has gained in the two so-called learned professions of teachers and clergymen. He has gained in the two skilled occupations of miner or quarryman and iron or steel worker. He has gained in the occupations, somewhat ill-defined, so far as the degree of skill required is indicated, of sawing-mill or planing-mill employee, and nurse or midwife. He has gained in the class of servants and waiters. On the other side of the balance sheet he has lost ground in the South as a whole in the following skilled occupations: carpenter, barber, tobacco and cigar factory operative, fisherman, engineer or fireman (not locomotive), and probably blacksmith. He has lost ground also in the following industries in which the degree of skill implied seems somewhat uncertain: laundry work, hackman or teamster, steam railroad employee, housekeeper or steward. The balance seems not favourable. It suggests that in the competition with white labour to which the Negro is being subjected he has not quite held his own."

These figures of occupations seem to me to furnish the best statistical clue yet obtained for an understanding of the industrial and social changes affecting this question in the South. My interpretation of their meaning might be criticised on the ground that when the Negroes are increasing more slowly than the whites, as they are at present in the South, it should not be expected that they would increase as fast as whites in the skilled occupations. This objection seems to me to invert the true order of causation, to put the cart before the horse. Should we not rather say that Southern Negroes are increasing at the present time only two-thirds as fast as Southern whites,\* while from 1800 to 1840 they increased faster, and from 1840 to 1880 nearly as fast, because they are not succeeding in entering new occupations or prospering as well in their old as the competing race is doing?

If this view of the process is correct, then one may add in closing that, as these occupation figures throw much light upon the causes, so the figures of an almost stationary death rate for Negroes compared with a rapidly decreasing death rate for whites, and an apparently declining birth

\* In the decade, 1910-1920, only one-ninth as fast.

rate for Negroes compared with an actually increasing birth rate for Southern whites, are the best statistical keys to its effects.

## THE COST TO THE STATE OF THE SOCIALLY HANDICAPPED AND THE SOCIALLY UNFIT.

BY MISS MARY WINSOR.

When the American Birth Control League invited me to write a paper for this illustrious Congress, "The Cost to the State of Unlimited Motherhood" was suggested as the title. But it seemed better to call it "The Socially Handicapped and the Socially Unfit." It is impossible to estimate what proportion of the unfit is due to unlimited parenthood; how many are born unfit, and how many have achieved this during the course of their lives.

It can be confidently said that the unfit exist in great numbers at vast expense to the community. It is worth while to draw attention, even inadequately, to these facts in order to arouse sympathy for our cause among the influential and wealthy. They are indifferent, owing to the ease with which they can obtain contraceptive information for themselves. The problems of poverty and a large family do not trouble them, except as taxpayers and contributors to philanthropic organisations. We need their support. It is all very well to say, "Set up Birth Control clinics among the poor." But heretofore, a few—Dr. and Mrs. Drysdale, for instance—have borne the financial burden of such undertakings, and it is now time that we turned to the rich.

Much pity has been lavished on the unwilling mother, but very little on the unwilling taxpayer. Yet it is proverbial in American reform circles that the only way to make the average comfortable citizen move is to touch the "pocket nerve." An experienced social worker who was kind enough to assist me in gathering data for this paper says that the American business man, who pays heavy taxes and contributes generously to charity, has no idea how his money is being wasted. Let us all, in our several communities, gather information to enlighten him.

Being a Socialist, I am not one of those who grudge State aid. Public funds given to the public schools, to parks, playgrounds, baby clinics, milk stations, and

mothers' pensions, may be well invested. But it behoves all of us, especially those who hold this point of view, to look sharply into the question of how our money is being spent; whether we are getting first-rate human material in return or "damaged goods."

I had intended to base this paper entirely on studies made in my native State—Pennsylvania—the second most powerful and influential State in the Union. Many of the large American fortunes are made in Pennsylvania, in the steel mills or the coal mines. Opposed to this colossal wealth is poverty on a huge scale. And in this great industrial community, so much in need of Birth Control, we have in addition to the Federal law which prevents the sending of contraceptive information through the mails, a State law which makes it impossible even for a physician to give such information even to a diseased woman. It may throw an interesting light on American politics if I tell you that the Pennsylvania State Department of Charities during five years did not make a report of any kind.\* So you see in America it is not the way of the transgressor that is hard, but the way of the investigator and the social reformer. I hope that this may partly explain and excuse some of the deficiencies in this paper.

Let us begin by looking at some facts and statistics supplied us by the Federal Government, specifically by the War Department, as to the defects found in drafted men. "Statistical Information compiled from the Draft Records, showing the Physical Condition of the Men Registered and Examined in Pursuance of the Selective Service Act" (1920). Here we learn that of the hypothetical number of 2,753,922 men who were examined to furnish the statistics discussed, there were found 468 defective men per thousand examined. It may be regarded as surprising that not more defects were detected. Probably they would have been had the examinations been less expeditiously conducted. On the other hand, many of the defects are obviously only such from a military standpoint. So it is about "fifty-fifty."

Defects of a mechanical sort, involving bones, joints and the appendages of the hands and feet, and weak feet, were commonest, and constituted about 39 per cent. of all. Defects of the sense organs about 12 per cent.;

\* An eminent Philadelphia physician who has recently been appointed to head this department is trying to bring order out of chaos.

tuberculosis and venereal diseases together about 11 per cent.

I have no statistics with regard to tuberculosis, but the United States Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board, through its executive secretary, Dr. Valeria H. Parker, sends the following: "The American Social Hygiene Association estimates the cost of venereal disease in Illinois to be \$188,000,000 a year. The cost of venereal disease in Ohio has been placed at \$100,000,000. The cost to the army during the World War was placed at \$72,000,000. In 1919 venereal disease cost the United States army \$15,000,000; in 1920, \$5,500,000; in 1921, \$4,400,000.

"I am sending you under cover a copy of the Annual Report of the Board for fiscal year ending June 30th, 1921. You will note in this report certain figures with reference to cost of venereal disease. The estimated wage loss due to venereal disease is \$54,000,000 a year, based upon an average daily wage of \$12.00. At the present time the average period during which a soldier is incapacitated with venereal disease is thirty-seven days, or the cost of handling a case of venereal disease in the army is approximately \$7.80 a day. On the thirty-seven day basis, the wage loss is \$162,000,000."

Now let us turn to something which at first sight seems more cheerful than venereal disease, *i.e.*, day nurseries. The Philadelphia Association of Day Nurseries, through its executive secretary, Miss Frances Colbourne, sends us the following: "There are sixty-two nurseries in Pennsylvania, but I am unable to state the specific cost. Some of the Catholic and many of the poorer standard nurseries fail to issue any annual report. . . . I can only give you a rough estimate for the cost of day nurseries, as they vary considerably according to size and standards of service. Even in our Association we range from \$2,400 to \$8,600.

"An average, based on experience *plus* actual statistics, suggests \$5,000 per year as the approximate cost. As there are 610 nurseries in the country, this would mean a total expenditure of \$5,500,000 per year. Of course the parents pay a small fee, but I think this sum could be disregarded, as I consider the figure I have given you to be a minimum total estimate."

As I said, at first sight this may seem to be a worth while expenditure. But let us hear the opinion of an



expert. Dr. Amelia A. Dranga, of Pittsburgh, who has done us the honour to go on the board of our newly-organised Pennsylvania branch of the American Birth Control League, writes as follows: "I am the medical director of the Pittsburgh and Alleghany Milk and Ice Association, and every Tuesday and Saturday morning our two secretaries and I have large clinics of seventy to a hundred and more, mothers with their babies; we weigh the babies, look them over, we doctor both mothers and babies, and we furnish them milk, and we teach the mothers how to care for and feed their babies; and we often find mothers nursing a baby fourteen, sixteen months, and up to two years old, because the poor mothers are determined they will have no more babies, and that is the only way they know how to prevent it. In fact, it is the only Birth Control they know. I have picked out a few cases which sadly show the need of Birth Control just in our own little group. I am sending you a copy, because these cases illustrate so many phases of this great subject:—

" "Baker. Coloured family. Have 8 children, ranging from 11 years to 7 months. Is likely pregnant again. Children are all rachitic, oldest child is T.B. (tubercular). Man likely syphilitic. Two of the children are patients of the Eye and Ear Hospital for eye trouble.

" "Berwick. Family consists of man, wife and 4 children, oldest being 7 years of age. Man is a drunkard. I talked to woman about having a big family, and she remarked, mother of man had 14 children and her husband was a drunkard, and all the sons are of the same type.

" "De Cicco. Italian family. Have 5 children, youngest baby 13 months old. Woman has had 2 abortions since birth of last child.

" "Draper. Man is a drunkard. Have 6 children; among them twins, one of which has since died. Twins were likely syphilitic. Another child born since the twins is a good-looking baby.

" "Dubee. Family consists of man, wife and 6 children. Man is T.B. and 2 of the children are T.B. Are otherwise very good type family; man is anxious to work, when able, and woman is a splendid housekeeper.

" "Davis. Wife is feeble-minded and syphilitic. Has 2 children by a legitimate husband. Man deserted several years ago, and woman has had 2 illegitimate children since

1919. Baby is a wretched-looking case. Is now having hospital care.

“ ‘ Ford. Coloured family, who have needed the support of many different agencies. Have 6 living children, oldest one being 15 years old. Woman has had 6 miscarriages. Children not healthy looking.

“ ‘ Graff. Woman aged 28. Has been married 11 years and has had 10 pregnancies, 4 living children. Man works when he has a job, and woman takes good care of family.

“ ‘ McGrath. Man, wife and 9 children, oldest being 13 years, baby 2 months. Married 14 years; woman 32 years old.

“ ‘ McMillen. Woman is feeble-minded and in need of aid from different agencies. Man deserted, leaving her with 3 children. Poor-looking children. Woman is wretched housekeeper, and takes poor care of baby.

“ ‘ Pervado. Family consists of man, who is syphilitic and works only at times; woman, who is a poor housekeeper, and not very intelligent. Woman, aged 30 years, has had 9 children, 5 living. Woman married at 15 years of age. Has been a public charge all her married life.

“ ‘ Parker. Family have 3 children. Man spent some time in gaol for abusing wife. Woman and baby both active syphilitics. Woman is now having treatment. Man has since deserted again.

“ ‘ Pelusso. Family have 6 children. Man is a drug addict, using morphine. Woman has been in hospital under treatment for gonorrhœal infection. Man has been to several institutions for treatment. Woman has had 2 children since his return.

“ ‘ Perkins. Coloured family. Man is almost blind and not able to do very much work. Have 7 children, and another one is expected. Have been under the care of many agencies. Children rachitic. Woman very poor housekeeper.

“ ‘ Savietik. Polish family of a fairly good type. Man is T.B., but at present is doing light work. Have 7 children under 11 years of age. Children are all very thin and delicate-looking. Woman is very industrious, as is man. Have needed some assistance.

“ ‘ Scott. Coloured family. Been married 15 years. Woman has had 11 pregnancies, and has 4 living children.

“ ‘ Gatto. Italian family. Woman, aged 25 years, has had 9 pregnancies, having 4 living children. Is below the

average in intelligence, and is quite careless in the care of children.

“ ‘Supra. Italian family. Woman has had 10 pregnancies in 9 years. Has 5 living children, and is pregnant again. Three younger children are not able to walk, 2 of them having been to hospital having braces adjusted. Woman is a poor housekeeper. Man does not look after his family as he should. Woman is about 28 years old.

“ ‘Rozzo. Italian family. Have 10 living children, woman not having had any miscarriages. Man is not strong and works very irregularly. Oldest child is 15 years old.’ ”

It scarcely seems worth while, does it? But in Philadelphia 25,000 children are being supported in private agencies at a cost of \$7,000,000 a year.

The Pennsylvania Legislature in 1919 made an appropriation of upwards of \$2,708,635, to cover for two years the cost of four institutions for the feeble-minded. The Preliminary Report of the Board of Commissioners of Public Charities for 1921-1923 states that the Legislature of 1919 appropriated for the indigent insane \$4,390,000, and the amount recommended to cover the period from June 1st, 1921, to May 31st, 1923, was \$5,000,000; and that the total of appropriations for the care and treatment of the indigent insane from 1885 to 1921 was \$40,688,966. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 370, Seventh Avenue, New York City, in a pamphlet entitled “Comparative Statistics for State Hospitals for Mental Diseases,” by Horatio M. Pollock, Ph.D., and Edith M. Furbush, says that the expenditure for maintenance for seven Pennsylvania State Hospitals for Mental Diseases in 1920 amounted to upward of \$2,586,089.

This is, of course, public money, and quite independent of private expenditures.

We feel the impulse to cry out that far too much is being given for such purposes. Alas! under our present social system we are not giving too much, but far too little. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, in a pamphlet called “A National Deficit” (1920), says: “No State (U.S.A.) has provided adequately for more than 10 per cent. of its mental defectives. What of the other 90 per cent.?” What, indeed! I know that in my own Pennsylvania, less than ten years ago, there were over 10,000 feeble-minded women of child-bearing

age roaming around over the State, the vast majority of them presenting the community with a child every year.

The Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare, in a letter dated June 14th, 1922, says the cost of operating the penitentiaries and reformatories is upward of \$2,433,180, and the cost of forty county jails is upward of \$2,676,174, totalling \$5,109,354.

I have not time or space to tell of the institutions for friendless children, homes, refuges, orphan asylums, to provide for those to whom the bitter words of Heine might be applied, "*Am besten wär es, nie geboren sein*" (it is significant that many of these institutions belong to our opponents of the Roman Catholic Church); nor of the deaf and dumb, the blind, the cripples, drink and drug addicts, nor the hospitals sheltering vast numbers of the unfit. To maintain these, the pockets of the fit are being picked and their resources drained. It would be out of the question for me to do justice to this subject. But I hope this paper may inspire others, more capable than I am, to prepare similar studies for distribution in their own communities which will rouse up the rich and influential to a sense of their responsibilities towards this pressing problem.

In conclusion, let me express my thanks to those who organised this Congress for the privilege of taking part in its deliberations and assure them that, armed with the prestige of having been part of such an epoch-making gathering, we shall return to our respective countries strengthened for the magnificent work before us.

## THE RELATION OF RECENT ADVANCES IN GENETICS TO BIRTH CONTROL.

BY PROFESSOR P. W. WHITING  
(Research Associate Professor of Eugenics, State  
University of Iowa).

Three fundamentally different methods of evolution have been postulated by speculative biologists in the past. Lamarck (1809) supposed that the hereditary nature of an individual could be changed to some extent by the direct effect of environment or by the striving of the organism to adapt itself to changes in its circumstances.

Individually acquired modifications left their imprint upon posterity. Lamarck's theory is perhaps the most natural and *naïve* theory of evolution.

Darwin (1859), on the other hand, believed that there was an innate tendency toward gradual hereditary change, and that environment acted in a selective way, eliminating those least fitted to survive and favouring the more adaptable. Mendel (1866) showed by actual experiment that certain characteristics are inherited as distinct, widely different units; and de Vries (1901) proclaimed his mutation theory according to which evolution progresses by wide jumps, new species arising suddenly without the occurrence of intermediate forms. Weismann (1883) emphasised that the germ plasm was independent of any influences brought to bear upon the body of the individual.

According to the speculations and findings of Darwin, Mendel, de Vries, and Weismann, the effective agent in hereditary or genetic change is therefore selection, whether variation be slight or extreme, continuous or discontinuous.

A third method of evolution is emphasised by certain palæontologists, who suppose that there is an innate tendency of organisms to vary in certain definite directions. Evolution "in a straight line," or orthogenesis, is assumed by many to be due to this innate tendency; but other investigators, recognising the fact of orthogenesis, are quite ready to admit that its cause may be external, due to the selective action of environment, for example.

The great increase in genetic research during the last two decades has caused attention to be turned toward the exact results of experiment whenever questions of evolution are debated. The various logical possibilities of genetic change pointed out by earlier thinkers have been unequally supported by recent results.

The selectionists seem to have been favoured most, for it has been demonstrated again and again, not only by recent geneticists, but by earlier plant and animal breeders, that selection is effective in modifying types. The discontinuous variation of Mendel and de Vries has recently been shown to be not fundamentally different from the continuous variation of Darwin. Underlying continuous variation are discontinuous hereditary units. Apparent continuity is due to multiple units affecting the same characters, as well as to modifications of expression of

hereditary by environmental effects and chance conditions of growth. Although the mutations of de Vries have been shown to be caused by complicated systems of assortment of units already present, the mutation theory has been well established in simpler types of heredity with more convenient organisms. We now understand by the term mutation, a fundamental change in a hereditary unit, not a reassortment of pre-existing units.

By a careful study of mutations, it has been found that hereditary units tend to vary in certain definite directions, thus giving some basis, however slight, to the theory of innate orthogenetic tendencies. Research in this line will have to be carried much farther before there can be any application to the theory of evolution.

Modification of the germ plasm has been attempted by numerous investigators. Definite results, however, have been very meagre, probably in part because the agents used were not suitable, but chiefly because the germ plasm upon which experiment was attempted had not been previously analysed. Variations have been obtained, it is true, but whether these variations were due to the experimental agent or not, is questionable. Recently, however, experiments with alcohol, performed by Stockard, Pearl, and MacDowell, have shown results of much interest, and still more recently a very promising line of investigation has been pursued by Guyer by means of serological reactions. The latter work may be of much value in the future in dealing with hereditary resistance to disease, and the study of protein reactions in general.

So promising and important have investigations in genetics become that they deserve the greatest encouragement and support.

Let us now attempt to appraise these theories and results from the point of view of their bearing upon the eugenic programme as affected by Birth Control.

The theory of an innate orthogenetic tendency seems too uncertain, and, in any case, too intangible to consider as yet. It may be, however, that future genetic research will disclose facts of practical value corroborating innate orthogenesis.

Direct modification of the germ plasm by means of alcohol or of bacterial toxins, foreign proteins, etc., is of great interest and value. Does alcohol affect the germ plasm injuriously, producing hereditary defects, or does

it have a selective effect, as some have held, killing off the weaker germ cells and allowing only the better to survive? In the former case it would be dysgenic; in the latter, eugenic. Hence, is a reformed drunkard more eugenic or less so than a man who has always been a total abstainer? Are individuals who have been immunised against diseases—typhoid, diphtheria, small-pox, etc.—more eugenic than they would have been without the treatment? Is the medical profession saving the individual at the expense of the race when it treats people for tuberculosis and other diseases? Are those who have been cured of a disease really inferior because they had the weakness to become infected while others escaped through greater resistance, or are they superior by virtue of having developed resistance and recovered? I am well aware that the *naïve* will be able to answer any or all of these questions; while, on the other hand, many scientists may even smile at the possibility of considering such things.

I am not at all prepared to answer these questions myself; but I believe that the future will answer them, and they will be answered the sooner, the more actively the sciences of genetics and eugenics, in collaboration with physiological and pathological studies, are supported and pursued. In any case, when these questions are answered, women should have the power consciously to control the paternity of their offspring. A knowledge of Birth Control will help much to give them this power.

There can be no question that thus far the selectionists have the strongest evidence in their favour. Natural selection, if not of prime importance in species formation, is at least of great value in keeping organic forms from rapid degeneration. Were it possible for all the freaks and abnormalities which are produced to survive and procreate equally with the best, there would be very rapid racial deterioration. While natural selection may be slow to effect improvement, it is at least all-important in preventing extreme degeneracy. Conscious artificial selection, on the other hand, can very rapidly attain a desired end, provided only the genetic factors are present in the race.

It may seem that the various domestic animals and plants have been obtained in a period of time very short relative to that required by blind, unconscious nature. How much more rapidly can we obtain results, now that

the principles of heredity are understood, and the ground has been cleared of impeding superstitions.

Genetic factors for fine physique, keen intellect, and emotional stability are present in the human race, as well as factors for all sorts of defects. Is it not a cause for regret that the latter should be continued when the world might be filled instead with healthy and happy people? A knowledge of methods of Birth Control, together with education in genetic and eugenic principles, will give to women, who care for the character and welfare of their children, the power to refuse to have them by any but the most admirable types of men.

Even if many men are indifferent to the eugenic qualities of their mates, and fail to have regard for posterity, is it right that women who are to bear and care for the children should be denied the privilege of determining the hereditary character of their offspring? Every woman who believes that like begets like should ask herself this question.

The writer believes that man has attained his present stage of development as the result of the reactions of evolutionary forces that were blind to the end toward which they were tending. Man may attain even greater heights without conscious direction or eugenic knowledge. The complexities of modern life are undoubtedly having a very drastic selective effect, and perhaps a superior race will arise from the industrial struggle. But in so far as conscious direction is applied, not only will man's environmental conditions improve, but his hereditary nature will be changed as well.

Birth Control is at least one very important means both of euthenic and of eugenic improvement.

## DIFFERENTIAL FECUNDITY IN IOWA.

BY HORNELL HART, PH.D.

(Head of the Sociological Division, Iowa Child Welfare Research Station).

The precipitate fall of the birth rate in all civilized countries during the past century, and the fact that the decline in child-bearing has affected chiefly the successful, well-educated, well-to-do classes, have in recent years become matters of common knowledge. Birth Control,



through the rapid spread of knowledge as to methods of contraception among the better informed and more intelligent classes, is quite generally conceded by students of the problem as having been a dominant factor in producing this selective decline in fecundity. Accurate knowledge of the facts about differential fecundity thus is a matter of prime concern to those interested in Birth Control.

The investigations of the relative rates of reproduction among various social classes have been confined chiefly to the great cities, and to studies of the rates of reproduction of special classes, such as scientists and college graduates. The most notable study of differential fecundity in rural and urban populations combined, is James Dunlop's article on the Fertility of Marriage in Scotland, in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 1914 and 1915. This study presents the relative birth rate among persons of various occupations in Scotland, and comes to the conclusion that the birth rates tend to be highest, both in the city and in the country, among the occupations involving the least skill and the lowest economic status.

With a view to exploring further the facts as to differential fecundity in rural areas, I have carried out an analysis of available data on this subject for the State of Iowa. Located in the north central part of the United States, having as its largest city Des Moines, with a population of about 100,000, Iowa is fairly typical of the fully settled, rural areas of the northern half of this country. The State census for 1915 provides, for each of the ninety-nine counties of the State, data as to age, occupation, home ownership, school attendance, past education, nativity, church membership, and other social and economic conditions. These data I undertook to analyse by the method of partial correlation and regression.

A precedent for this procedure is afforded by David Heron's monograph on the "Relation of Fertility in Man to Social Status," published in 1906. In his study Heron applied correlation methods to the determination of what social characteristics were associated with high and with low birth rates in twenty-seven districts in London in 1901. Without attempting to go into statistical details it will suffice to say that the Iowa study is based on ninety-nine counties instead of twenty-seven districts,

thus greatly increasing the reliability of the results, and that the Iowa study carries much further than Heron attempted to do the method of partial correlations.

The index of fecundity used in the Iowa study is the number of children under five years of age per 1,000 women twenty-one to forty-four years of age. This index is preferable to the birth rate, because it more nearly represents the number of children who will survive infancy, and hence is not open to the objection that high infant death rates among the poor tend to compensate for high birth rates. The decline in fecundity in Iowa is shown startlingly by the fact that the number of children per 1,000 women of child-bearing age had dropped in 1915 to 40 per cent. of what it was in 1840. This would not be a matter for lament if the most desirable classes were producing most rapidly; indeed, the present fecundity rate still keeps up the population in spite of heavy emigration. The subject for investigation was: What differences in fecundity exist in desirable and undesirable types?

The first outstanding contrast was found to be between city and country. Roughly speaking, there are twice as many young children per 1,000 women of child-bearing age in rural districts as in cities. This, in itself, is an unfavourable condition from a eugenic standpoint, for selective migration from the country to the city is constantly draining the more intelligent and energetic rural youths to the urban centres, leaving the relatively less desirable types behind to repopulate the State. From an environmental standpoint, while the country is a safer place for a very young baby than the city is, the urban environment is preferable from an educational and even from a health standpoint, for growing children. While the causes for the difference between rural and urban fecundity rates are complex, it seems probable that wider diffusion of information as to methods of contraception, and readier access to the means to practise it, are at least partly responsible for lower birth rates in the cities.

A second contrast is between farm tenants and farm owners. The data prove that in rural counties with large percentages of farm tenants the fecundity is radically greater than in counties with large percentages of farm owners. Since the areas where farm tenants predominate are the areas of rural poverty, this difference means that

in the country as well as in the city, high fecundities go with poverty, and low fecundities with economic success.

Even more striking are the relationships between fecundity and education. In the counties where large percentages of the young people of high-school age are attending high school, fecundities are low, while in counties where the young people do not attend high school the fecundities are high. This is not due to the fact that high-school attendance is more prevalent in cities than in rural districts. If rural areas are compared with rural, and urban with urban, the contrast is still marked. In districts where parents are able and anxious to give their children a higher education, there fewer children are reared than in districts where the parents cannot, or do not want to, send their children to high school, or where the level of intelligence is so low as to discourage a high-school education.

The same contrast appears when the education of the parents is considered. Where large proportions of the persons over school age have had eight or more years of schooling, fecundity is low; where few adults have been in school eight years or over, fecundity is high. Here, again, the contrast holds independently of the contrast between city and country. Ignorance and high birth rates are thus clearly and strongly associated in Iowa. The contrast may be summarised by saying that in a community in which all children of high-school age attended high school, and in which all persons over school age reported eight years or more of schooling, the number of children would tend to be about 400 lower per 1,000 women than in a community where the percentage of urban population, and the percentage of women married, were similar, and where none of the children attended high school and none of the adults had had eight years of schooling. In Iowa, as elsewhere in the world, ignorance far outstrips intelligence in child-bearing.

On two points the results of this study are contrary to generally prevalent opinion. Counties with large percentages of foreign-born residents have high fecundities, but if these counties are compared with counties similar in economic status and education, the difference disappears. Foreigners are usually poor and ignorant, and like other poor and ignorant people, they have many children.

As relates to the fecundity of Catholics, also, the Iowa

findings contradict usual impressions. Counties with high percentages of Catholic Church members do not have any marked tendency toward higher fecundities than other counties. Married Catholics do appear to have more children than married non-Catholics, but this tendency is offset by a tendency toward late marriage in highly Catholic counties. Even married Catholics do not, however, show any tendency toward higher fecundities than non-Catholics of similar economic and educational status. Religion, as such, apparently has very little influence upon fecundity in Iowa.

A significant feature of the investigation is the high correlation which appeared between fecundity and the age distribution of the women. Differences in the average age of the women in the various counties were too slight to have any appreciable effect upon their average ability to have children, but in counties where old women were scarce as compared with young women, fecundities were markedly higher than where old women predominated. The explanation seems to be as follows: In counties where poverty prevails, both birth and death rates are high. This produces a steep age distribution with few old people and many young people. The poor have neither the average intelligence nor the financial resources for higher education and for the acquisition of property. Hence it appears that fecundity is inversely correlated with property ownership and education. Age distribution, although affected somewhat by migration, seems to be the best available single index of this condition, and might well be termed an index of misery.

So completely do the three factors of urban-rural distribution, percentage of women married, and the misery index, account for differences in fecundity between Iowa counties that predictions of fecundity by means of a regression formula involving these three factors correlate, in terms of the Pearsonian coefficient  $+ .91 + .01$ , with actual fecundities. Part at least of the difference between this and perfect correlation is due to imperfections in the indices used, so that it is safe to say that factors independent of these three elements are relatively negligible in determining differences in fecundity between counties.

In my opinion, a first step toward the correction of this socially and eugenically disastrous differential fecundity is the systematic education of married persons in methods

of contraception. Marriage is far too complex and serious a matter for young people to enter upon ignorantly. It would be highly desirable from a social standpoint if every couple applying for a marriage licence were required, unless able to pass an examination for marriage, to attend a special school in which household economics, methods of child nurture and training, and methods of voluntary limitation of parenthood, were taught in competent fashion. Such a course would insure systematic knowledge of the safest and best methods of contraception, instead of the haphazard and dangerous hearsay so common at present. Individuals with religious scruples against family limitation would not need to use the information, and persons who for idealistic reasons wished to rear a family would be able to have their children at the intervals best calculated to insure their proper care.

A second measure urgently needed is research with a view to the discovery of better methods of contraception. Present methods are not always certain, are often troublesome in their use, interfere more or less with satisfaction, and require considerable self-control for their systematic application. As long as this is true, differential fecundity in favour of high birth rates to the shiftless, the careless, the ignorant and the unintelligent are sure to persist. Certain scientists believe that it may be possible to develop a safe, reliable method, so simple in application that any one with even a child's intelligence can avoid unintentional parenthood. When such a discovery is made it will be revolutionary in its effects.

A third step needed to correct differential fecundity in a eugenic direction is the removal of the economic and social drawbacks toward adequate reproduction of the highly fit. As a significant move in this direction, some private foundation adequately financed should establish an honorary list of certified parents, and for as large a number of couples as possible from the top of this list should guarantee an income sufficient to offset the cost of rearing their children. Such a programme would have to begin carefully and work out its methods experimentally, but I am convinced that immensely important results could be achieved.

The study of differential fecundity in Iowa, then, supports the conclusions of previous studies by pointing out that in rural as well as urban districts, fecundity is

inversely correlated with financial and intellectual status. Voluntary parenthood is certainly one of the most promising methods of correcting this tendency to repopulate the world from the least fit classes.

## PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN BIRTH CONTROL.

BY PROFESSOR KNIGHT DUNLAP

(Professor of Experimental Psychology, the Johns Hopkins University).

The statement that the common prejudice against Birth Control is largely religious is true, but it answers no important question. Almost every type of human activity, especially in regard to matters of eating, drinking, and sex function is, or has been, taboo in some one or other of the religious systems of the world. All forms of behaviour in regard to which large groups of people entertain strong and emotional opinions have been connected up with religious beliefs and religious systems. The reasons for the existence of such opinions are therefore to be sought outside of the religions to which they become attached. Moreover, the particular prejudice against Birth Control exists, in violent form, among those also who are not counted as "religious" in the ordinary sense of the word, although we might contend that in a wider sense the manner of holding the opinion is religious.

The prejudice is sometimes defended on the score of the "unnaturalness" of contraception. It cannot be conceded, however, that any prejudice has ever arisen from such considerations. The distinctions between that which is "natural" and that which is "unnatural" has ever been drawn solely on the basis of that which we approve as against that which we disapprove. Of course, the public does not stop to consider the fact that any operation of man or of any other animal is inexorably in accord with the laws of nature, and hence "natural"; but it, nevertheless, does apply the condemnatory epithet "unnatural" strictly to those acts and practices which are believed to be against morals, or public interests, or the interests of the individual; and the "unnaturalness" is never the reason for the condemnation, but only the form thereof.

That the permission to practise contraception infringes upon the rights of the individual as such has never been

seriously considered. It has not been supposed, so far as I know, that the protagonists of Birth Control propose to force any one to practise that measure. On the other hand, many of the most active opponents of Birth Control obviously practise it themselves, and some of them even urge the employment of forced methods of Birth Control, such as delayed marriage and voluntary restraint of intercourse, upon certain sections of the population. The actual objection of the conservatives is against the popularisation of information concerning contraception and means thereto among the public, so that any individuals may be enabled to practise it freely if they wish to. The basis of the prejudice is obviously a social one, in so far as we can distinguish the social from the individual.

The prejudice against Birth Control, as it exists, is an expression of one of the strongest tendencies of living organisms ; but it is the expression of the tendency as it occurs in the social group (social organism, if you will), not as a merely individual tendency. Every form of life has the primary tendency to perpetuate itself ; and, in the human organism, this tendency is manifested not merely in blind action-tendencies, but consciously in the twin desires for progeny and for sexual relations (the reproductive and amatory desires). The existence of the social group is tied up not only with the desire to perpetuate and expand the group, but also with many subsidiary desires and unintelligent forms of reaction which all tend towards the common end of growth of the group.

Nothing else so arouses the antagonism of the individual as does interference with the reproductive desires and activities, or with the merely sexual activities and desires which co-operate with the reproductive. On the social plane also, interference with the perpetuation, growth and expansion of the group arouses the antagonism of those individuals within the group who have the group-feeling strongly developed, and whose blind group-desires are not modified or controlled by ethical considerations which subordinate the desire for mere magnitude to desires of higher valuation.

The opponent of Birth Control is, therefore, not concerned about the practice of contraception by himself, or by any other limited class in the race, nation, or other social group. His concern is solely that there shall be a

part of the group unaffected by Birth Control, and sufficiently large to provide for rapid multiplication of the group as such. The means he proposes to adopt to secure this end, whether religious means, legal means, or any other, are secondary in their origin and nature, however primary a place they may come to occupy in his own theories. His prejudices are, in short, the expressions of his social reproductive desire: a desire which is of high value in stages of society in which a rapid increase of society is useful, but which becomes dangerous when the population has reached a sufficient height, unless the desire is controlled by understanding the actual conditions and by eugenic and ethical ideals.

The expressions of the group reproductive tendency are various. Fears that the particular racial stock or particular social class which the individual represents will die out are frequently expressed. Naturally, the fear of a nation's falling in fighting power below the power of rival States is most common. But in all these fears, it is the group which is under consideration, not the individual, and hence the practice of birth limitation by an individual is not inconsistent with his intense antagonism against the practice by members of the group generally. These fears are not by any means idle, and the considerations on which they are based must be fully met by advocates of general dissemination of knowledge concerning contraception.

Another form of expression of the group reproductive tendency is in the fear of increased immorality which might result from popular knowledge of contraceptive measures. This point is the least important of the lot, and most easily disposed of. It may be pointed out (1) that there is no manifest evidence that those classes which to-day possess contraceptive knowledge are more given to illicit intercourse than the ignorant class; (2) that the absence of means of contraception does not serve as a deterrent to immorality.

Sexual desire is as readily controlled by habit as is any other human desire. Both in primitive and civilised society the systematised habits known as taboos operate, not by preventing the satisfaction of desire, but by checking or preventing the arousal of desire. This is illustrated by the incest convention, as well as by the convention against illicit intercourse. Where such con-



ventions obtain, the individual refrains from incestuous relations because his acceptance of the convention restrains him from active desire. If, however, in spite of the convention the desire arises, the taboo is usually broken if opportunity offers. In the exceptional cases, the satisfaction of the desire is prevented by fear of consequences or by internal conflicts. That the latter solution is intrinsically a bad one needs no argument. Where fear operates, it operates not by restraining the desire, but by turning it into perverted channels. In this case also, the results are disastrous.

The pathological cases of fear and conflict are relatively few. In most cases, where desires arise illicitly, in spite of conventions, the result is simply that the conventions are broken. Sexual desire, strongly aroused, is a flood of emotional activity which it is difficult to check without bad consequences. And in the case of illicit desire, the prevalence of illegitimacy and abortion shows plainly that absence of means of contraception is not an effective means of checking it. The question of improving or conserving sexual morality is one of education specifically, of the maintaining of moral codes or taboos which are so early formed and rigorously maintained that the illicit desires do not arise.

Aside from the matter of illicit sexual relations, it has been alleged that the use of contraceptive measures is detrimental to the individual. Two specific effects of such practices have been assumed: (1) an increase in amount of sex activity, conducing to excess; and (2) the production of an abnormal emotional attitude due to interference with the normal conditions and course of sex activity. On the first point there seems to be no conclusive evidence, and it seems hardly possible that in the case of the common type of married couple, the absence of contraceptive procedure diminishes the frequency of sexual intercourse to any significant degree. In general, amatory desire is not inhibited in such ways, although it may be turned into channels of perversion; and various perverted forms of satisfaction are, on this account, practised by both married and unmarried persons.

The second point is more important. There can be no doubt that all the commonly known contraceptive measures are psychologically objectionable, and if frequently employed they produce bad effects of greater or

less extent. These measures either modify essential stimulations, or interrupt the normal course of the sexual passion and activities, and are hence positively dangerous. It should not be forgotten that not only the rise of the sex passion, but also, in the woman, its decline after the climax has a typical form which cannot be interrupted with impunity. Aside from the production of frigidity in the woman and of chronic irritation and impotency in the male, very serious psychological deteriorations in the more subtle emotional relationships of couples, leading in some cases to disintegration of the family relationship, are unfortunately common results of the usual contraceptive practices.

These practices produce their evil effects in illicit unions as surely as they do in the marriage state, although, perhaps, the effects are more easily noted among married couples. But contraceptive measures are extensively used in legal and illicit unions, and will unquestionably continue to be used. The Birth Control problem of maximal importance centres, therefore, about the development of contraceptives which shall be free from the psychological objections. Based on the opinions of a number of competent medical men and physiologists, my conviction is that such contraceptives may be developed if the problem is attacked in a serious and systematic way by a group of men of adequate training in embryology and physiological chemistry. Such research ought by all means to be furthered at once in European countries, since, on account of the hysterical state of the public in America on these questions, the suitable prosecution of this research is at present impossible there.

The problem of race or group deterioration above referred to is by no means simple. Under present conditions, the more intelligent individuals in any group, and the more intelligent races generally, practise contraception, and the very worst eugenic results are obtained. As a merely negative means, extending the information to the lower races and to the less intelligent members of the group would seem requisite. While this may be a simple matter in any group or race in which the better classes already practise contraception, the result of restoring the balance in the higher races might conceivably be that they would eventually be crushed out by the lower races, if these do not limit their rates of increase.

The only solution to this problem is an active agreement among the nations of the earth, by which no nation shall be allowed to commence aggression on other nations, from which it will result that any nation which reaches the limit of population which its domain can support will be compelled to adopt contraceptive means. If, for example, the white races stand together, and Japan is not allowed to seize the lands of other people, or to transfer its surplus population into the lands of other peoples, it must, of necessity, limit its increase by adopting the means of Birth Control which may be offered it. Since Birth Control is already practised, and will continue to be practised by the higher nations, this necessity is now upon us, and a real "League of Nations" must become an actuality if civilization is to be maintained.

On the positive side, the effect of popularisation of contraceptive information raises some interesting questions: (1) Is it not possible that those individuals who desire children, up to the number which can be adequately educated and provided for, are intrinsically representative of better stocks than are those whose reproductive desires are weaker? We must, in considering this question, distinguish the amatory desire from the reproductive. (2) Would not the individuals of inferior type within a given nation (feeble-minded, Negroes, etc.) be *more* inclined, relatively, to practise contraception than are the superior individuals?

On neither of these questions is there a possibility of making a decisive statement. The first question is a purely scientific one, and might, ultimately, be solved by scientific investigation. The second question is practical, and is complicated by the religious prejudice deliberately inculcated among the lower classes. On the whole, however, I decline to think that although religious prejudice is a great obstacle to the spread of information on Birth Control, it is not by any means a serious obstacle to its practice, on account of the fact previously brought out that the real factor on which the prejudice is based is social and not individual. I am, moreover, seriously inclined to believe that if methods of contraception, which are simple, easily accessible and inexpensive, were brought within the reach of the Negroes generally in the United States, our "Negro problem" would be solved in one generation. Although the amatory desire

of the Negro is enormous, his reproductive desire is not great.

As in the case of every great movement, good or bad, the problem of Birth Control is primarily one of education ; a problem of promulgating ideas. Hence, in conclusion, a word concerning the psychology of propaganda is entirely pertinent.

There is a grand principle of propaganda which lies at the basis of all progress, and of all changes in opinion and all conversation of opinion. All propaganda is planned to bring about the acceptance of ideas. This is true of commercial advertising, and it is true of agitation for reform or against it. The first step in the acceptance of an idea is the thinking of the idea. If you can get your man to actually think your idea, the first step, and the absolutely essential step, is taken. And in accordance with the general psychology of habit formation, the more often he thinks it, the nearer he is to ultimate acceptance. Optimally, you should get him to think it *without argument*, since argument tends to bring about conflicting thoughts. The idea must first of all become familiar. But since conflicting ideas will occur, either through association or through the efforts of rival propaganda, reasons must be presented, but with as little wrangling and argument as possible. This method has actually been employed by the opponents of Birth Control with great success. The Press, and speakers having the public ear, secure the adherence of the public by denouncing, by ridiculing, and in general by much talking, but avoiding argument.

On the other hand, the attention of the public must be secured. Mere hearing or seeing is not enough ; the ideas must actually be thought. And nothing gets the public ear like a fight. Woman suffrage in the United States went ahead rapidly as soon as the organisations opposed to suffrage became active and a real fight was on. The men then sat up and took notice, and the ideas did their work. But in a fight it is never the opponents who are converted, only the onlookers are susceptible.

Apparently, any kind of an idea, good or bad, can be put over, if the presentation is skilful and the opposition is not at least as skilful. And this is true, temporarily at least. But the idea which has truth behind it has the strong advantage in the long run, because it can be thought in coherence with its setting, when the setting is ultimately

presented. Nevertheless, the observance of the psychological laws of propaganda helps amazingly. And these laws are : have an idea, state your idea and its supporting reasons clearly, and keep on stating them without cessation, but with the least possible arousal of antagonism. When you do stage a fight, stage it with those you do not hope to convert, for the benefit of those whom you do. Or, I might sum these laws up in fewer words : raise your ideal and never stop talking about it ; but talk amiably.

#### RESOLUTION.

At the conclusion of the session the following resolution was put to the meeting :—

“The Fifth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference desires to call the attention of the Public Health Authorities of all nations to the serious consequences to the quality of the race of the relatively great reproduction of the less successful, improvident and hereditarily diseased sections of the community, and the consequent drain on the State for their maintenance and care ; and calls upon these authorities to recommend or provide instruction in hygienic contraceptive measures to married persons at all hospitals or public health centres to which the poor and unfit principally apply for relief.”

Carried with one dissident.

(Signed) E. W. MACBRIDE,

*President of the Section.*

Thursday, July 13th.—AFTERNOON SESSION.

## NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SECTION

*President* . . . HAROLD COX, Esq.

THE PRESIDENT formally opened the proceedings, saying :—

We have a very full programme before us this afternoon, and therefore I am not going to take up your time with a preliminary speech. What I propose to do is to call upon the various ladies and gentlemen who have kindly prepared papers to read those papers to you, either personally or by deputy, and then after that I will take part in the general discussion to follow up the lessons we learn from their papers.

### OVER-POPULATION OF THE EARTH AND ITS DANGERS.

BY DR. ANTON NYSTRÖM (Stockholm).

The earth would have been over-populated long ago had not various causes contributed to diminish the increase of the race.

These causes have been of two kinds :—

- (1) *Death-bringing*, or the premature annihilation of innumerable numbers of people ;
- (2) *Preventive*, or preventive measures against conception or birth.

Death-bringing causes have been, for the first, *wars* and *extermination* of peoples.

The very beginning of mankind's existence was marked by a state of warfare. Originally, of course, all men were half animals, and killed each other as other beasts of prey do, without any "human" feelings, and they continued to kill far into historic times—even to our own days, as a matter of fact. Many wars have taken the

form of veritable wars of extermination, and many races have disappeared from the face of the earth as a result. Suitable examples of wars and extermination of human life by the lower races is offered by the *Negroes of Africa*. The slave trade has been carried on by the Negroes from time immemorial, and, from well-known facts in recent times, the numbers killed in battles, or who perished from hunger and illness during the transports, an estimate may be made of the unheard-of numbers of Negro slaves that have perished by the slave trade since the early days of history. They must certainly be calculated by hundreds of millions.

The same fate has attended the *Indians* in America. Numberless tribes have been decimated or utterly destroyed by internal wars and by the white men's guns.

Some idea of the great loss of human life can be given by examples from the wars between civilised States within historic times, as, for instance, when the Assyrian Empire was destroyed by the Medes and Persians, nearly half of the population perished; hundreds of thousands of Germans were killed by the Romans when they threatened the Roman Empire; when Carthage was taken and destroyed by the Romans, the greater part of its 700,000 inhabitants were killed; the Crusades led to enormous losses of human life; the same was the case with the Europeans in the Thirty Years' War. The witch trials and the cruelties of the Inquisition led to the death of innumerable persons, in total at least  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million.

Other death-bringing causes have been: *natural catastrophes*, such as volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, hurricanes and inundations; *violence*, such as bodily injuries, drowning, murder, etc. Innumerable persons have been killed by wild animals in the tropics.

We have finally to consider the *contagious diseases*, the *bacterial infections*. From time immemorial mankind has been ravaged by murderous epidemics of the *pest or plague*, *smallpox*, *leprosy*, *black death*, *spotted typhus* and *typhoid fever*, *influenza*, *cholera*, *syphilis*, *tuberculosis*, *malaria*, etc., and incalculable millions of men have been killed by these infections.

During the last half century, *bacteriology* has attained extraordinary results, and has led to the introduction of modern social hygiene, of prophylactic medical measures, and to the prevention and cure of infectious and con-

tagious diseases, etc., whereby the rate of *mortality has become diminished*, and the *average length of life increased*. These striking results are from a certain point of view gratifying, but, at the same time, they are calculated to give rise to the very greatest fears that the *world will become over-populated*. Contagious diseases were, in former times, the cause, to an extraordinary degree, of a diminution of the population; nowadays these diseases are combated with success, and in every country the number of inhabitants will *increase without measure*, unless a limit be set by the adoption of suitable means to prevent it.

There have been, as said above, also *preventive causes* of diminution of population. These are preventive measures against conception, and artificially provoked abortion.

It seems that, from the earliest ages, most nations of the earth have employed all kinds of preventive measures for the purpose of restricting the number of the population. In general, the reason appears to have been the difficulty of providing for large families of children. Among *savage races*, the women, on the whole, give birth to a *far smaller number of children* than do those of civilised nations; they seldom have more than four or five, and in general, only two or three. This is by no means caused by less fertility, but is due to several other causes—the women live as a rule under unfavourable and very trying conditions, the children remain a long time at the breast, etc.; in many places the women employ contraceptive devices and bring about abortion. Another reason why, as a rule, the families among savage races have so few children, is that the *mortality among the children* is so *extremely great*.

The ancient Jews undoubtedly employed means to prevent conception. In the Pentateuch i. 38, the story is told of the employment of *coitus interruptus* by Onan, and this method has undoubtedly been in general use from time immemorial among many peoples. The ancient Greeks and Romans employed preventive means, and other corresponding measures were in use, too.

*Provoked abortion*, too, has been in use since the most ancient times in order to restrict the number of children, not only among civilised and half-civilised peoples, but also in the case of tribes living in the most primitive conditions. The causes of the existence of this custom



are the same as those which have led to infanticide, the chief one being the difficulty of obtaining food for many children.

Several kinds of primitive measures against conception have been employed for centuries among the *civilised peoples of Europe*. Faloppia, the celebrated Italian physician and anatomist, invented a means of preventing that dreaded disease, syphilis, viz., the use of the *condom*, which he had made of fine linen and which he described (1564). His invention was afterwards improved, probably in England, by employment of the blind-gut of certain animals. Just as it has saved innumerable persons from falling victims to venereal diseases, it has, in numberless cases, diminished the number of unwished-for children.

\*            \*            \*            \*

In spite of the multifarious causes which, during the course of ages, have caused a diminution in the numbers of mankind, *over-population* has, none the less, already existed in certain tracts in former ages, and in our day can be found, *to an alarming degree*, in many countries.

History gives us many instructive lessons with regard to the dangers of over-population. It was their *great growth in numbers* and the consequent difficulty in obtaining food in their native country, *i.e., need*, that drove the *German barbarians to migrate southwards*, and overwhelm the Roman Empire, especially Italy's fruitful tracts; and this led to long and devastating wars. During the whole historic times, such migrations *from Asia to Europe's farthest borders* have taken place as a result of the *too great* increase of the population in proportion to the food supplies.

The *Colonial wars of later times* were caused by the necessity of colonisation as a means against need, caused by *over-population*. The *United States of America* were originally colonies, but, at the present day, are so thickly populated that the authorities there endeavour to prevent the influx of fresh immigrants from Europe, China and Japan. In all colonies, the natives have been more or less ruthlessly treated by the usurping races. And the European nations have often carried on wars against each other for the possession of these colonies.

\*            \*            \*            \*

That over-population exists already in many countries cannot be denied, and even if there are immense territories on the face of the globe, such as in Africa, South America, Australia and Siberia, where millions may yet find a home, still it is none the less certain that *most civilised countries* are already so thickly populated that millions find a difficulty in obtaining subsistence, and that myriads of people live in a constant state of great want. It is clear, then, that the steady increase in the population of the earth *must soon become a factor of extreme danger.*

Although we have no exact figures showing the number of the inhabitants in many countries, fairly reliable statistics give the *present population of the globe* as being in round numbers :—

Europe	.	.	.	468	millions
Asia	.	.	.	895	„
Africa	.	.	.	136	„
America	.	.	.	204	„
Australia	.	.	.	8	„
				<hr/>	
				1,711	„
				<hr/>	

As the total population of the world amounted in 1870 to about 1,400 millions, and in 1920 to about 1,711 millions, the figures show an increase of 311 millions in fifty years, in spite of the enormous loss of life caused by the Great War and the present Russian Revolution, which together may probably be estimated at about 20 millions.

This growth, then, is about 62 millions yearly. If we suppose this rate of increase will be maintained, and if conception continues unchecked as before, and even if we take into consideration the possibility of fresh years of need, then, in another half century, the population of the globe will amount to somewhat more than 2,000 *millions.*

This perspective is calculated to fill us with dismay, even if we remember that, as yet, Africa, Australia and America are comparatively thinly populated, for, in these continents, large tracts are uninhabitable or suitable for comparatively few settlers. The enormous population, dwelling on the comparatively small area of *Europe*, is terrifying in its density, and the same may be said with respect to India, China and Japan.

A hundred years ago the population of *India* amounted

to about 150 millions, and now, in 1920, it is more than twice that number, or approximately 326 *millions*.

As a matter of fact, *China* has long been an over-populated country, in spite of all diminution factors, earthquakes, inundations, famines, etc. The total number of inhabitants of *China* is about 329 millions.

The population of *Japan* amounted in 1880 to 38 millions, in 1920 to 57 millions; it has added 800,000—900,000 yearly to its numbers, so that in 1930 it will reckon at least 65 millions, if every one stayed within the dominions. In order to find space and food for its thus rapidly increasing population, *Japan* has carried on wars with *China* and *Russia*. For *Japan*, therefore, the *question of over-population* has already become the *determining factor in its foreign policy*. The relatively poor country cannot, as a matter of fact, supply its growing millions with the necessaries of life, so that a *policy of expansion* has become of vital importance for the island empire. But *Japan must*, as soon as possible, take into serious consideration the problem of the *prevention of an unrestricted continuance of the high birth rate*, instead of building upon a policy of military expansion.

The population of *Germany* was in 1871 41 millions, and in 1919 68 millions. The growth of the population there was for many years about 800,000 annually, or in round numbers  $8\frac{1}{2}$  *millions every decade*. There is no doubt that *Germany*, with 68 millions of inhabitants, had attained the maximum of population, if its people were to remain prosperous and contented, and also that this enormous growing of its population was *one of the causes of the World War*.

For a long period German Chauvinists had been accustomed to consider the great increase in the population of *Germany* as a pleasing phenomenon, bearing witness to the strength of a nation which they regarded as destined to rule other peoples which did not increase in the same proportion. It was on the *enormous increase of the German population* that the *military and colonial policy* of the Empire was based. But a policy based on such a presupposition, and which, consequently, must calculate on a continued large growth in the number of the inhabitants, must be prepared for the most frightful conflicts with other nations.

If *Germany* in 1919 had only had about 50 *millions* of

people instead of 68 millions, there *would have been no World War*. With such a number of inhabitants Germany would have been a happy country, and would have been in a position to promote culture just as well as or better than it did with 20 millions more.

By the losses in and after the war, Germany's population was reduced to about 60 millions in 1920. With an estimated annual growth of population amounting to only 700,000, we shall find that the number of the inhabitants of Germany will amount in ten years, or 1930, to about 67 millions; in twenty years, or 1940, to about 74 millions.

Unless such increase is restricted to a very considerable degree, by the adoption of preventive methods, etc., it is easy to see that, after a few decades, there will exist the danger of an over-population, extremely dangerous for Germany, and constituting a threat to the whole world.

The population of the whole of Europe was :—

In 1870	.	.	.	.	305 millions.
1890	.	.	.	.	363 „
1911	.	.	.	.	452 „
1920	.	.	.	.	468 „

The increase between 1870 and 1920 was 163 millions, or 3·2 millions yearly, and this in spite of the losses caused by the war.

If we calculate at this rate of increase, then the population of our continent will be :—

In 1930	.	.	.	.	500 millions.
1940	.	.	.	.	532 „

We shrink with terror from these figures, when we think what they imply; not wealth or property, but *want, hunger, misery*, and leading to *war* with its accompaniments of demoralisation and the annihilation of culture. And this within a few decades!

These population figures should be looked at in connection with the *approaching failure of fuel* in the world.

\* \* \* \*

What has to be done now is to work everywhere for the spread of the *neo-Malthusian doctrines* by means of lectures, publications, the establishment of associations, etc., and not to allow ourselves to be dismayed by the external difficulties. Great aims create enthusiasm!

*The people of every country must be thoroughly enlightened* by means of books, pamphlets, newspaper articles, lectures, etc., as to the dangers of over-population. Neo-Malthusian associations should be established everywhere in the world, so as to organise a systematic propaganda. This work of enlightenment must be *universal*, so that no country, from ignorance and neglect, shall continue, or become, over-populated, thereby threatening the peace of other nations.

Writings by investigators and resolutions adopted by associations respecting the dangers of a too great birth rate and of over-population should be forwarded to the Governments in the different countries and to the League of Nations, which, in their turn, should do everything to promote the great reform. This idea may appear Utopian, and hardly in agreement with the old style of political appeals usually made to the representatives of the Powers. But this fact should not prevent its being carried out, so that it may bear fruit in one way or another.

It is to be deplored that in all the endless debates that have been carried on by statesmen, international commissions, the leading journals and political writers, etc., respecting the causes of the Great War and the ways and means of remedying the prevailing universal want and of reconstructing the world, the question of over-population and its decisive nature in these matters were never touched upon, not, at least, with the detail demanded by factors of such importance.

It seems as though there prevailed everywhere a *fear of touching on a subject* of such an intimate nature and which is in close connection with *sexual matters*—matters which few have cared to consider thoroughly, and which are considered *unsuitable for public discussion*, not *comme il faut*. The subject *must* be brought forward, however, for it deals with one of the most essential factors in human life.

## BIRTH CONTROL THE SAVING OF CIVILISATION.

BY FERDINAND GOLDSTEIN, M.D. (Berlin).

Mommsen says in the concluding sentence of his "Theme of the Roman Public Law": "The Roman

Empire of the Principate, as well as the Roman Empire as restored by Diocletianus, which had still under the reign of Justinianus military victories, perished not by the barbarians, but by internal decay." This decay was caused by the wrong movement of the population. The upper classes increased in such a small degree that the Government published laws to augment their fertility. But the lower classes grew enormously, especially because there was a great influx of working people from the country to the towns. Hence the empire possessed many large towns, but its inhabitants became more and more of the working class, and when the evolution was at its height the bishops founded their state of slavery, which had as much resemblance to the Christian ideal as the Soviet republic has to paradise.

In the modern countries the development of the populations is as faulty as in the Roman Empire. For the well-to-do classes increase more slowly than the poor. For instance, in Berlin the birth rate in 1912 in the rich Tiergarten quarter was 13 against 26 in the poor Wedding quarter. The President of the Statistical Office in Paris, M. Bertillon, published a table showing that female fertility in the different quarters of towns depends on the wealth of their inhabitants. The poorest quarters have the highest, and the richest the lowest, birth rate. In London, for instance, 1,000 women of from fifteen to fifty years bore in very poor quarters 147 children per annum; in very rich ones only sixty-three.

But this difference is only of small importance when compared with the influx of working classes from the country to the towns. The cause of this is the weight of over-population always pressing on the country. This over-population has nothing to do with that of Malthus. He contrasted the population with the amount of their food, but the over-population I mean is caused by men offering more labour than is needed. An estate employing twenty workmen to-day will require in twenty years almost the same number, or less if machinery to save human labour is used in agriculture. But the population increases, and the offspring having reached the usual age for beginning work must gain money by labour. But work can only be offered to them when the fixed number of agricultural workers has been diminished by death; all the others are superfluous, and must

seek labour abroad. The agricultural population remains almost the same. For instance, it was in Germany (in millions) :—

1882	.	.	.	.	.	18·7
1895	.	.	.	.	.	17·8
1907	.	.	.	.	.	16·9

The diminution has been caused by increasing employment of machinery.

But in the country not only agricultural labourers are living, but also mechanics, tradesmen, doctors, clergymen, and so on, and these are in the same position as the labourers, for there is no free competition in the country. Consequently not only the agricultural population, but the whole of the rural population, always remains the same. International statistics, when speaking of the country, mean communities below 2,000 inhabitants; every community above 2,000 inhabitants is statistically a town. They are sub-divided into small, middle and large towns. The population in communities below 2,000 inhabitants was (in millions) :—

Belgium.		France.		Germany.	
1846	. 1·7	1872	. 24·8	1871	. 26·2
1856	. 1·7	1876	. 24·9	1875	. 26·0
1866	. 1·7	1881	. 24·5	1880	. 26·5
1876	. 1·7	1886	. 24·4	1885	. 26·3
1880	. 1·7	1891	. 24·0	1890	. 26·1
1890	. 1·7	1896	. 23·4	1895	. 26·0
1900	. 1·6	1901	. 23·0	1900	. 25·7

These figures give the impression of the rural population being quite sterile, but it is—at least in Germany—extremely fertile, more fertile than the average. The surplus of births was in Germany in the years before the war 14 per million, but in the country 17 or 18 per million, and when the whole offspring of the country from 1871 to 1900 is calculated, we get 13 or 14 millions. This huge crowd is driven away by over-population.

The superfluous population of the country goes to the towns to work in the factories, or emigrates. In Germany many years before the war, it went chiefly to the towns, their natural growth not being sufficient to provide the factories with workmen. Hence poverty arose from two

sources, the first being the great fertility of the working class in the towns, the second the over-population of the country. The consequence of this rapid growth of poverty was that Socialism grew enormously with it. However, Socialism depends not on poverty alone, but also on the peculiar change of mind affecting the immigrants when they become townfolk. Socialism in Germany has but small influence in towns growing chiefly by their own fertility. The English towns cannot grow on a considerable scale by immigration from the country because the rural population is small. That is the reason why Socialism in England is without importance. The towns of Switzerland grow by the surplus of births, by immigrating Swiss, and by foreigners. As the latter have not the right to vote, they have no influence on elections. When considering the two other sources of growth the same can be noticed in the towns of Switzerland as in those of England and Germany. Zürich grew in a greater degree by its own fertility than by immigrating Swiss, and was an unfavourable place for Socialists, whereas in Geneva the number of immigrating Swiss was greater than the surplus of births, and here Socialists were elected. It may be permitted to add that Socialists and Communists know their power depends on poverty, and are in consequence always against Birth Control.

When industry is not great enough to employ entirely or almost entirely the superfluous population of the country, men are forced to emigrate. This is the case in Denmark, Sweden and Norway, in the German Empire of the first decades, in Hungary, Ireland, and especially in Italy. In Italy the main part of the population is living on agriculture, and, therefore, the density of the land ought to be small as in the United States. For the main work in agriculture is done by Nature. But Italy had in 1911 a density of 121. In consequence the farms are too small, the peasants live in poverty, food has to be imported because the peasants consume the crops they produce, the superfluous population in the country is enormous, as also is the emigration. Italy had before the war the largest emigration of all European countries; for instance, in 1912 it was 711,000 or 20 per million of the population. Some of the emigrants return to Italy, but that makes no difference in considering the over-population of the country. The main body of the emigrants goes to the



United States, and you may realise what it means for Italy when the United States close the door as they have done.

The emigrants as well as the immigrants consist chiefly of the working classes, and as they are poured in millions year by year over the world, it must become subject to them, as it was in the Roman Empire. Evolution has already reached a dangerous level, as Socialism spread out over the whole world shows. In Germany the too numerous working classes destroyed the Liberal parties, and with them common sense. That was the reason for the madness reigning in the land in pre-war days, and is now the reason of her desperate condition.

What is to be done against this pernicious evolution? Laymen answer promptly, that laws must stop interfering with sexual life. Contraceptive means should be sold as freely as pencils or oranges, and artificial abortion should be allowed. This extreme would be as dangerous as the opposite. For what would be the result? Firstly, the danger arises that nations might be extinguished, and secondly, well-to-do classes would be likely to avail themselves of the granted freedom in a much higher degree than indifferent working classes, and they would overwhelm the educated people in a greater degree than they do now. No, the task of a reasonable demographic policy is to equalise the fertility of rich and poor. Academically speaking, it does not matter how much a population grows, unless there is a difference in the fertility of all its classes. When, for instance, a country has such a low fertility that its population decreases, it may be that the educated classes are overwhelmed by the industrial in spite of it.

The object of equalising the fertility in all the classes of a country may be attained by eliminating every demographic law from the Penal Code, and prescribing in the Civil Code that only he who has done his demographic duty has the right to dispose of his whole fortune in his will. When has a man done his demographic duty? Laymen answer, when he has bred two children. This is not the case. Under the two-children system a nation is not continued. In France, generally called the land of two-children families, couples breed three children on an average, and under this increase the nation was continued; for one child in three dies. Hence it follows that he who

bred three children has done his demographic duty. But three children are a heavy burden, and to continue a nation it is sufficient that a couple produce two children, provided that they survive the death of their parents. Consequently the Civil Code must prescribe that he who bred three children, however many of them have died, has the right to dispose of his whole fortune in his will. He who has two surviving children shall have the same right. But whoever has had less than two children, or who had two, of whom one or both died, must give at his death one-third of his property to the State. Under such a law, fertility of well-to-do people will rise, whereas that of the poor will be lowered, nations will be continued and, the most important of all, the superfluous population in the country, the greatest danger of civilisation, will disappear.

Lawyers generally object that my propositions are also faulty. As I am not the Pope, I do not claim infallibility, and admit it. But, on the other hand, I know that mankind is not able to contrive faultless laws, and I am told that the laws lawyers employ are not always derived from the apex of wisdom. Of greater weight than the objections of lawyers is public feeling. If the Penal Code does not interfere with sexual life, girls as well as married women have the right to use contraceptive means, and artificial abortion is allowed to both, and this is called immoral. But consider that civilisation is menaced by the overwhelming growth of the working classes. Remember Rome, look at modern Germany, and you will see the instant fate of the world if means are not found to equalise the fertility of the rich and the poor. If, in spite of history's warnings, morality is more powerful than science, civilisation will perish, and I am certain that a morality having such consequences will be called, by many a strictly moral man, the height of immorality.

### THE CANNON FODDER ARGUMENT.

BY MISS CICELY HAMILTON.

In the short time allotted to me I shall permit myself the impertinence of dealing with military matters—that is to say, I shall endeavour to refute what I call the “cannon fodder” argument against Birth Control and restriction.

That argument appeals to many honest and admirable persons, who believe—some regretfully—that it is necessary to produce big battalions of children that the country may be saved from its enemies. I propose this morning to point out to you that, in the changed conditions of modern scientific warfare, that argument no longer carries weight ; I suggest, on the contrary, that in war as we shall know it—air warfare developed—a teeming population will be a real handicap to a belligerent nation ; and that military strategy and tactics in the future will be directed less towards the destruction of armies in the field than towards the terrorising and stampeding of large masses of disorganised civilians. I put it to you that the stampeding of London, Paris or Berlin—the flight *en masse* of the inhabitants of industrial Westphalia or the Black Country—would inflict more damage on the nation affected than an enemy in occupation. Cities and industrial districts stampeded will resolve themselves into hordes of famished nomads—men and women who are dangerous as well as useless because deprived of their means of livelihood. If sufficiently panic-stricken when they take to flight, they will avoid railways and roads—which are likely to be targets from the air—and not only devour the countryside, but trample it beneath their feet. . . . In a day or two a vagrant and millionfold starvation—grown reckless, a widespread invasion by famished plunderers, more terrible far than invasion by an army that is fed and disciplined.

A very little consideration should convince you that I do not speak without warrant ; there is nothing new in the idea of using the non-combatant as a weapon against his own side. It was the root-idea of blockade and submarine warfare, and, long before the World War, inspired the strategy of Labour. A strike on a large scale is usually an effort to inflict so much hardship upon the non-combatant—the consumer of coal or the user of railways—that he insists, in self-defence, on concessions to the striking party ; while the whole idea of a general strike must inevitably fall to the ground unless there is a large non-combatant population who will suffer acutely from the lack of their daily necessities. What we have to point out to advocates of the cannon fodder policy is this : in the type of warfare in which the civilian—the non-combatant—is used as an auxiliary destructive force, the

larger the population the more efficient the weapon of destruction.

If you are under the impression that orthodox military leadership will decline to follow the example of Labour in using the civilian as a weapon, I can only refer you to the report of Air-Marshal Sir Hugh Trenchard on the British Independent Air Force. Having read it, I suggest that you try to visualise the results of such a plan of campaign as is there outlined—the daily and nightly bombing of industrial centres, with the avowed object of making them impossible for industry. That plan of campaign, sufficiently intensified, means starvation on the run—nomadic anarchy.

It is not necessary to be an expert in military matters to realise that starvation on the run is the military objective of the future ; that the aim and object of the “ scientific ” soldier of the future will be to produce nomadic anarchy and break an enemy Government by burdening it with useless mouths. Neither is it necessary to be an expert to realise that the thickly-populated country, where masses of men can be stampeded at once, will be at a real disadvantage compared to the country whose population is less vulnerable because more scattered. The advantage in war as we shall know it will lie with that people which is not hampered with overflowing millions, which, living comparatively scattered, can reduce an enemy to famine and anarchy by the agency of panic-stricken hordes.

## WAR AND MALTHUSIANISM.

BY DR. HÉLENE STÖCKER (Germany).

It was a great joy for me to see the Fifth International Malthusian Congress being held. My joy was the greater when I considered that for one decade during the War our international work was endangered. Shortly before the outbreak of hostilities, in 1911, we, in Germany, had the great honour of preparing at Dresden the Fourth International Neo-Malthusian Congress, which brought us much stimulation, and seemed to promise much fruit. The “ International Union for the Protection of Mothers and for Sexual Reform,” which I have the honour to represent here, has—right from the start of its work—been in close contact with the endeavours of this Congress, and my

Union was always clear about the fact that a conscious reshaping of sexual life and a development to higher forms should be, at any rate, connected with a conscious regulation of births.

There is, perhaps, no other sphere of life where Nietzsche's saying may be more justly applied: "Up to now nonsense, absurdity, and mere chance have power; man and man's earth are still unredeemed." The decade lying behind us has shown us how terribly powerful nonsense, absurdity, and folly are still on the earth—to a degree sufficient to discourage even the bravest champions in their fight for a world worthy to live in, for a life truly worthy of being lived by men.

But we all may consider it a promising feature that in spite of all the discouragement, scepticism, and despair as regards man and his possibilities for further progress to higher forms of life, we did not altogether give way to depression, since we are meeting here to-day for future co-operation. The problem which forms the centre of our work is one of the most real, the most vital problems in existence—it means man himself and his higher development and greater happiness. And we are seeking to find a path for him, for the individual as well as for the human race. We are seeking the best way for an existence worthy of human civilisation. But to attain this it is indispensable for us to give up our defensive attitude which was forced upon us by the War, and to take the offensive. That means to fight for a modern view of the world and a will to reshape life. To a certain extent even the War—as all evil—was "a part of that power that intends the evil and needs must bring about the good," at least in so far as all these problems which we tried to solve before the War are so enormously intensified through the experiences and consequences of the War that at present solutions may be considered which in pre-War times were out of the question. In Germany, for instance, the repeal of the law, which threatens abortion with severe punishments of prison and hard labour, is now demanded with great fervour. At any rate, all the three Socialist parties agree in demanding a reform of this law, and it is to be hoped that also part of the German Democratic and the Clerical parties may be ready to take into consideration a moderation of the present law. But he who recognises the necessity of reforming the present severe punish-

ments for abortion will naturally also be the first to request that such cases must be avoided, that prevention of conception is better than an interruption of pregnancy, which is always dangerous and to our feelings in many ways painful. Therefore a widely spread knowledge of the necessity and the methods of Birth Control will be the best protection against frequent necessity of abortion. In our circle here I hardly need refer to the fundamental principle of our movement that, contrary to the common fallacy, a large number of births, as a rule, in no way means an increase of population, but only an increase of mortality, and that, on the other hand, a smaller amount of births generally brings about an increase of population. But it may interest you that quite recently a German statistician, Professor Dr. Würzburger, the President of the German "Society for Statistics," showed that the interests of the race and the rights of the individual are secured most efficiently by applying the method recommended by us.

Würzburger demonstrates that we must distinguish between two absolutely different periods in the epoch of decrease of births during the last fifty years; he traces back the decrease of the general mortality in the period from 1880 to the end of the century to the reform of the social legislation which brought about a longer conservation of the working power for the individual. But of far greater importance was the diminution of infantile mortality beginning with the new century, a fact which we may note with great gratification as an indisputable success of the movement for the protection of mothers and children. For the preservation of the infants' lives rescues the roots of the coming generation. And thus Würzburger's investigations confirm our conviction, already so clearly put forth by Dr. Charles Drysdale at the Neo-Malthusian Congress at Dresden in 1911. The way towards lifting up human society to a real civilised community of men can only be found by conservation of the new-born, by lovingly developing the coming generation and by protecting life in its prime—by recognising the holiness of life, by fighting for peace and Birth Control.

To-day it is not realised how widely the State practises the worst kind of child murder in forcing the women into ways of earning their living which are dangerous to the

offspring. There are many cases where women, who do not think about their children, do such work, in, for example, the tobacco industry. Therefore the race hygienists ought to ask themselves if this poison of tobacco, which consumes millions of the people's wealth, could not be completely done away with, as even during its production it injures the health most seriously of those persons producing it. It is also a strange contradiction that in nearly all countries people rise up most violently against a solution of the birth question, and against doing away with punishment for abortion, and consider it as "murder," who most violently during the War thought the murder of grown-up men was natural and necessary. For good reason, at the last German Congress of Pacifists, a Catholic chaplain received the greatest applause when he declared he had always pleaded the following point of view in his circles and in his public discourses: you have no right to proclaim the holiness of the unborn life of the human embryo as long as you have not secured the protection and the inviolability of human life against the murderous force of war.

Therefore out of this conviction our German movement and all its representatives are firmly of the opinion that through positive regulations, through the largest protection of the mother and the child, Birth Control should be adopted by society, not punished and prohibited. From whatever standpoint you may regard the question of marriage and sexual reform, from that of mothers' protection, of race hygiene, of the reformation of the social and domestic status of the woman, without the clear knowledge that love and procreation are to be separated no progress in culture is possible. One of the most difficult responsibilities of man—the procreation of new human beings—may no longer be left to blind accident, to mere egotism; it must be born of the complete consciousness of responsibility towards the future of those who are coming after us. It is this knowledge which has obliged us, as understanding nations, to take an interest in the problems of race hygiene, of human selection, and to oppose war as the greatest anti-selectionary factor which exists.

Therefore we must work from that point of view which is the conclusion, through modern scientific, social and psychological knowledge, that the philoso-

phers and wise men of all civilisations are coming to, that man, *i.e.*, the human personality, the human soul, is the highest value, the most sacred shrine, the real consciousness of the world. For in the human being alone the world becomes conscious of itself.

Just as the task of woman must be recognised to be that she stands for all means and ways which serve life, which raise the strength of her own people, as well as that of other people, increasing their physical and moral height. To every really motherly woman it must seem to be an abuse of motherhood, as a distortion of her high and beautiful task to be creator and giver of life, if her children are to be only material for future wars. Everywhere there are reputable politicians, whom we can find even to-day, saying that we are standing at the beginning of a series of wars, and that we need not only "money, money, money," but also "men, men, men." Never before has it been uttered more clearly that people shall be used for the purpose. It is strange that the instincts of roughness and cruelty in man continue so violently and continuously. In the same way we could formerly only think the gods cruel, demanding human sacrifice; to-day we are not able to think of the State without thinking of sacrificing human beings. But since the great revaluation of our religious conception has been accomplished, since the idea of a God of love has been formed, a God who never avenges nor asks for sacrifice of blood, but is ready to sacrifice Himself for mankind—since then men should have learnt to renounce their brutal theory of victims for the idol "State." Against this barbarous idea of State, where the State is the highest god, the individual being only a means for use, opposed to this, has been the eternal conception of the Christian world, "the Stoa," perhaps also of the Indian and Chinese philosophy, that they helped to recognise the idea of the personality of the single soul; a view of the world which also our modern philosophers, even two so enormously different intellects as Kant and Nietzsche, have represented with the same energy. If you would only follow Kant's categorical imperative, that no human being is looked upon as a means, but always as an end, war, this relapse into barbarism and want of culture, must cease. For to get rid of these



remains of past times, it is needful to fight with all energy.

Only the idea that those calamities—like the murder of people through people, which you must have recognised for a long time as a crime of all crimes—may be necessary, or in any case allowed “for the benefit of the country,” only through this moral confusion, is psychical possibility of war founded, and the mobilised attitude of the States maintained. The “mobilisation assurance,” which should ostensibly serve the war, has missed radically its purpose, as we have got the experience. A well-known saying of Napoleon has now again come true: that the war itself does not lead to an eternal peace. Some one said after a terrible battle, looking at the numerous dead: “They will bring us through their deaths eternal peace.” Napoleon answered, “I am afraid they will keep it for themselves.” It is the living’s turn to make use of this knowledge so terribly confirmed by the last war.

No State is able to hurt another without suffering itself. Psychically, it is interesting in the highest degree to see that the ethical commands, considered from the point of view of political economy, are the wisest, even in our own interest. If the individual and the people want really to come into their own, then we must fight with all means against the States still being allowed to sacrifice their greatest asset—healthy, high-developed men—in the barbarous manner of war. Also the woman must not any more be the purveyor of living ammunition of war, but educator of personalities, valued as her own possession, and forming part of her life.

The influence of foreign on internal politics was, till the War, not sufficiently estimated even by the Socialists. Not until now does the understanding of it begin to develop gradually. You could observe before the War the first weak beginnings of human economy in the social legislation, in the mother’s and child’s protection in this manner. The impulse of self-preservation of the people must lead to it. If the whole culture of to-day is not to be ruined by continuous mutual laceration, this human economy must grow to *nation-economy*. For human economy and a fruitful population policy are able to develop only when you have understood the necessity of *nation-economy*. Mankind ought to inspire itself with the

knowledge of its high obligation towards the coming generation and forget for no moment that the procreation of man is one of the most important affairs for individual happiness, for the ascent of the race.

Not before each one in particular feels it his obvious duty to ask himself with Nietzsche: "Are you a human being, who should be allowed to wish himself a child?"—not before society asserts the holiness of human life as the principle of all morality, will that religion of the future be fulfilled of which Galton and Nietzsche dreamed. Complete international disarmament, spiritual demobilisation of hate and the possibility of happiness for the individual are most closely and most inseparably connected.

The unity of politics and morals, the knowledge of the community of interests of mankind, is not only the aim of confirmed enthusiasts; it is the foundation of all population policy and all social science. For a long time it has been recognised as the only possible way to preserve the human race; it is the art and the religion of life itself.

## THE BIRTH CONTROL MOVEMENT IN JAPAN.

BY PROFESSOR ISOO ABE (Tokyo).

The population of Japan has multiplied itself three times since the Meiji registration (1894). Before that period Japan was entirely cut off from the outer world, having a completely undeveloped economic system. Therefore, it is not difficult to understand that the Japanese population, threatened with shortage of food supply, was always regulated by voluntary Birth Control. Of course, the methods of control, at that time, were not so developed as those which are adopted in Europe and America, or even to some extent in Japan to-day, these latter being blameless to morality and harmless to health. In other words, abortion and infant sacrifice quite widely prevailed in Japan at that time. However, the Shinshu, one sect of Buddhism, was bitterly against abortion and infant sacrifice, but without result; just as the Roman Catholics are against any means of Birth Control, and abortion was very often carried out by midwives,

or committed by women themselves. Moreover, there were several medicines for the purpose of procuring abortion, which seemed to have quite a big circulation among the people. The infant sacrifice, having no danger to the mother's body, as in the case of abortion, was much used in certain districts.

After the Meiji registration, the Japanese Government took very strong means to abolish these cruel Birth Control methods. The development of the moral idea also succeeded in driving these methods out of practice.

Necessity, however, knows no law. There are many cases of abortion and infant sacrifice still being practised in Japan at present. We are surprised to discover that two country communities are practising Birth Control systematically. These two villages, called Takayama and Tsukigase are in the Kyoto province. According to the report, there are 360 families in Takayama village, having a population of 1,679, with 868 male, and 811 female. These villages have the following four interesting characteristics :—

1. There are only four families which have more than three children.
2. The born children are mostly boys and girls alternately ; in other words, after the boy, the girl is likely to be born.
3. No example of a birth occurring year after year.
4. The average numbers of children in one family are very few compared with those of Japan.

Moreover, according to the report, the physique of the youth of this village is wonderful. At the time of military conscription in 1919, sixteen were admitted out of seventeen. In 1920, fourteen were selected out of nineteen. In 1921, eleven out of fourteen. The standard of intelligence in the common school is far superior to that of others.

It is only during the last two or three years that the Birth Control question has begun to be discussed among Japanese people. Japan had, however, several pioneers among scholars. The first writer on Birth Control in Japan was Mr. Sadao Oguri. He was the brother of the late Mr. Fumio Yano, a well-known writer and Socialist. Mr. Oguri's work was published in October, 1903, entitled "Shakai Kaizo Jitsuron" (Key of Social Reformation). But there was little response to this book, because Japan

was not sufficiently developed to estimate its value. But after about twelve years Dr. Kazutami Ukita, Professor of the Waseda University, commenced strongly advocating Birth Control in magazines or in speeches. By this time people had just begun to become interested in the subject. There were not a few who followed Dr. Ukita's teaching, but, at the same time, there was very strong opposition, especially from the militarists; among whom was General K. Sato. Hot discussion was carried on between Dr. Ukita and General Sato, and Dr. Ukita was even sometimes called a traitor to his country. Both Mr. Oguri and Dr. Ukita, however, only dealt with the theory of Birth Control to the Japanese; they did not launch any real popular movement. Naturally, the Japanese people began to lose interest. But Dr. T. Kaji's effort to forward Birth Control in these dark days cannot be overlooked. He had studied this principle and method when he was in Germany. Returning to Japan, he devised a suitable method for Japanese customs and conditions, and taught freely any who consulted him. Finally, he established the "People's Hospital," especially for poor women. Mrs. Sanger, during her stay in Tokyo, visited this hospital and studied the doctor's methods adapted for the Japanese.

Japan is now making a big change spiritually and materially, and is likely to become a strong supporter of Birth Control. In 1920, neo-Malthusianism began to be discussed among the people; after that, nearly all the magazines published in Japan opened their columns for the discussion of this subject freely. By this time the Japanese people began to consider the problem from the point of view of their own economic interest, as well as from the international standpoint. Nobody now accuses the advocates of Birth Control of being traitors. From the end of the last year to the March of this year, three publications on this problem appeared. One is the translation of Mrs. Sanger's work, "Women and the New Race," the second is by the writer of this article, and the third a pamphlet by Baroness Ishimoto. In view of the fact that these works have a large circulation among the people, we must believe that Birth Control has attracted a great amount of attention among the Japanese. Mrs. Margaret Sanger visited Japan in March of this year. The Japanese Government was much worried about it, and without openly giving any reason, suppressed her lecture

to the public. This action, however, stimulated public interest on the subject, contrary to the intention of the Japanese Government. Mrs. Sanger, though having no freedom to address the public, addressed more than ten private meetings. As a result, the Japanese Birth Control Association was organised (address: To Daido-Yoko, Kajimabank Building, Nihonbashi, Tokyo, Japan), and the first magazine of this association appeared on May 15th, 1922. The founders of this association are Dr. Tokijiro Kaji, the owner of the People's Hospital, Professor Isoo Abe, of the Waseda University, and Baron and Baroness Keikichi Ishimoto, friends of Mrs. Sanger.

Japan has no definite law against Birth Control as some of the States of North America have. This is a great help to the future of this movement. The police are generous towards written discussion of this movement, but very severe against the teaching of any practical methods, which is supposed to be a crime against morality.

The future of the Birth Control movement in Japan is largely dependent upon the attitude of the Government, but much more upon the courage of, and spread of education amongst, the people.

#### RESOLUTION.

At the conclusion of the session the following resolution was put to the meeting :—

“The Fifth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference calls attention to the now generally admitted fact that over-population due to high birth rates is the most potent cause of international rivalry and war. It also wishes to point out that mere numbers are not an effective protection to a nation in the event of war, as modern warfare is becoming more and more a question of science and engineering directed and carried out by highly trained individuals. The three conditions for securing universal peace and national security are (a) the limitation of the birth rate of each country to its area and resources, (b) increase of racial efficiency through abstention of reproduction of the unfit, and (c) development of international law and international co-operation in place of national rivalries.

“ It therefore calls upon the Governments of all nations to promote the extension of Birth Control knowledge, especially among their least efficient inhabitants, and urges on the League of Nations to proclaim as a general principle that increase of numbers is not to be regarded as a justification for national expansion, but that each nation should limit its numbers to its own resources.”

Carried.

*(Signed)* H. Cox,  
*President of the Section.*

*Thursday, July 13th.*—EVENING SESSION.

PUBLIC MEETING---LARGE KINGSWAY  
HALL

H. G. WELLS, Esq., in the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN, on rising to speak, said: Ladies and Gentlemen, this meeting is an integral part of the Birth Control Conference that is now being held in London. It is our public meeting, in which the Birth Control Conference proposes to explain its work and purpose to the general public. Our aim to-night is explanation and statement. This is not a propaganda meeting. We are not going to make a very strong attempt to persuade you to do this or that. Our business to-night is to tell you plainly and exactly what the Birth Control movement means.

Essentially, the Birth Control movement stands for frankness. It is for telling plainly and simply to the people who are likely to be the willing or unwilling fathers and mothers of the next generation the plain facts about birth and population, and about the separation of desire from procreation, so that the next generation, or as much of it as we can affect, shall not be begotten in ignorance and heedlessness, shall not be by-products of blind desire and thoughtless passion, and shall not be unwanted children in an unsympathetic world, but that they shall be born well and graciously, as acts of will, out of a deliberate and honourable desire for parentage.

You are to hear to-night addresses from six chosen representatives of this movement. My duty here is to introduce them to you and to stand aside. Yet, before I do so, I would like to say one word or so to call your attention to the very various and miscellaneous *personnel* of this movement. We include Liberals like Mr. J. M. Keynes and Mr. Harold Cox. Mr. Cox is not a Liberal to-day, but he was. (Laughter.) We include high and

crusted Tories like Dr. MacBride. We include intense Individualists like Dr. and Mrs. Drysdale, and thorough-going Socialists like Miss Winsor and myself. We have representatives of the Rationalist Press Association in our movement like Mr. Haynes, leaders of the Free Thought movement like Mr. Moss, and ordained priests like the Rev. Gordon Lang.

Our differences are extraordinary. What is it that we have in common? We have this, that we believe in knowledge, we believe in openness, we believe in cleanness. We distrust emotional darkness, we distrust base excitements, suppression and shame-faced ways, for in these matters that we discuss here there is a paradox. In these matters, concealment is more indecent than plain knowledge. Things may be shouted from the housetop and said from the platform with perfect decency and dignity, that become shameful when they are whispered in the ear, for rest assured that in these matters people will have knowledge.

The choice before us is not a choice between innocence and knowledge; it is a choice between whispering, leering, cheating, red-eared and furtive-eyed knowledge on the one hand, and candid, straightforward knowledge on the other. We stand in this movement for the open ways, for the scientific method and for light, and now I have first to call upon Mrs. Sanger, of New York. She has been a prominent leader in America in the fight against the rather exaggerated, rather unwholesome delicacies that still restrain speech and thought in America. Last year she went on a mission to Japan, where this problem of Birth Control is a very urgent one. Baron Ishimoto told the Conference in his paper the other day that, so far as Japan is concerned, there are only two ways. Either there must be Birth Control in that country or there must be an intolerable pressure of population, that will lead inevitably along the path of war. I regret very much to have to tell you that Baroness Ishimoto, a very dear and charming lady, is not able to be with us on the platform to-night, but I am glad to add that we have in the person of Mr. Kano another representative from that great country which, in many ways, is so akin to us.

MRS. MARGARET SANGER (President, American Birth Control League): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, all of us, in advocating the national and international



practice of Birth Control, have met arguments from our opponents, and even from our friends, that Birth Control would never be accepted by Oriental peoples. There have been articles in magazines, even books have been written, in which the most pessimistic views were brought forward, to show us that our whole civilisation was in danger of being wiped out because the white people were not increasing their population as rapidly as the yellow and coloured races.

I am pleased to say, from my brief experience, that I can repudiate at least part of that statement. Whether or not the white races will be ultimately wiped off the face of the earth depends, to my mind, largely upon the conduct and behaviour of the white people themselves. (Applause.) But that the people of China, Japan, Korea and India desire Birth Control knowledge, that they may reduce the numbers of their families, and that they may also give the women health and freedom, I am quite convinced.

Before I go into the experiences I met with in Japan and China, I would like to tell you a little something of the problem that confronts Japan to-day. Japan has a population of about 57 millions. She has an area of about 150,000 square miles. Now if all of this land were tillable perhaps there would be less excuse for Japan's attitude than there is to-day. When we look through that little country we find that five-sixths of Japan proper is mountainous, and that her huge population must live upon one-sixth of her territory.

This means that Japan is thrown upon the outside world for her foodstuffs, and must depend upon other countries for subsistence for her population. For more than two centuries Japan's population was practically stationary, but within the last sixty-five years her population has practically doubled. For instance, in 1621 she had 25 millions; in 1721 she had still 25 millions. In 1774 she had 25.9 millions, in 1804 she had 25.4 millions, and in 1846 she had 26 millions. But in 1920 she had, as I have said, 57 millions.

The birth rate in Japan averages  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions a year. The death rate is enormous, but even so her survival rate is between 700,000 and 800,000 souls a year. Naturally, with this problem and with this increase, Japan must ask the world what she is to do. She may be able to-day to

take care of her population, but she is looking ahead, and she says to the world : " What is to become of us and all our increasing numbers in twenty or twenty-five years ? "

In some ways to-day Japan is in much the same condition as Germany was in 1910. I will not go into detail to show you how much alike they are in their industrial, commercial, and even moral and spiritual development. More than 90 per cent. of the Japanese people are considered literate. They can read and write. There is a strong development along industrial lines, and, in fact, Japan to-day is experiencing with her people very much the same difficulty that Germany developed and had to face up to 1914, the year of the outbreak of war. Germany found herself with highly skilled artisans and men who were civil engineers, chemists, and others of that sort of ability. Japan finds herself to-day with more technical men—men of fine technical ability—in her population than she herself can use.

Now, while Germany had the whole world for her people to develop in—the doors of the world were open to those efficient men and women—that is not the case with Japan. Most of the world is closed to-day to the skilled artisan of Japan, so, naturally, Japan has a very unusual problem, and one that not only concerns herself, but concerns every other nation in the world.

Now that is something of the condition of affairs that I found when I was invited to go to Japan. We, many of us, have had the erroneous idea that Japan was strongly militaristic, but I want to say that more than 70 per cent. of the people of Japan are not militaristic. It is safe to say that there is that number of young men and women in Japan who are strongly inclined towards Liberalism, and who are opposing the military party most violently.

I found that this Young Liberal group had been interested in Western customs and Western civilisation, and the members of the Government who are in this Liberal group had been sending round the world a number of men to ascertain the facts of our everyday life and the movements that were going on, and the progress that we were making in the Western world. While some of these young men were coming to America, they came upon our propoganda of Birth Control and seemed to be very much interested in this great movement. Within one year's time we had more than twenty-five representatives

from Japan, who came to study the subject of Birth Control.

After that I was invited by a group of Liberals, who call themselves the "Kaisha" group, to go to Japan and to give four lectures on war and population. Now this young group represents the Liberal group in Japan. They have already planned a series of lectures, mostly of philosophic character. Mr. Bertrand Russell had gone before me. I was next on the programme. Einstein was the next and, I believe, although he does not know it, Mr. Wells is to be invited to complete the series.

Plans had already been made for me to go to Japan, and I had purchased or rather engaged my passage when, to my surprise, on arriving at San Francisco, when I applied for the *visa* at the Japanese Consulate, I was told that the Government of Japan—the Home Office—had sent a cable to the Consul-General that if I applied for a *visa* it was to be refused, as they did not want the subject of Birth Control to be discussed in Japan. That was rather surprising to me, inasmuch as the plans had been made for my work there. However, I felt that it was very necessary for me to meet some of the Japanese, especially those intellectual men who were going back from the Washington Conference after representing their Government. So I was able to get on the steamboat and get my ticket for Shanghai. I had no difficulty in getting a *visa* from the Chinese officials on the steamboat, and I had the great pleasure of the opportunity of meeting many of the delegates returning from the Washington Conference. Admiral Cutto was on board and also one of their Ministers. I was there only a few days when, with their usual alertness, they asked me if I would speak to the delegates, about 150 in number. I did so with pleasure, and the result was that their Minister cabled to his Government, urging them, not only to let in the advocate of Birth Control, but also to open the doors wide to the free discussion of that subject for Japan's own good. The interest that was shown by the Japanese on board, not only in the first, but second class, was simply tremendous. There was great interest, and great help was given to me, even great resentment was expressed towards the Government that such a *furore* had been made, and that a ban had been put upon any one entering the country with so vital a message.

When we arrived at Yokohama I was told by a member of the Japanese Government that there was more interest in the subject of Birth Control than there was in the returning delegates from Washington. More than sixty-five members of the Press applied for permission to meet the boat, and in making their application they said their object was to meet us and discuss the subject of Birth Control. If any of you have been to Japan you know what a passion they have for photographs and flash-lights. It is said that more than 150 flash-light photographs were taken of me and my son while we were touring through Japan. It is almost a madness with them to have pictures of everything you do in practically every position that you take up. This, of course, gave us a great deal of publicity, for the whole country was aroused to the discussion, and the scientific discussion, of the subject.

There were meetings with the members of the new women's organisation, and it was quite remarkable how all those women came to express sympathy and interest in the subject of Birth Control, and to express to me their desire for knowledge whereby they could be emancipated from maternal slavery. Representatives from the Medical Association were also present and representatives of Labour. In fact, all the progressive, intellectual world of Japan was interested in this subject of Birth Control.

It would be impossible to go into the detail of all the interesting experiences that both my son and I had. One of the interesting things to me was that my son, who was only thirteen years old, seemed to receive all the attention from the time we entered Japan until we left. Chairs were pulled out for the male member of the family, but I was left to pull out the chairs for myself. There was great respect and deference shown to this youngster, but altogether I think they had a considerable respect for me, not only in Japan, but in China and Korea, from the fact that I was able to produce a son.

My entrance into Japan, as I have said, came through one of the members of the Young Liberal group in Japan, and I want to point out that if the difficulty to which I have referred had occurred fifty years ago I should never have been allowed to enter Japan. If the Government had said "You will not enter," that would have been the end of it. To-day the Government is not so firm in its

opposition to liberty. As soon as the Government said "You cannot come into Japan," the Young Liberals started to make a noise, and to protest and to ask why. Then the Government moved down a step or two, and said "She may come in, but she must not speak." More noise, more protests from the Liberal group, and then the Government moved down another step, and said "She may speak, but not in public." More noise, more protests, and the Government stepped down again, and said "She may speak in public, but she must not give the methods of Birth Control." On that we all agreed. I had no intention of giving the methods of Birth Control to a promiscuous audience; I simply wanted to speak on the theory of the subject, and the practical side would have been given in private.

So, after my arrival, I wanted to ascertain from the Home Office why I was barred from Japan. It is very important for a propagandist to see to it that she is never barred out from any place. It is a very bad precedent for your work. So I went to call on the Chief of Police, who seemed to have been the instigator of the difficulty. They speak a good deal of "Mysterious Japan," and I think that in many cases one would naturally believe that there was a great mystery about Japanese life. I had no idea, up to half an hour before I decided to go to the police station, that I was to go there. I simply made up my mind that I would call upon the Chief of Police and I told no one, except Baron Ishimoto, who was escorting me. Nevertheless, on my arrival, every one knew we were coming. Tea was served, and it is very difficult to be indignant with a Police Department when they serve you tea first. The photographers were there ahead of us, and in every way we were received with great courtesy, and given great attention. The Chief of Police himself was not there, but his Assistant was, and he explained to me that one of the reasons why I was not allowed to speak was that my subject would come under a Bill then pending, which was called "The Dangerous Thought Bill." When I asked if they would explain what that meant, they said there was a Bill pending in the House forbidding any foreigner to come to Japan and bring a "dangerous thought." I am glad to say that Bill was "tabled" a few weeks later, again because of the young and rising Liberal Group in Japan, who made fun of this "Dangerous Thought

Bill," so that it was shelved. That was one of the reasons.

But, finally, our meetings were allowed to go on, and if the Police Department had been a real friend instead of a bitter enemy and opponent, it could not have done more for the cause of Birth Control than it did in its opposition to us, for the whole Press was aflame. It is said that out of 105 magazines that came out in April, eighty-eight carried articles on the subject of Population and Birth Control. Every day the papers for the whole of the weeks I was there carried scientific articles as well as propaganda articles on the subject.

We were able in this time to give ten lectures in Tokio, and if it had not been for illness I think I should have been there for the next two years, because the invitations and letters that came in asking for addresses and lectures made us turn the whole business organisation into an office to answer them. However, we were able to give ten lectures in Tokio and fifteen lectures throughout Japan, and in all except one of those lectures we were able to discuss the methods of Birth Control quite freely. This was done in small groups of from 150 to 200. They were divided into commercial groups, labour groups, industrial groups, and the physicians of the Women's Organisation, and they did this very efficiently and to my satisfaction, because I prefer speaking to small audiences when it comes to the practical side rather than to large promiscuous audiences.

Finally, a League was formed—the first Birth Control League in Japan. Since then I find that this little League has brought out a *Birth Control Review*, a monthly magazine in the Japanese language. They published, and have been publishing, the pamphlet "Family Limitation," which gives the practical methods, and they have, in the past two years, been giving out this pamphlet to the number of 10,000, so that there is already a great deal of dissemination of the practical side of the subject.

One of the interesting things to me was the keen mind which the Japanese statesmen bring to bear on this subject. They do not intend to duplicate our errors. They do not intend that the birth rate and the increase of population shall be among the unfit and the diseased. They intend to direct the force of their organisation and of this movement against anything in that direction. This organisation has for its president a sociologist, a professor

in one of the universities, and also a member of the medical profession. They have also a Labour leader and a very well known social worker, so that all branches of their social and intellectual life are represented in the Birth Control League.

I think it is safe to say that Japan is keenly alive to the subject of Birth Control. Just how long this will last none of us can predict, but if we were able to send our missionaries there as the Church has done, I think we should go a very long way towards bringing real Christianity and humanitarianism and international peace into the entire world.

I was rather pleased to find in the arguments against Birth Control in China and Japan something besides the moral argument. Not once was that argument used. They brought forth arguments based upon science and sociology—arguments it was a pleasure to refute and to argue about.

From Japan I went to Korea, and though my time was limited I was able to give an address, and again the Press was very generous in its statements and in giving out the means of Birth Control to the people. There again, there were many requests for addresses from the Koreans themselves and promises that an organisation would be established there in the very near future.

Then we went to China, where we had not at first intended to go, as my original plan was only to go to Japan and return home. The interest in China was just as great. I was able to speak to 2,500 young students at the National University. The Chancellor himself and the Professors of the University formed the first Birth Control League of China. There also they got busy at once. This group met after dinner and organised the League. They took the practical leaflet "Family Limitation," translated it that night into Chinese, and it was on the press next morning ready for printing. Five thousand of these pamphlets were distributed later on in a few days, so that China took practically at once to the subject, and especially to the practical side of it. They were, when I left Peking, looking for a physician to open a clinic, especially in their poor sections, for the women. The Rockefeller Institute, especially the nurses, were very keen on knowing something of the practical methods, and they got up a meeting which I had the pleasure of addressing, and we

were able to discuss the practical side of carrying on the work in China.

In Shanghai it was very interesting, although there was not the same interest shown, perhaps, in the groups I was able to speak before. There was one group, however, the Family Reformation Society, which has for its rules that you cannot smoke, you cannot drink, and you cannot gamble. My suggestion to them was that you should not have children you cannot support and take care of.

The commercial Press of Shanghai was most generous in its propaganda. For one whole week they brought out scientific articles. They translated practically everything they could put their hands on. For one whole week while I was in Shanghai, the Chinese Press was aflame with the subject of Birth Control.

That is just briefly an outline of the experiences and the interest shown in my brief and hurried trip to the Orient. I think we all know that this movement is, perhaps, slow in development. None of us, possibly, will really see the results of its success. We know that the Crucifixion took place 180 years before Christianity was established, or rather started, in the Roman Empire. We know that the New World was discovered 150 years before the first English colony was established there. None of those who see the beginning of these historical movements can realise and grasp their full significance, and I think it is safe to say that none of us will probably realise or live to see this movement in its fullest culmination, but I think it is safe to say—and we claim it—that if Birth Control is accepted by the Eastern nations, it will hasten very greatly our progress towards international peace and human emancipation.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, ladies and gentlemen, I will ask you to listen to a discourse on the Birth Control movement by Mr. Harold Cox.

MR. HAROLD COX: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, you have heard the extremely interesting account which Mrs. Sanger has given of her tour in the East and the wonderful work she did there, but she did not tell you of the equally wonderful work she has been doing for many years in the West.

It was she who started the Birth Control movement in the United States, and started it because, from her experience as a nurse, she was conscious of the amount of



human suffering involved in the lack of regulation of families. She had the courage to start that movement in defiance of American law, and to endure imprisonment rather than submit to an unjust law. As a result of her courage and never-failing energy she has built up a movement in the United States that extends from East to West. Following on that, and realising that it is necessary not only that the European races should practise Birth Control, but also that the Oriental races should do the same, she, on her own initiative, went to Japan and China to teach them the wisdom she had been teaching to the people of her own country.

Behind her action, behind the movement in which we here are all engaged, is the desire to relieve human misery. No one, looking round the world, can fail for a moment to realise that the great volume of misery that depresses so large a part of the human race is due to the fact that children come too quickly. They come in families where there is only room for one or two, but which breed a dozen, and the result is poverty for all. They come in countries like China and Japan, where there is not sufficient to maintain large populations, with the result that the greater part of the population is living in abject misery. It is the same in India, where the peasants continue, from a sense of religion, largely multiplying their numbers, although the soil will not bear the families they produce, and periodically comes a famine that sweeps away the surplus, or some pestilence like the plague of three or four years ago, which swept away more millions than were killed in the war. It is to relieve this human misery that Birth Control has been established, and we advocate it here to-day.

I want in passing to point out to you that even those countries that are still desirous of increasing their population, if there be any, might do it much more wisely by limiting their death rate than by increasing their birth rate, because experience shows clearly all over the world that, wherever you have a high birth rate, there you have a high death rate. Is it wise, is it human, is it moral, to bring children into the world merely that they should die? That is being done by millions of people to-day.

Mrs. Sanger talked about Japan and compared the figures of the birth rate and death rate in Japan with corresponding figures in Australia. Japan has a high

birth rate and a correspondingly high death rate. Australia has an extremely low birth rate and a lower still death rate, with the result that the survival rate in Australia is higher than the survival rate in Japan. If the Japanese had the wisdom to follow Australia's example, they would save half a million useless deaths every year. I give the figure from memory ; it is 400,000 to 500,000, or something like that.

The same is true of European countries. It is evident from the statistics and published figures of European countries and everywhere else that, where the birth rate declined, the death rate declined with it, so that in many cases the survival rate was increased. That is the practical point for people who still think they want a larger population. For my own part, I think the population of England is already much too large.

I spoke a moment ago of the widespread misery which this unwanted multiplication of children produces. Let me tell you a story of how it affects the individual mother herself. One of my old schoolfellows adopted the profession of medicine, and some years after he was well established I happened to meet him at dinner. He told me of his first experience in a maternity case, not, of course, his hospital experience, but the first maternity case he had to attend where he took the whole responsibility. It was in one of the London slums. He said : " Naturally, as it was my first case, I was anxious that everything should go well, but the child died within a few minutes of birth. I was heartbroken and went with trembling to the mother to tell her what had happened. To my surprise, she only said ' Thank God ! ' " Is it right to bring children into the world when the mother thanks God directly the child is dead ?

But that must occur if people do not know how to practise Birth Control, and yet you have large numbers of people, many of them belonging to the Churches, who go about preaching that Birth Control is immoral. I wish they would tell us precisely why. When we ask, they generally begin by answering, " The Bible says ' Increase and multiply.' " You may not all of you be aware that the quotation of that text is not a modern habit. It has gone on for nearly 2,000 years. Through all the centuries you find in literature that text quoted again and again, quoted in Greek, Latin, French, German and

and every possible language—"Increase and multiply"! But the people who quote that text never take the trouble to tell you that the injunction was given to Noah directly after the Flood, when there were only eight people altogether on the earth—Noah and his three sons and their respective wives. It was perhaps rather a difficult text to obey literally, because Noah at that time was 600 years old, and his eldest son was ninety. But I assure you that text has been quoted century after century in every possible language, as if it proved the immorality of Birth Control.

Well, let us ask, "How has arisen this idea that Birth Control is immoral?" I believe it arises ultimately out of the supreme importance which has been attached to the functions of sex by almost every race at different periods. In particular, the Pagan races, among whom the early Christians lived, worshipped sex, indulged pretty lavishly, and treated it as part of their religious rites. The same thing to some extent exists in India to-day. Consequently the early Christians, finding themselves up against this Pagan doctrine, took an extreme ascetic view and preached that sex was altogether iniquitous in itself. Some of the early Christian writers said it was due to original sin that a woman had to lose her virginity before she could become a mother. Other writers said she could congratulate herself that she was next to a holy virgin.

That view of the wickedness of sex has gone through the centuries. It has, like other ascetic doctrines, influenced people's minds, and they think sex in itself is a wicked thing. They never stop to ask why, if all our instincts have been implanted in us by a Divine Power, the sexual instinct is not also divinely implanted, and if so, why it should be wicked to recognise its existence. If they took the trouble to study the Bible a little more, they would see that the doctrine that the sexual instinct is only to be satisfied when a child is desired is distinctly in conflict with the teaching of the Bible. St. Paul was a bachelor, and he said he wished every one could be like unto himself. "But," he added, "not that he wanted people to multiply, but since that could not be, it was better to marry than to burn." In other words, marry, not to produce children, but to satisfy that divinely implanted instinct. That being the teaching of St. Paul I cannot understand why Christian churches

should condemn any form of sexual indulgence which is not directed to the purpose of producing a child. I do not want to go into details, but I think every one will see clearly that if indulgence in this divinely implanted instinct were limited to the purpose of procreation, it could only be indulged in once or twice in two or three years, and that is an impossible restriction on human instincts. I go so far as to say that it is immoral to suggest that a divinely implanted instinct should be so treated, for this instinct, if you come to think of it, does not mean merely a passing pleasure. The instinct of sex is the basis of human life. It is the love of man for woman, and that is one of the greatest factors in the happiness of mankind. As Lord Dawson admirably said a few months ago at the Church Congress, "Life without love would be a world without sunshine."

I contend that these fundamental instincts apply the laws which ought to regulate all our human passions. Avoid excess and avoid selfishness. If human beings regulate their lives by those two dicta they will not go far wrong. Avoid excess and avoid selfishness. If people apply that doctrine and acquire the necessary knowledge they can, by limiting their families, relieve the world of that vast mass of human misery which now oppresses so many millions of our fellow creatures.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, we will go on again with that Conference between the East and the West, which is so wonderful a phenomenon in the present time. Mrs. Sanger told us how those countries which only twenty-five years ago were like countries of another planet, are now engaged in the closest discussion of our movement. Mr. Kano will talk to us about Birth Control from the Japanese point of view.

[*Note.—This speaker's paper is included in Section I. as a report from Japan, which in effect it is (vide p. 27.)*]

THE CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Drysdale has some rather practical remarks to make. There was hovering in her talk to me just before the meeting the word "collection," but I hope it will not come to that. However, there is something practical she wishes to say.

MRS. B. I. DRYSDALE (Organiser and Hon. Secretary of the Conference): Ladies and Gentlemen, it need not necessarily come to that, but the practical point I have to

bring before you is that to my unhappy lot has fallen the part of telling this meeting something that it is my duty to tell, as Secretary of the Society which organised this Conference. I have been told that I am not to let you go away without telling you of our own work in this country. You will have had by the end of the evening a most splendid object-lesson in Birth Control. From the wonderful speeches, both national and international, you will have heard, I think we may say that you will have had the theory expounded to you.

My part is to take the place of that most curious gentleman, Mr. Squeers. You will remember that Mr. Squeers, in Dotheboys Hall, had a utilitarian kind of education. His plan was to call forth a boy, and having instructed him at not too great length in spelling the word "horse," he followed it up by the suggestion that he should clean his horse at once and be quick about it. I do not wish to be so abrupt and cruel as that. But here in this country we have our own task before us, and we should like very much that the audience here assembled should come and help us do some of this work.

As Secretary of the old Society, formed after the Bradlaugh and Besant trial in 1877, I come to tell you to-night that we are going to form, I will not say exactly a new Society, although perhaps it would be better described as such. We find that the little old ship, built of stout timbers, which has stood the storm and stress of forty-four years, seems to be getting a little cramped, a little shabby, a little out of date. When people who are accustomed to fine liners, fine passenger boats, with plenty of bands and dancing rooms, and I know not what, look at this little old ocean tramp, they feel she is not doing, and cannot do, all that is required of her.

The old Malthusian League is out to bring about this reform by any and every means in its power, and it is not a Society to stand in the way of a general wish. There has been a strongly expressed general wish made within recent times that we should have a Society that would bring in that very large body of popular and public opinion in favour of Birth Control on various terms and from various points of view, but at least in favour of Birth Control. Some say, "I have neither the time nor the interest, nor are my political views like yours. I do not agree with many things the League stands for." But

the Malthusian League stands for Birth Control first and foremost, and only wishes to enunciate certain principles. We held a meeting on July 6th, and on the unanimous proposal of the Malthusian League it was decided that we should form a Society called "The New Generation League," keeping in consonance with our present magazine, which is called *The New Generation*. It was decided that we should have the New Generation League for Human Welfare through Birth Control, and that this fine, new ship, with new paint and looking very smart, should set out to do her work, but on her passenger list will always be found room for that little, stalwart body who stood strongly by the population law enunciated by Malthus, and the followers that have come since. We will condense within this new Society that Malthusian group who have studied the question of Birth Control from its economic, eugenic, moral and all other aspects. This side of the subject will be shown in the pages of *The New Generation* in signed articles, but in all other respects the Society is open now to any person who for any reason believes in Birth Control.

To begin with, Birth Controllers are not Herods. They are not out for Birth Control because they dislike children. They are not out to destroy children; they are not out to encourage the getting rid of children, or not having them. We want as many children born as can be born under good conditions and with a chance to flourish. We do not want a state of society in the future which makes it necessary for us, every time we go outside, to see evidences of unemployment. Every time we pass into this hall we see numbers of miserable men looking about for jobs, or even carrying our own hoardings. The very men who advertise these meetings and who are paid small sums for their work are part of that wretched body of people who either should not have been born, or should have been born to better conditions—one thing or the other.

In that sense we are out to make a new world. As I have said, we are not Herods, and we are not out for immorality. Because people will be sensible and understand, and practise Birth Control in marriage, is no reason why we should not give the teaching for fear some young unmarried people may make improper use of it. There is an improper use to be made of everything in life; there

is no good thing that cannot be turned to an evil thing. The prejudices are only there because the thing is new. I suppose in ten years' time a person would be thought almost an idiot who early in life did not know and understand openly, cleanly and morally, and without any false shame, all there is to know about Birth Control, and why and when it should be used.

We are a conservative set of people in this country. That has its very good side. It takes a long time to move us, but once moved, once we understand, we are steadfast to our principles and I must say I am personally very delighted to see the results of the Conference we are holding this week. Some of us in our little office have worked very hard organising it, and I must say the results have exceeded our warmest expectations. To-night I thought, perhaps, there might be four or five hundred people present, and I begged that I might be let off speaking to this meeting, so that I should not see the handful of people interested. Instead of that, we have had great attendances at the Conference, the Press has taken the greatest interest in the question, and given kindly, and fair, and splendidly serious reports of the work. I do not remember noticing any frivolous or foolish comments on the serious work that has been going on in our Conference, and that indicates a very great advance on the last few years.

But to come back. My time is getting short, and I want to say a word about what we are out to do. Mr. Wells said we were not going to ask any one to do anything they did not like. That is perfectly true, but if I go back to my Society and do not bring with me a large number of members, I am afraid I shall be severely scolded. I should like to say this Society says this :—

- “ (1) That families can and should be controlled to the numbers that can be maintained by the parents themselves.
- “ (2) That Quality is better than mere Quantity in children.
- “ (3) That every mother should have the chance to ‘space out’ her children for the better health and conditions of herself and her family.
- “ (4) That people who are suffering from heritable diseases such as epilepsy, insanity or syphilis, should not have children.

“(5) That at hospitals, institutions, welfare centres, etc., where the sick, the very poor, or less fit members of society apply for public assistance in various ways they should be specially encouraged, and carefully taught to limit their families for the sake of the children themselves.”

Those are the five reasons we give for asking you to join the New Generation League.

Some one the other day applied to our General Secretary for the League's "Practical Leaflet." When he received this practical leaflet, we sent a little form asking him to join the Society. He wrote back, "What do I get out of the Society? Why should I join?" We had to tell this gentleman that he would not get anything, but we expected him entirely to give. If the joy of giving was any reward, it would be his.

Well, why do we want people to join the Society? One lady said, "Do not bother me. I am converted." Of course, we do not want it for that reason. Those present at this meeting to-night belong perhaps to the great mass of people who are comparatively well off, or who, at least, have the necessities of life and a little to spare, with leisure and education, but there are huge masses in the neighbourhood of our Welfare Centre, and many other centres in London, where the greatest poverty, ignorance, degradation and hopelessness prevail. It is to you people we look to join the Society and help to form an educated public opinion, and otherwise to help us to get this work done. I say with all due deference to our own centre and that of Dr. Stopes, that we cannot hope to have the work done by those centres while there exist such conditions of poverty and misery; and some of us in our Society are looking to help from the Government to put this matter right. We feel that the governing classes, ourselves amongst them, have been responsible for this ignorance and degradation, and it is now our turn to say to the Government, "You have already Welfare Centres galore scattered all over the country. You have all kinds of institutions organised for the welfare of the people. To the curative work done there add this still more curative work—the preventive prophylaxis of Birth Control.

Dr. Norman Haire is present to-night, and he is hoping at the end of the Conference to form a strong medical society for studying Birth Control and finding out the



best ways and means of teaching and encouraging medical people to come in and help in this work. If we could get that done I feel sure that in ten years, or five years, perhaps, we should see the greater part of the preventable misery and poverty among the poor done away with altogether. There is no doubt it can be cured.

Finally, may I say we are going to give you a little rest from holding your necks in a strained position. Before the rest of the speakers address you, and while the organ plays, we are going to hand round the slips of this new leaflet. It is for you to take them home and read them carefully and think about them. It is probable that very few will make up their minds to-night, and if you would take them home and send them up in a few days if you come to the conclusion that you would like to join, we should be very delighted. We shall then be able to feel that those present at this meeting have not gone away giving us nothing in return.

Do your little bit. It need not be much. Make up your mind to get five others to join during the year. Dr. Norman Haire would like me to say that, though we are shy of asking for money, still we cannot do our work without money. We are not going to be so dreadful as to ask for a collection in this audience, but if you will hand in these signed forms when you pass out, with a little money for the clinic, we should be grateful. This Birth Control Clinic, managed by its medical officer and a lady doctor, costs something like £500 a year. Our rather hard-hearted Minister of Health will not give us any money so long as we teach Birth Control, but we are going on to teach him, we are going to shame the Ministry. We are going to shame those people who object, so that Birth Control may be taught at other centres without taking away their grant, which most of the other centres are afraid would happen if they taught it now.

Our little centre will be a model centre of what other centres should be. We have simply taken the name of the street for its title. It is the "East Street Welfare Centre" for maternity and child welfare work. There is nothing to frighten a mother with a baby in her arms, nor to make her think a drunken crowd will hoot at her if she comes in. She comes for instruction and help for her child and herself, and on top of that work is superimposed this teaching of Birth Control. That is what the centre is for. It must

be entirely supported out of voluntary funds until we can soften the hard heart of the Minister of Health and get him to do it officially. Then our work is finished.

THE CHAIRMAN : We have seen the birth of the "New Generation League" and the passing of the old Malthusian League. The organ will play while these papers are distributed.

## (INTERVAL.)

On resuming :—

THE CHAIRMAN : I think I will follow the methods of the Toast Master. "Pray silence for Dr. Killick Millard."

DR. C. KILLICK MILLARD (M.O.H., Leicester) : Ladies and Gentlemen, in the first place I really should like to congratulate Dr. and Mrs. Drysdale upon this splendid meeting. (Applause.) I know a little of the large amount of work which has been done to make this Conference a success, and I know this meeting has cost Mrs. Drysdale some little anxiety. You can never tell how a big public meeting will be responded to, but I think I may say she feels rewarded for all the time and trouble she has put in. (Hear, hear.)

I should also like to congratulate her on the birth of the New Generation League. I trust the good work carried on for so many years by the old Malthusian League will be carried on more vigorously and in wider spheres under its new guise.

Mrs. Drysdale made a rather distant allusion to the financial state of the Conference. I really do feel I ought to say this. I know of the heavy financial sacrifice Dr. and Mrs. Drysdale have been making for many years in connection with the Malthusian League, and now there is the altogether exceptional expense in connection with this Conference. Therefore, I feel you would probably like to bear some share in this great work, and I hope you will act on the hint Mrs. Drysdale threw out in such a very tentative and distant manner.

I come before you this evening as medical officer of health of one of our great industrial centres. In connection with my official work I have been closely connected for many years with problems of maternity and child welfare as they affect the lives of the poor. I speak also as an individual who has been married over twenty years, and happily married. Like Mrs. Sanger, I have a son.

In fact, I am proud to be the father of two sons and two daughters. I mention these personal details because I venture to suggest that in a question such as this they are by no means a negligible qualification.

It is a strange reflection that some of the most vehement condemnations of Birth Control come from men who are themselves celibate, men who have had no personal experience of the joys of marriage and parenthood, men who—no matter how distinguished they may be and no matter how good work they may be doing in their own sphere—in this matter, concerned as it is with intimate details of marriage and parenthood, are mere laggards in the battle of life. Such men are not, and cannot be in the nature of things, the best judges. There is, of course, a scientific explanation of the extreme hostility which some of these men manifest towards Birth Control. In the paths of psychology it is one of the manifestations arising from an undue suppression of the sex complex.

We have heard of the hostility of the Churches to Birth Control. Now, I venture to suggest that it is not without significance that the oldest established of our Churches, the one which has been most active in its hostility to Birth Control, which has set an example and influenced the teaching of other Churches, requires all its priesthood to be celibates.

But before I go further I want to emphasise how greatly I appreciate the value of children. People who have never had children have missed one of the supreme and most permanent of the joys of existence. (Hear, hear.) Parenthood is one of those satisfactions of life which increases instead of diminishing with advancing years. In a sense, our children and our children's children make us immortal. It is easier for us to reconcile ourselves to the waning of life's flame when we have handed on the torch to others.

Childless marriages are generally to be greatly deplored. Too often they represent a real domestic tragedy. It is not without good reason that we congratulate the young couple on the birth of their first child. So important do I feel it that every marriage should come to fruition that personally I can never recommend young couples at the outset of their married life, unless there are exceptional reasons, to practise Birth Control until they have made sure of at least one child. We must remember

that fertility is a very precious fountain, which in many cases it is much easier to turn off than to turn on.

Therefore I say that no matter how great the inconvenience and the sacrifice which the advent of the first child within a year of marriage may entail, make sure of it. It is worth it, well worth it.

Then after an interval, which I suggest ought not to be less than about two years, nor more than about three, there should be a second child. One-child marriages are not in the same category as childless marriages, but still are very much to be deprecated. It is bad for the child, who too often becomes self-centred and spoilt. It is bad also for the parents. Besides, every one knows it is foolish to put all your eggs in one basket. In the parish church of the town of Ashbourne, Derbyshire, there is a beautiful monument which represents a little girl lying asleep, marvellously sculptured in white marble. It bears this pathetic inscription :—

To  
PENELOPE  
Only Child of Sir Brooke and Dame  
Susanna Boothby,  
Born April 11th, 1785,  
Died March 13th, 1791.

She was in form and intellect most exquisite. The unfortunate parents ventured their all on this frail  
bark,  
and the wreck was total.

After two children have been born many young couples will feel in serious doubt about incurring fresh responsibilities. Many circumstances have to be considered. There is a limit to what one woman, single-handed and without assistance, can accomplish, if she is properly to attend to her children, home and husband, and retain her self-respect. Then provision has to be made for the children's future, for it is right to enable parents to do well by their children, using that term in its best sense. There may then have to be a longer interval before further children arrive, but so greatly do I appreciate the value of children that I urge all healthy young couples who can see their way to it not to be satisfied with less than three children. Personally, I regard four children—two of

either sex—as the ideal family. It is well to have duplicates, in case of contingencies.

I am aware that many people still hold the old idea that married people ought to have as many children as are sent to them. That extreme doctrine is dying out. Very few people hold that view to-day. My gardener tried it, and his wife has presented him with eighteen babies in twenty-five years, all born one at a birth. In place of that old-fashioned doctrine, the view most people hold now is that in the begetting of new life—the most important and sacred function we human beings are called upon to perform—it should no longer be undertaken recklessly, but be brought within the sphere of reason and forethought. I have to admit that at the present time young couples of the A1 class tend perhaps to err on the side of excessive caution, but I believe that is a reaction from the excessive families of half a century ago. I have little fear it will right itself. I am more concerned with the reckless lack of caution of the C3 class. The disastrous fertility of the C3 class has now become recognised as a world-wide danger. There is no gainsaying the fact that people who in all human judgment are least fitted in character or constitution to be parents, who are least able to support a large family, are just the very ones who have the largest families. That cannot be good either for the individual, the nation or the race. I sometimes think that the short and simple annals of the poor can be expressed in four words, “ Bearing babies and burying babies.”

If we believe in the laws of heredity, we must realise that the children of C3 parents to-day tend themselves to become C3 to-morrow, and will be parents of C3 children in the future.

Let me close by quoting from an American writer :—

“ The improvement of the human race, if not the future evolution of man, will depend in part on conscious human endeavour. To us it is given to co-operate in this greatest work of all time and to have a part in the triumphs of future ages, not only by improving the conditions of individual life and development and education, but much more by improving the ideals of society, and by breeding a better race of men who will mould things nearer to the heart's desire.

“Men, at some time, are masters of their fates. The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves, that we are underlings.”

If men are really to be masters of their fates and not always underlings, if they are to rise to the greatest heights of which, through the Divine attribute of reason, they are potentially capable, then I say it means learning to free themselves from the handicap of constant toil for the bare necessities of life, which is so largely the outcome of the pressure of population upon the means of subsistence, and learning to control that strange fertility which throughout the whole of nature tends to become excessive. If mankind is effectively to control fertility, we who are members of the New Generation League believe it is necessary and desirable that they should adopt and put into practice the principles of Birth Control.

MRS. SWANWICK (Women's International League): Malthusians from the days of that courageous clergyman—courageous because he was a clergyman partly, and I would there were more of his kind now—Malthusians from that day to this have been brave people, brave men and brave women, because they said what most of us dislike to hear said. They have told us to stop and think, and to think at the moment when we were perhaps most likely to be carried away. It was an unpopular thing to say, it was a difficult thing to say, and the lady who has spoken to us so magnificently from this platform to-night has carried on that tradition with the same courage that was exhibited when Malthus wrote his book.

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

We have to realise, as some of us believe, that we are on the eve of a great tendency towards social revolution. I know the Malthusian members generally agree that we are on the eve of a socialisation of the dependents of the world. We have to realise that this question is not only a question for the individual, and that it is wrong counsel

for the individual, while we live in a system of individualism, to produce more young creatures than he can rear properly. We have also to realise that it is wrong to produce more than the nation can support as they should be supported.

There has always been a tendency to breed up to the limit of subsistence under favourable conditions. When there is a boom in prosperity the birth rate goes up, and people tend to breed up to the very limit of possibility in time of prosperity, leaving nothing for any possible change, for any possible risk, for the expansion and contraction of national prosperity.

I think we can have no better example of this kind of thing than the history of Russia during the last few decades. Mr. Keynes points out in his articles on Russia in the *Manchester Guardian Supplement* that in 1870 the population of Russia was 100 millions, while in 1914 it was 150 millions. That is an increase of over half a million a year. No doubt the potential wealth of Russia could support a vastly larger population than that, but the development of Russia, especially Czarist Russia, was not adequate to that tremendous increase of population. We might have foretold, with an increase of that kind and a Russia politically and economically of that kind, that that would befall which did befall, and that would happen which is happening now; that we should see Russia, a tragic country of illimitable potential wealth, producing people that had to be killed by millions, and inviting all the disasters that have befallen that country.

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

I want to say I believe in the socialisation of the dependents of the world. The children until they can earn their living, the old people and the invalids should, I

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

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

THE CHAIRMAN: I think Mrs. Swanwick has corrected the balance against Mrs. Drysdale, and you have heard how Birth Control can be seen, not only from an individualist but from an advanced social standpoint. I will now call upon the Rev. Gordon Lang.

THE REV. GORDON LANG: Ladies and Gentlemen, I shall not think of detaining you many minutes to-night, after the number of speeches you have listened to—lucid speeches that have put before you quite plainly the position taken up on this platform—but there are one or two things that might be said.

Those of us at the Conference this week have felt it to be an important Conference. Some of us have felt and believed that more definite steps are being taken towards international peace at Birth Control Conferences like this than in meetings of the League of Nations itself. We feel that definite steps are being taken, but there



have been two or three sections of the population unfortunately distinguished by their absence, so far as our Conferences have been concerned. I should have liked to see Members of Parliament here, even if under compulsion. It would have given them and some of us a very useful opportunity of instruction. I should have liked to have seen more of the ministers and clergymen of this country, not that they are altogether as ignorant of the methods of Birth Control as they may pretend to be, but at any rate they have not yet decided to share their knowledge and enunciate its practice to their own people. I should also like to have seen a larger representation from a great political party, the Labour Party of this country, which, whatever may be your political views, is a political force very much to be reckoned with.

Now, I want to suggest two things, more or less from the moral point of view. I do suggest to you that, as we have already heard, we have to get out of our minds the idea that quantity is the all-important thing. The Churches are not over-troubled with over-population so far as their own services are concerned, and that may possibly account for their lack of interest in over-population in other directions, but at any rate they have fallen into grave errors with regard to quantity—such grave errors, that we have extremely large membership of some churches with a correspondingly small number at others. That kind of thing may do for church subscriptions and membership, but it will not do when it comes to bringing into the world men and women who are described as being in the image of God. What they may be potentially is one thing, what they are to-day is another thing.

Those of us who come into contact with the sordid and seamy side of life know what a great deal of leeway has to be made up before our fellow-men are like unto the image of God. It is a good thing that, so far as the spiritual world is concerned, there is no such thing as libel, because eternity might become of short duration if all the writs were issued. We are in a crisis, so far as religious life is concerned. Some of us are not altogether surprised, some of us are not altogether disappointed. There will have to be radical reconstruction, and we do not wonder that men and women, however real their sincerity may be, have drawn away from churches and chapels when bishops like the Bishop of Exeter can

solemnly ask for more children in order to prepare for another war. Those are things which send men away from the churches with great contempt for the churches themselves. Therefore, I do not suggest that if we are concerned with religion, we should regard quality and not quantity.

The other point is this. You have heard it touched upon delicately. There is a suggestion that there is something immoral in the control of childbirth. From a religious and moral point of view we are supposed to place our greatest trust upon the soul, the spirit. The Churches have always done that, and some of the Churches most concerned with minimising the body have spent all their time in finding ways of obviating it till they have forgotten the soul altogether. Those of you who believe in the expression of the soul know it can only find itself in a material and physical expression. Incessant babies are born who are mentally deficient, physically deficient, unwanted and undesired; they are thrown from pillar to post and never discover their own soul, nor do other people credit them with possessing one. Therefore, a failure to control birth means that you are very effectively controlling the soul from the point of view of negation, in so far as rapid production of children means the physical mode of expression of the truer and deeper things of the soul. When you have Birth Control, you will set free in a large measure the free aspirations of men and women.

I have no intention of saying anything more to you. It may be necessary at some other time and place to tell you of the experiences some of us come in contact with every day, but I do suggest that, in conditions of appalling poverty and hopelessness for large masses of people, it is an opportune time for men and women who think, and are anxious for the future of our people, to go forward as missionaries with this idea to our fellow-men and women, in order that the birth of a child may in future be a source of happiness, and that voluntary parenthood may give a stronger, sturdier race, and that when children come, and as they grow, they may find a more goodly heritage, and that their to-morrow may at any rate be a better day than one of us have discovered ours to be.

That is our privilege and responsibility, and I am glad to stand for Birth Control as the most effective and immediately essential means of bringing about that very desirable condition.

THE PRESIDENT (Dr. C. V. Drysdale): Although the hour is so late, I am sure we should not wish to separate without expressing our heartiest thanks to Mr. Wells and the speakers who have addressed us this evening. I think I may say we especially wish to thank Mrs. Sanger, who has come so far from her wandering tour.

If I may say so, the key of the Birth Control movement is this. It is the first real attempt to apply science, which has done so much for humanity in other directions, directly to the problem of humanity. I think our trouble in the past has been that science has been used so much for technical invention and destructive purposes in war, but it has not yet been applied sufficiently to the human race itself, and it is the keynote of the Birth Control movement that if we control and regulate the numbers of our people, both in the matter of quantity and quality, we can do almost anything with them, as we have done with other races.

We believe this Conference and meeting will be of very great use, and we are especially glad to welcome Mr. Wells, because he is the greatest exponent in this country of the attempt to popularise science, and it is on that account we are extremely obliged to him.

THE CHAIRMAN: I thank you very much. Do not forget the little papers that have been distributed. We shall measure the success of our meeting by the number of those papers that are returned to us.

*Friday, July 14th.*—MORNING SESSION.

## MEDICAL SECTION

*President* . C. KILLICK MILLARD, M.D., D.Sc., M.O.H.

THE PRESIDENT, on opening the proceedings, read a paper on :—

### BIRTH CONTROL AND THE MEDICAL PROFESSION.

It is a hopeful sign in connection with the Birth Control movement that the medical profession is now taking an interest in it. There is no reason to think that medical men have not practised Birth Control as much as any other section of the community; indeed, at the 1911 Census\* they were found to have the smallest number of children per family of any class, and there seems no sufficient reason for thinking that doctors' wives are naturally less fertile than those of other professional classes. Nor do I think we can account for their small families by a later average age at marriage. We may therefore conclude that their small families are, to some extent at least, intentional, and possibly the result of the difficulty which many young medical men experience in keeping up appearances—so necessary in the case of a private practitioner—and at the same time making income balance expenditure.

Doctors need not be unduly ashamed of their small families, however, for they are in good company, the class placed next to them by the Registrar-General being the clergy of the Church of England.

But whatever interest medical men may have taken in Birth Control as individuals, they have not hitherto as a profession shown much scientific interest in it. The medical profession, like the clerical, has always inclined towards conservatism, and has been cautious about

\* The latest figures show doctors as being third lowest, teachers being lowest, and clergy (C. of E.) coming second.

accepting new ideas. We must not blame them for this, but the fact remains that, as a profession, medical men were, until recent years, indifferent, if not actively hostile, to the movement. Yet just as the great Malthus—whose name we perpetuate, and whose memory we are keeping green by this Conference—was himself a clergyman of the Church of England, so individual members of the medical profession have been in the very forefront of the movement. It is only necessary here to mention two names—C. R. Drysdale, M.D., F.R.C.S., and Dr. Alice Drysdale Vickery—which stand out conspicuously, and will, I hope, be for ever revered.

Dr. Alice Vickery qualified in medicine over forty years ago, being one of the first women to enter the medical profession; no small achievement in itself. She was a medical student at the time of the famous Knowlton trial in 1876, and had the courage, mere girl as she was, to come forward as a witness for the defence on behalf of Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant. What that must have meant it is hard for us to-day to realise. However, in this instance virtue brought its own reward, for it was at that epoch-making trial, I believe, that she made the acquaintance of Dr. C. R. Drysdale, who was also a medical witness for the defence. The association thus began was destined to be life-long. In due course she became Mrs. Drysdale, and proved herself a worthy helpmeet to her husband in the cause which he made his chief life's work.

The year after the Knowlton trial, in 1877, Drysdale founded the Malthusian League, and became its first President, and he continued to support it whole-heartedly until his death.

Through good and ill report, Dr. Drysdale and Dr. Vickery worked away, sowing the seed which to-day is bearing such good fruit.

At first meeting with but little encouragement, and many rebuffs, frowned on, scorned, ridiculed, even insulted, as is so often the lot of pioneers and reformers, they never wavered, but sustained throughout by the firm conviction that truth was on their side, and would in time prevail.

Dr. C. R. Drysdale was called to his rest some years ago, but his widow, Dr. Alice Drysdale Vickery, is, I rejoice to say, still with us. I gladly take this opportunity

as President of the Medical Section of this Fifth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference—the first to be held in this country—of publicly acknowledging our indebtedness to both her and her late husband, as members of our profession, for their fearless advocacy of, and personal sacrifices for this great cause. Dr. Drysdale did not live to see the full result of his work, but I congratulate Dr. Vickery most heartily on being spared to see such a tremendous change in public opinion, both inside and outside of the medical profession, that we are justified, I think, in saying that the cause for which she and her husband strove so strenuously is virtually won. Little is left on the controversial side for those who still carry on the fight beyond what, in military parlance, is called, I believe, “wiping up.”

It only remains to add that the good work carried on so bravely by Dr. and Mrs. Drysdale, *seniores*, has been taken over with no less enthusiasm by their son, C. V. Drysdale, O.B.E., D.Sc., F.R.S.E., the present President of the League, and his wife, Mrs. Bessie Drysdale, Honorary Secretary of the League. Dr. C. V. Drysdale, though not a medical man, is a very distinguished man of science, who rendered invaluable service to the country during the war in connection with anti-submarine research. Dr. and Mrs. C. V. Drysdale have devoted themselves wholeheartedly to the work of the Malthusian League, sparing neither time nor money in its service. It would be difficult to exaggerate what the League owes to them.

At this point it may be well to point out the distinction between neo-Malthusianism and Birth Control, for although the terms are sometimes used as though they were synonymous, there is a real difference between them. The two are very closely bound up together, it is true, but whilst the first (neo-Malthusianism) may be said to include Birth Control, the latter does not necessarily include neo-Malthusianism, the reason being that neo-Malthusianism is identified with the economic doctrines, more or less modified, first enunciated by Malthus; whereas Birth Control does not necessarily involve any economic doctrine. It is Birth Control, rather than neo-Malthusianism, which chiefly concerns the medical profession.

I wish to suggest that it is high time that medical men and women addressed themselves seriously to study the

various medical problems connected with Birth Control which are waiting solution.

The public are looking to the medical profession for light and guidance on the practical aspect of this question, and in the past they have often had to look in vain.

A year ago I brought the question of Birth Control, with special reference to the practical aspect, before a local medical society in the hope of learning something from my *confrères*, but I found that they knew little more than what was common knowledge.

Now that such a distinguished member of our profession as Lord Dawson of Penn has identified himself so outspokenly with this subject, no medical practitioner need hesitate about taking it up. It is true that at the last Lambeth Conference Anglican bishops still condemned it as immoral, though in much more moderate and guarded terms than the previous Conference had done twelve years before, but on the other hand, distinguished divines, such as the Bishop of Birmingham and the Dean of St. Paul's, have not hesitated to take a different view.

Whilst speaking of the Lambeth Conference it is worth noting that at the 1908 Conference, at which Birth Control was condemned in the strongest possible terms on ethical grounds, the bishops tried to strengthen their case by suggesting that Birth Control methods were also to be condemned on medical grounds, as being highly injurious to health, and they quoted two or three medical authorities in support of this view. One of these was the late Dr. Taylor, Professor of Obstetrics at Birmingham, and another was Dr. L. Bergeret, a French gynæcologist. Both these men insisted on the danger of using contraceptives, and Bergeret went so far as to attribute almost every gynæcological trouble he had ever met with, from neurasthenia to carcinoma utera, to their use. But as both these men were clearly convinced of the heinousness of Birth Control on ethical and patriotic grounds, I do not think their evidence need be taken too seriously.

With a view to ascertaining how far their view was endorsed by other medical men I issued a *questionnaire* some four years ago to a number of medical men and women, largely medical practitioners in provincial towns. One of the questions asked was whether, in their opinion, certain contraceptives in common use (the condom and

quinine pessary) were injurious to health under ordinary circumstances. Out of seventy-four forms returned filled up, fifty-two replied in the negative, eleven in the affirmative, though only two said they had had personal experience of bad effects. Six were indefinite, and five did not answer this question. Apparently the chief trouble which it was thought might be caused was some degree of vaginal irritation, not a very serious matter, and not at all comparable with the evils alleged by Bergeret. Some of those who thought they were injurious were clearly not speaking from any actual experience, but rather on general principles, on the ground that they were unphysiological, or "contrary to Nature." One correspondent, who was evidently very much opposed to contraception and used rather extreme adjectives to express his feelings, was, I afterwards discovered, a Roman Catholic.

On the other hand, a woman doctor wrote to me as follows: "In nearly thirty years' practice among women, of which nearly twenty years have included experience on the staff of a women's hospital, I have not met a single case in which I could trace ill-health to this cause. Naturally, both forms of practice have involved the receipt of many confidences on the subject."

I may mention in this connection that Sir Francis Champneys, M.D., F.R.C.P., Chairman of the Central Midwives' Board, in giving evidence before the National Birth Rate Commission, when questioned as to the alleged injury to health caused by contraceptives, replied:—

"I do not think it is true to say that in the majority of cases prevention does affect health in a deleterious manner." Questioned also as to the use of soluble pessaries, he replied: "I believe the common ingredient is quinine, and I do not believe that does any harm whatever." (Sir Francis is not an advocate of Birth Control.)

Quite recently, with a view to getting some further information as to the present views of the medical profession, I sent out a second *questionnaire*, in collaboration with my friend, Dr. Binnie Dunlop, whose great interest in the work of the League is so well known.

This time I addressed the *questionnaire* primarily to eminent gynæcologists, both in London and the provinces, though some women doctors of standing were also included.



One hundred and sixty copies of the *questionnaire* were sent out, and at the time of writing sixty-five have been returned filled in, and two through dead letter office ; two forms were returned blank. The following are the questions asked, together with an analysis of the answers received :

*Question 1.*—"Do you approve of married couples using contraceptive methods in cases where, on health or economic grounds, they feel it incumbent on them to limit the size of the family ?"

37 answered "Yes."

13 answered "No."

14 gave a qualified approval, *e.g.*, only after one, two or three children ; only on medical advice ; on health grounds only (6).

*Question 2.*—"If so, which method or methods do you consider, on the whole, to be most satisfactory ?"

*Answers.*

18	Condom.	2	Douching.
5	Condom, or some other method.	2	"Observing the periods."
8	Quinine pessaries.	1	Vaginal plug.
3	Check pessary.	1	Various.
1	Check pessary <i>plus</i> quinine pessary.	17	Not stated.
2	<i>Coitus interruptus</i> .	3	Abstinence.
		2	Abstinence, or condom.

*Question 3.*—"It has been suggested that the reduced birth rate, which has become so noticeable in most civilised countries and especially amongst the better-off classes, is not really due, as has commonly been supposed, to voluntary restriction by the use of contraceptives—or only to a slight extent—but is attributable to a reduction in natural fertility.

"Are you disposed to credit this theory, and can you adduce any facts in support of it ?"

*Answers.*

36 "No."

18 "Yes." (No evidence adduced beyond belief that fertility decreased in intellectual classes.)

6 Doubtful.

5 No answer.

Question 4.—“Have you had any reason to think, in the course of your professional experience, that the use of chemical substances as contraceptives (*e.g.*, quinine pessaries), whilst failing to prevent conception, has injuriously affected the resulting offspring?”

“If you have had any cases where you have suspected this, please give particulars as far as possible.”

*Answers.*

56 “No.”

3 “Yes.” (Two quoted no cases; one knew of a case of alleged injury, but no proof.)

6 Not answered.

The object of question 1 was to ascertain the present feeling of representative medical men and women as to the legitimacy of contraceptives. From the answers received it would appear that those who approve of their use are nearly three times as numerous as those who disapprove. It certainly cannot be claimed in future that the medical profession condemns contraception.

The object of question 2 was to ascertain which methods were considered most satisfactory *on the whole*. The condom comes out easily as first favourite, with twenty-three votes as against twenty-five for all other methods put together, followed as a poor second by quinine pessaries. The check pessary, which has been so warmly advocated in certain quarters, received only four votes. “Abstinence,” it would appear, is not regarded as the most satisfactory method except by a very few, receiving only five votes.

Question 3 refers, of course, to the theory put forward recently by Mr. C. E. Pell in his book “The Law of Births and Deaths.”

The answers given must not be regarded as in any way refuting Pell’s theory, because his arguments would probably be unknown to many of my correspondents. They are of interest, however, as showing what the present view is. It is clear they endorse the present popular view that the fall in the birth rate has been volitional.

Question 4 was prompted by the fear felt by some people that contraception may injure the offspring.

It is reassuring to find that there is practically no evidence to support such an idea.

A fifth section of the *questionnaire* was headed “General

Observations and Remarks," and some interesting observations were thus obtained. The following is a selection :

(1) "Withdrawal the commonest plan ; but injurious to wife."

(2) "Large families are an unutterable curse to those not blest with ample means. Some form of contraception is thus absolutely necessary."

(3) "Quinine may possibly cause prolonged sterility through action on mucous membrane causing chronic metritis."

(4) "Highly dangerous to tamper with instincts. May be necessary to bring intelligence much more into these matters."

(5) "I am sure that mental effect of inability to have children after contraceptive methods have been tried is likely to be deleterious."

(6) "I am strongly in favour of the use of contraceptives for health and moral reasons."

(7) "I think that *coitus interruptus* is the commonest method. Apt to produce chronic pelvic congestion and neurasthenia."

(8) "Use of contraceptives almost universal in classes above the poverty line ; douching the commonest method."

(9) "The use of contraceptives by persons best fitted to be parents is so extreme as to threaten the ruin of the Anglo-Saxon race in Britain and America."

(10) "Artificial prevention establishes in time sterility."

(11) "Anglo-Indian women have thought that quinine taken for malaria has a sterilising effect."

(12) "Quinine may cause slight vaginitis, otherwise harmless."

(13) "Use of contraceptives immediately after marriage leads to nervous trouble and unhappiness in early married life. Quinine injurious if used over long periods. Metal stem pessary gives rise to intra-uterine inflammatory trouble. Withdrawal gives rise to nervous trouble in wife." (From a medical woman.)

(14) "My only experience of quinine pessaries is that they are ineffectual. I have seen harm caused by check pessaries."

(15) "Patients tend to make lotion for douches too strong, with consequent ill-effects on vaginal mucosa. The *care* with which contraceptive methods are practised is of more importance than the method used. Patients

must have detailed instructions." (From a medical woman.)

(16) "I strongly object to any mechanical contrivance placed in the vagina. Quinine, in my experience, is harmless to the woman."

(17) "Quinine pessaries do not always prevent. The production of abortion in this district seems to be becoming more prevalent; the poorer women realise that they cannot afford to have and rear large families. They are ignorant of contraception, or too lazy to use what knowledge they have, and simply bring off one abortion after another." (From a medical woman.)

### STERILISATION OF THE UNFIT.

BY NORMAN HAIRE, Ch.M., M.B.

Although Birth Control is gaining in public favour, it still has many active opponents, and among them a large number of really earnest conscientious people, who sincerely believe that it is wrong for averagely healthy men and women to limit their families.

But there are few, I think, even among the most conservative, who would deny that it is justifiable, and indeed very desirable, to limit or prevent the multiplication of those who, through either physical or mental disease, are obviously unfit for parenthood.

Especially in cases of mental disease or deficiency is it necessary that reproduction should be avoided; and it is precisely in these cases that it is most difficult to teach the patient to take regular and adequate contraceptive precautions. Through carelessness, or indifference, or lack of intelligence, these people generally fail to avoid frequent conceptions, so that they continue to bring into the world new generations of human beings handicapped from the beginning by a woefully small mental bank balance, who become bankrupt if too great a demand is made on their poor resources. These it is who fill our lunatic asylums, our gaols, our workhouses, and who form a very large proportion of our unemployed.

As resident medical officer at a large obstetric hospital and at a lunatic asylum, I have seen the most dysgenic breeding. Often a woman would be admitted to the obstetric hospital with a history of attacks of insanity

occurring at each pregnancy. During the pregnancy, or at a confinement, or soon after, she would become insane and be removed to an asylum. If she recovered sufficiently to be harmless to herself and others, she would be discharged "cured," only to go through the same cycle at the next pregnancy. I have seen women who had had as many as six attacks of this sort, and who nevertheless were not prevented from becoming pregnant again, or even taught to take any sort of contraceptive measures.

On investigation of the family history of the mentally diseased or deficient, it is so often found that there are other cases of mental disturbance in near relations. Sometimes one finds insanity in several succeeding generations, the age of onset becoming earlier in each successive generation, showing that each individual tended to begin with less capital than its predecessor, and in the presence of an equal strain to become bankrupt earlier.

Among my patients at a Maternity and Child Welfare Centre in a very poor part of London a good many show mental deficiency of varying grades, and I find that these are the ones who breed most recklessly, who are the most difficult to convince of the necessity for contraception, and the most incapable of learning properly to use the ordinary simple methods.

In such cases, as also in the presence of syphilis, tuberculosis, and certain other diseases which may be transmitted to, or may damage, the offspring, sterilisation by surgical means seems to me to be most clearly indicated. In many of the States of the American Union the compulsory sterilisation of lunatics and certain habitual criminals is prescribed or permitted by law. I am informed by the Secretary of the State Board of Health for Indiana that about 1,200 males have been compulsorily sterilised in that State, and that somewhat similar laws exist in New York, Iowa, Michigan, Oregon, California, Washington, Kansas, and Illinois. Connecticut, Nevada, and New Jersey also have sterilisation laws.

Public opinion in England is perhaps not yet ready to accept the idea of *compulsory* sterilisation, but I think there would be little effective opposition if *voluntary* sterilisation were advocated for cases of positive unfitness, and its simplicity and harmlessness properly explained. Indeed, I believe many men and women suffering from less serious physical or mental disability, or from economic

distress, and even many who, while neither diseased nor poor, yet desired to limit their families from other worthy motives, would also seek this operative relief ; in order to avoid the constant necessity for troublesome temporary precautions, and the anxiety due to the fallibility of all ordinary contraceptive methods at present known.

Unfortunately, when one speaks of sterilisation by operation, the average person thinks that one means the actual removal from the body of the ovaries or testes, with a consequent loss of sexual desire and potency, and transformation into a sexless sort of person, lacking all charm and all interest or joy in life.

This, of course, is not what is meant at all. Sterilisation can be easily, safely and efficiently carried out by any competent surgeon. All that is needed is for two tiny ducts to be tied or cut across. The patient should be recovered from the operation in a fortnight.

Surgical sterilisation is far less painful and occasions far less inconvenience than a single confinement, to say nothing of the previous nine months of pregnancy. And it cannot be too strongly emphasised that the general health, sexual desire, and sexual potency are in no way prejudiced by this operation in man or woman. Indeed, the recent work of Steinach and his co-workers and disciples goes to show that this operation in the male is often followed by increased sexual desire and potency and by considerable improvement in general health.

I hope the time is not far distant when any individual who considers himself unfit for parenthood may apply at a public hospital for surgical sterilisation, with a reasonable prospect of having his request granted.

### THE EFFECT OF THE X-RAY UPON REPRODUCTION IN THE RAT.

BY DONALD R. HOOKER, M.D. (Baltimore, Md.).

In this report I wish to make four points which are of especial interest in connection with the present Conference.

Those who have worked on mammalian breeding experiments realise how slowly convincing results mature. Therefore, while I have been working for two years on this problem, I still regard it as essential to emphasise the fact that what I say is strictly a preliminary statement.

Clinical experience and such animal experimentation as has previously been done have demonstrated that X-radiation will cause sterility, but we are ignorant of the dosage, duration and by-effects of such treatment. If the X-ray or radium is to be applied to human kind as a means to control and regulate procreation, it is desirable first to study the effects produced on the lower animals. We need to know what such exposure does not do, as well as what it does do.

In the reproductive glands, of the male at least, are certain structures which are not known to play any part in the elaboration of the reproductive cells, but which exert a significant influence on the general bodily economy. These structures—interstitial cells, as they are called—function in growth, the development of secondary sexual characteristics, etc. It is the absence of these cells and not of the reproductive cells proper which is responsible for the physical characteristics of the castrated animal. While the interstitial tissue is not regarded as necessary to normal sperm formation, its absence, except in special conditions, precludes normal sexual life in that it is requisite normal sex desire.

My first point then, is to show that X-ray sterilisation does not destroy these interstitial cellular structures. This is of moment because any method applicable to Birth Control must not abrogate the natural expression of love in marriage.

A series of rats of approximately the same age were paired and their increase in weight observed. At seventy days of age some were castrated, and some were suitably exposed to X-ray, while others were run as controls. If it were possible to exhibit the growth curves of these animals, you would see that those which were castrated (male and female) exhibited the typical over-growth characteristic of this condition. The X-rayed and control rats (male and female) grew at corresponding rates. The X-rayed and control males were examined for sperm motility at 147 days (21 weeks) of age. In the former no sperm were found. In the latter sperm motility was entirely normal.

Both control and X-rayed females had offspring, the former, however, at a much earlier date than the latter.

It should also be stated in this connection, although demonstrated in other experiments, that males rendered

sterile by exposure to X-rays continue to exhibit normal sexual activity; that is to say, they copulate with the females.

This experiment, therefore, shows that X-ray sterilisation in the male: (1) does not lead to bodily over-growth characteristic of castration; and (2) does not inhibit the expression of normal sex activity.

My second point bears upon the dosage requisite to establish sterility. It is no doubt known to this audience that X-ray exposures are defined for clinical purposes in terms of an erythema or skin dose, that is, the dose sufficient to cause a reddening of the human skin. It is likewise known that excessive exposure to X-rays leads to serious burns. Obviously, therefore, the application of the X-ray in Birth Control would not be considered unless the dosage required fell well within the margin of safety from burns or other ill-effects.

Male rats are rendered sterile by an exposure of a total of two skin doses applied in four treatments at intervals of three or four days. This has been shown in breeding experiments. Such treatment does not always produce non-motile sperm, but apparently the vitality of the spermatozoa is so affected that the fertilisation of the ovum does not occur. Larger doses given in the same fractional treatment destroy all sperm motility, or establish a condition of aspermia. The duration of a sterility brought about by an exposure to two skin doses has yet to be established with nicety. It is a matter of some weeks in the rat. The span of life in the rat is about one-thirtieth that of man, twelve days in the rat's life roughly corresponding to a year for you and me.

The production of sterility in the female rat is much less easy to accomplish. For example, fractional doses, as indicated above for the male, up to a total of five skin doses, may be given without striking effect. There is some indication that pregnancy may be slightly delayed, but this is not convincing. The difference in result for the two sexes is no doubt due, in part at least, to the fact that to reach the ovaries the radiation has to penetrate deeper than is the case with the testes. I have thus far worked only with unfiltered rays. It remains to be seen whether or not the use of a suitable screen relatively intensifying the more penetrating rays will produce the desired result.

The fact that X-ray sterility (in the male) is not per-



manent constitutes a third point of present interest. This fact rests upon clinical observation as well as upon laboratory experiment. Since the clinical observations have been essentially accidental and give us no information as to the dosage and duration of effect, it is desirable that work on animals should be much extended before we attempt to orient ourselves in the field of practical application.

My fourth point concerns the procreative normality after a period of X-ray sterility. Is there danger that offspring or children will be abnormal? In a quite considerable number of observations I have failed to find any such indications; the litters have been normal in size and there have been no monstrosities. Dr. Raymond Pearl, who has worked with fruit flies, with which experiment may be done wholesale, tells me that his incidental observations on this point have been similar to mine. It must be stated, however, that Dr. Little, working on white mice at the Carnegie Laboratory for Experimental Evolution, is of the opinion that the offspring of X-rayed parents are not uniformly normal. Obviously our data on this phase of the question must be extended until unqualified conviction is attained.

No experimental attack on the problem of Birth Control would be complete without consideration of the control of the œstrous cycle in so far as that regulates the external manifestations of evolution. The work of Stockard and of Evans in America has shown that the domesticated rat is especially suited to such study, since in this animal the œstrous cycle can be readily followed. The results of my studies are still inconclusive, but either the X-ray or radium emanations may prove to be effective in regulating the œstrous cycle. At any rate it is not too much to ask of science that she shall establish control over this feature of sex life as well as over procreation. In modern civilised life the efficiency wastage incident to periodic menstruation in women, unless related to presumptive pregnancy and childbirth, is a matter of practical concern. Consequently the ideal method of Birth Control should be to eliminate menstruation except when children were desired. Some day æsthetic methods applicable to the broad control of procreation in both men and women will be placed in our hands; it will remain for us to use them with intelligence and wisdom.

THE NECESSITY OF ABOLISHING LAWS  
AGAINST PREVENTIVE MEASURES.

BY DR. ANTON NYSTRÖM (Stockholm).

It is a fact that large families are the main causes of poverty ; Birth Control is, therefore, a necessary condition of prosperity, and all couples must know that they should not have more children than they can provide for.

Many young men wish to enter *early marriage*, but are afraid to do so on account of the possibility of having many children, which they could not support with their small income. It is, therefore, clear that limitation of the number of children is necessary, and that, therefore, young people must be *acquainted with the preventive measures*.

Descriptions of these and practical advice must be given in popular books and papers, written by experienced physicians, and no laws may prohibit the sale and circulation of such writings and the announcements in the journals. Such a law was unhappily made by the Parliament of Sweden in 1910, with a majority of eleven votes, and now in 1922 a motion for its abolishment was rejected with a majority of six votes. That is, that a small number of ignorants has decided the prohibition of a most necessary information on sexual and matrimonial matters.

One of the consequences of this stupid law was that I, twelve years ago, was impeached, brought to trial, and sentenced to a fine of £5 for having in a public discourse, in the People's Palace in Stockholm, said that there existed preventive means—and I named them—which can diminish poverty and misery by hindering poor families to get too many children. That was all I said in the matter ; that was the *crime !*

I could laugh at the comedy ; but I have since witnessed a great number of really tragic consequences of the stupid law—an increasing number of unhappy women who became pregnant against their will, because they had no knowledge of preventive means, or, if such had been employed, they had been bad. Shortly after the promulgation of the "preventive law" such women came more often than before to consult me and to ask for assistance, if possible, to get the ceased menstruation to function again, and many told me that they believed that

the new law made it impossible to buy preventive means. Then I showed that during three months 426 women, 188 married and 238 unmarried, consulted me for the purpose. That makes for the year about 1,700. In 1,480 cases, or 87 per cent., no preventives had been used, and in 224 cases, or 13 per cent., the condom or occlusive pessary had been used, but had burst or been ill-applied. In most of the cases where no preventives were used *coitus interruptus* had been practised, which proves the uncertainty of this procedure.

After that time I have, day after day, found, without reckoning the cases, that certainly about the same number of such unhappy women have come to me with their complaints, which makes about 17,000 in ten years! Very few could, of course, be helped, but I am sure that many tried to help themselves, or got assistance from other women, by provoking abortion.

It is quite certain that deliberate abortion is now very common in Sweden, and also in Germany, where the same "preventive law" has hitherto existed. In the United States of America, as is well known, deliberate abortion is practised in an enormous proportion, and the reason is, above all, that the manufacture and sale of preventives are forbidden, as well as discussion about them through writing and speech—forbidden, as an American physician writes, through bigotry, false modesty and puritanism.

Few suspect how necessary it is to instruct the public in this respect. Many persons are quite inexperienced and do not know the way to prevent pregnancy. But others who have reached the age of thirty or forty and have many children, and, consequently live in poverty, are so ignorant, so stupid, so indifferent, so conscientiousless, that they neglect the means of preventing fresh pregnancies, and this although they live in large towns where they can easily procure such means. It is a most dreadful thing to witness—as I have now done for many years—such a pitiable indifference among the great mass of the population, the result of which is the bringing into the world of numberless weak, unwanted children, who merely increase poverty and want.

This indifference and this ignorance in respect of the prevention of conception in cases where pregnancy is undesirable show the necessity of providing a legal remedy for this state of things. The so-called "*preventive law*,"

which forbade public instruction, by word of mouth or by books, in the employment of preventive means, must be *repealed* as soon as possible as being absolutely harmful. But this is not enough. A *law* should be passed imposing on all doctors holding positions as official medical men the *duty of instructing* the unenlightened population in regard to preventive measures.

The authorities of every country should take steps to establish *institutions and Birth Control clinics for instructing the public* in the humanitarian creation of offspring and for the distribution of *reliable preventive means*, the manufacture of which should be under *State supervision*. As things are now a number of altogether useless so-called "preventive articles" are sold in certain shops for "hygienic articles," which frequently lead to disastrous results.

No great clear-sightedness is necessary to perceive that the great masses of ignorant, thoughtless, stupid and vicious people, the offspring of poor homes with many children—poor, as a rule, because the children are so many—who live among us, are as injurious to the community in general as they are harmful to themselves. They should never have made their appearance in the world, and this could have been avoided had society taken the trouble to instruct parents as to the *employment of preventive means* in their wedded life.

The situation for innumerable men and women is more difficult and dangerous than it needs to be through the ignorance and prejudice which exists concerning the most elementary essentials. It is, therefore, highly necessary that the neo-Malthusians spread knowledge of the law of population and matrimonial questions by writings, meetings and organisation of Birth Control clinics, etc. We must do our best to foster an enlightened public opinion in order to have all preventive laws abolished by the Parliaments, so that there will be no more obstacles in the way of the dissemination of practical information concerning Birth Control by contraceptive measures.

## BIRTH CONTROL AND MEDICAL PRACTICE.

BY DR. HERMANN ROHLEDER (of Leipzig).

(The following is, it is thought, a fair summary of Dr. Rohleder's valuable address, made by the Honorary Medical Secretary to the Conference.)

Birth Control is a branch of hygiene, and hygiene is a branch of medicine; therefore doctors should be the leading authorities on Birth Control. For us, as doctors, it has two aspects—(I.) the hygienic-therapeutic, (II.) the hygienic-prophylactic. I can only deal with these briefly here, but I have dealt at length with them in my books.

## I.—BIRTH CONTROL IN ITS HYGIENIC-THERAPEUTIC APPLICATIONS.

(1) It is generally recognised that women with heart disease are seriously endangered by pregnancy; they may suffer serious aggravation of the malady thereby, and may even die. Nearly all text-books on obstetrics emphasise this, and there are many references in medical works. In some bad cases artificial miscarriage has to be resorted to, and the majority of doctors approve. Surely, from a humanitarian point of view, prevention of conception is more justifiable than abortion.

(2) That serious disease of the lungs, especially advanced tuberculosis, demands that doctors should recommend Birth Control is, in my opinion, obvious. It is still a much discussed question whether or not tuberculous girls should become pregnant. When Kirchner declared that marriage of consumptives should certainly be forbidden, he was speaking praiseworthy from his hygienic standpoint. But his recommendation is quite impracticable. In view of the great prevalence of tuberculosis, Birth Control is the only way out of the difficulty. Birth Control is more important here than in all the other diseases put together. Consumption is not *an* indication for Birth Control—it is *the* indication for it. To allow consumptive women to waste away through pregnancy is inhuman and utterly unworthy of the medical profession. The recommendation by doctors of sexual abstinence to married couples is unpardonable, for they must know that it will not be kept up long by any married couple.

Happily our ideas are rapidly gaining ground. Kaminer in "Disease and Marriage" says: "We must regard it as one of the principal duties of the physician to prevent conception in tuberculous women, with all the preventive means available to science."

(3) Diabetes mellitus in its more severe forms is also an indication for Birth Control, for pregnancy has always a most unfavourable influence in those forms of the disease in which the sugar excretion reaches a high percentage. If a married woman is found to be diabetic, even slightly so, the doctor ought to inform her of the danger of a pregnancy making her mild case a serious one. Diabetic girls may marry, but they should have no children.

(4) A high degree of contracted pelvis is an indication for Birth Control, unless the woman is willing to have a cæsarian section. But in no case ought one to go so far as to allow, as has been done, a woman to undergo cæsarian section repeatedly until she collapsed at the sixth time. On this case, my deceased colleague and friend, Dr. Mensinga, of Flensburg (Germany), the inventor of the "Dutch" pessary, remarked: "Has the doctor realised at all the helplessness and hopelessness of such an existence? Is it creditable to him, this wanton torture to the bitter end?"

(5) Chronic kidney disease in women makes Birth Control advice a medical duty on much the same grounds as for heart disease.

(6) Venereal disease, and especially syphilis, makes the use of the condom obligatory, in order to prevent infection of others, and in order to prevent the infected person going from bad to worse, as most frequently happens with advice of sexual abstinence. Sexual abstinence is here the best thing, but the disease may not be quickly cured.

## II.—BIRTH CONTROL IN ITS HYGIENIC-PROPHYLACTIC ASPECTS.

(1) Birth Control has to be considered in the case of serious infections, such as tuberculous and syphilis. The decided inheritability of the tendency to tuberculosis and the gravity of such inheritance are well known. If all doctors were to advocate Birth Control to consumptives, a great part of this social problem would be solved.

(2) Certain constitutional diseases call for Birth Control on prophylactic grounds. Diabetes is one. As Senator says : "The progeny is endangered in a double manner by diabetes mellitus, because children of diabetic mothers are born in a weakly condition and because of the hereditary nature of the disease which is estimated at 20 per cent." Hæmophilia is another constitutional disease which has a strong inheritability, and Ripke rightly says : "Bleeders ought not to reproduce."

(3) That serious nervous diseases, epilepsy, hysteria and mental diseases should not be further handed on is admitted by all doctors, and therefore call for the consideration of Birth Control. Indeed, many doctors have written in favour of sterilisation in these cases.

(4) Chronic alcoholism and morphinism affect the offspring most seriously. The curse of dipsomania is not sufficiently realised by us. At least 20 per cent. of all feeble-minded children are the offspring of drunkards.

(5) Pauperism is another affliction which calls most insistently for the question of Birth Control. Every pauper and every one who is unable to nourish his already existing family has certainly no justification to bring still more children into the world. The pauper should lose the right to reproduction. Through its doctors the State must see to the reduction of pauperism ; the State, for its self-preservation, must see to it that social poverty be not increased by these people.

## BIRTH CONTROL FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF A WOMAN GYNÆCOLOGIST.

BY FRANCES MABEL HUXLEY, M.D.

I wish to bring before you a few points in favour of Birth Control, as one who has been influenced to accept its desirability, solely owing to facts and conditions which have come before me in the course of my work.

As a result, I feel that it is the right of every married couple to know, if they wish to know, how best to regulate their family. It is they who are responsible for the well-being of their children, and it is they alone who can judge their sexual needs.

And, anyway, whatever view one may take as to the desirability of Birth Control, it is well to realise that we

are no longer faced with the question, "Shall we allow Birth Control or not?" for it is here with us now. It has come and will extend. We can close our eyes to its presence, or help it along more rational lines, but we cannot stop it.

And here I may also say that it is my experience in every class of society that married women—and their husbands—eagerly want, not a child, but children; the exceptions are comparatively very few. Birth Control will not alter this.

Among the well-to-do Birth Control is, from the medical point of view, least required, but it is always desirable to space the members of a family, so that the mother may have full time to recover, and maintain for a time, her normal health before conceiving again. This means, in practice, an interval of about two years between confinements. A woman has the right to expect to be as well after the birth of her family as before it. A child has the right to be welcome. And, in practice, one finds that such patients are usually very anxious for a first baby, and, as soon as it has arrived and they are convalescent, they want to know how *not* to have another—for a time.

Among the less well-to-do, regulation of the family is very important. It is needed for those whose marriage may be delayed for years, if marriage involves a family too. And here the possibility of marriage is surely an aid to morality! It is sometimes stated that the use of contraceptives in early married life prevents conception later. This can only be, I think, where strong preparations are used by the wife with corresponding injury to the tissues.

Birth Control is needed also for those who go abroad to unfavourable climates where medical aid is difficult of access. One often sees the health of such women ruined by a first unfortunate confinement, whereas if they could have waited for a favourable opportunity, even for the first child only, their whole life might have been different. But, as I have said, Birth Control is already practised, and it is among the better educated that it is practised, even if the methods used are often undesirable and uncertain.

When we come to the lower classes, however, methods of Birth Control are not generally known. And what do we get here? a woman of thirty-six, looking forty-six, who has had twelve confinements and three miscarriages,



seven children now living. She has at her disposal two or three rooms. She has never time to recover from one confinement before the next is upon her. She tries to shield herself from conception by nursing one child long after it should be weaned to the detriment of herself and the child, and often without avail.

Such conditions speak for themselves!

Into the detail of the methods of Birth Control I do not now propose to enter.

In the first place comes continence, and I would lay stress on this. But temperament and sexual excitability vary so enormously in the individual that we cannot lay down one rule for all. And it is more unnatural for a husband and wife to live apart indefinitely than to use contraceptive measures. To be ideal the method used should be æsthetic, safe, harmless and—inexpensive. *Coitus interruptus* is recognised on all hands as undesirable. On the part of a husband, by the use of the condom or sheath, with attention to certain details, security can be attained. Their expense is a contra-indication in the case of the poor, and through all grades of society one finds a great distaste for their use. On the part of a wife, preparation in advance is possible, so that spontaneity need not be interfered with, but security is by no means easy of attainment. Yet it is most important, especially among the poorer classes, that precautions should be taken by the wife on the ground of expense, and also because it is she who, with all the weight of her household duties upon her, suffers in health from too frequent confinements and miscarriages. Good and comparatively safe methods we have, but it is along this line that further scientific investigation is required.

#### SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL CAUSES OF NERVOUS DISORDER ASSOCIATED WITH THE USE OF CONTRACEPTIVE METHODS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR TREATMENT.

By D. N. HARDCASTLE, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.

SUGGESTIONS.—I need hardly go into the power of suggestion. M. Coué has demonstrated that, but I must mention it in passing.

In advising contraceptive methods it is as well to inquire if the patient has ever had any previous experience, either herself or her friends and relatives ; if so, with what results ? If unsuccessful in any way, the doctor will have difficulty by sheer contra-suggestion in making his method a success.

The previous failure, or rumour of failure should be thoroughly gone into, and a satisfactory explanation given, reasons of failure, etc., being pointed out, and the advantages of the method being prescribed extolled.

The more influential evidence that can be brought to bear the greater the success of suggestion and, consequently, the less fear of " suggestion neurosis."

CONFLICT.—Here we must mention two distinct forms. One I may call conscious and the other unconscious.

The first we can deal with in a very few words, as the factors at work are conscious, or if they have been repressed can very easily be brought to consciousness again.

Conflicting thoughts, such as moral aspect of the situation, the efficacy of the apparatus, the desire for children *versus* financial situation, etc.

Here the repressed factor should be brought to light and the whole situation fully reviewed. This can usually be done in two or three really confidential talks with the patient ; no special knowledge of psychology being necessary.

UNCONSCIOUS.—*Unconscious Conflict*.—Here we are dealing with a more difficult matter, one involving some knowledge of the unconscious and conscious minds, and the importance of instincts.

The unconscious may be looked upon as a storehouse for memories and ideas, which are constantly flowing in and out *viâ* the conscious mind. It has two divisions, one where the ideas and memories may be returned unchanged, and the other usually containing infantile ideas and memories which are opposed to all moral and ethical standards of the individual, and are therefore repressed, but they may gain expression in the conscious by symbolisation or other roundabout method.

The incidence of the neuroses depends largely on the extent of these ideas and memories, and the incomplete success of the repressing factor.

The conscious mind in its relation to the unconscious may be likened somewhat to the janitor, or keeper, of the

storehouse, under appropriate conditions certain ideas or memories are linked up, and thus trains of thought are allowed to become conscious.

Affective states or emotions seem to be able to pass into conscious quite readily, while the unconscious ideas associated with it are repressed, and thus we get a condition at times of a free emotion, which may be readily fixed on some conscious object which, in some way simulates the unconscious object which really aroused the affective state.

INSTINCTS.—Without the instincts we should be devoid, to a very large extent, of all mental and physical activity.

I cannot improve on McDougal's definition: "An instinct is an inherited or innate psycho-physical disposition, which determines its possessor to perceive and pay attention to objects of a certain class, to experience an emotional excitement of a particular quality upon perceiving such an object, and to act in regard to it in a particular manner, or at least, to experience an impulse to such action."

I will attempt to translate this in terms of the conscious and the unconscious.

The conscious and unconscious perception of an object *via* the unconscious produces a conscious emotion, which results in a conscious and unconscious desire for action.

Now, I want to bring to your notice what I call "race preservation instinct." You will not find it in any book on psychology, but you will find self-preservation and sexual instinct. These, I contend, are fundamentally the same, but must be looked upon as bivalent; some conditions bring into play the self-preservation aspect, others the reproductive or sexual aspect. But then affective nature is the same, as we shall shortly see, and, as far as I can gather, the endocrine reactions are closely allied (excluding, of course, those associated with the reproductive organs. I shall again refer to this).

I will now give you an example of the self-preservation aspect of "race preservation instinct" and attempt an explanation of it, and show its parallel to the reproductive or sexual aspect of "race preservation instinct."

A man sees an overwhelming enemy approaching and has a desire to run away.

Let us see what is happening in the conscious and unconscious minds here.

CONSCIOUS } Perception of danger.  
UNCONSCIOUS }

CONSCIOUS.—Affective tone—fear—desire to run away. (Terror can hardly be said to be present as he can escape.)

UNCONSCIOUS.—Preparation or mobilisation of physical forces—flight.

(Cannon has shown that under these circumstances the sympathetic nervous system is stimulated, which causes an excess of adrenaline to be poured out into the blood stream; increased blood pressure, increased activity of the heart, etc., and a corresponding depression of the digestive processes; closure of the pylorus, etc., the whole function being to place in the systemic circulation the maximum amount of blood.)

ACTION for change of environment (flight)—safety of individual:

CONSCIOUS.—Release of tension and physical expenditure of energy. Desire satisfied.

UNCONSCIOUS. — Desire satisfied. Body resumes normal functions.

If he does nothing terror supervenes. Attached to object.

Now suppose he, instead of fleeing (changing his environment), expends his energy thus liberated in some purposeless manner.

CONSCIOUS.—Release of tension. Physical expenditure of energy. Desire incompletely satisfied.

UNCONSCIOUS.—Desire incompletely satisfied. Fear. Body continues in same condition. *i.e.*, sympathetic stimulation.

Result: Rapid preparation for action again and affective tone of fear. Attached to object.

Let us now compare the reproductive or sexual aspect.

Under certain conditions (with which we will deal later) the sexual aspect is stimulated, the complement (partner) being willing (likewise under stimulation); the factors necessary for the working of the instinct are now complete. There is no true conscious cognitive aspect.

CONSCIOUS.—(Perception of partner?) (under stimulation too.)

UNCONSCIOUS.—Danger to race (see Law of Fertility, later).

CONSCIOUS.—Affective tone—lust (McDougal).

UNCONSCIOUS.—Preparation or mobilisation of physical forces (endocrine activity in a condition of sympathetic stimulation, as before, together with that of the organs of reproduction).  
Tumescence.

ACTION.—For change of environment, *i.e.*, ensuring next generation. Safety of race.

CONSCIOUS.—Relief of tension. Physical expenditure of energy. Desire satisfied.

UNCONSCIOUS.—Desire satisfied. Body resumes normal functions.

Again, if nothing happens, repressed sexual desire, advent of fear. *Now unattached*, as the cognitive aspect is unconscious.

*Again*, suppose he, instead of changing his environment, expends the energy thus liberated in some purposeless manner (contraceptive methods). (It must here be taken for granted that the use of contraceptives is known to the individuals; if known consciously, it will likewise be known unconsciously.)

CONSCIOUS.—Relief of tension. Physical expenditure of energy. Desire incompletely satisfied.

UNCONSCIOUS.—Preparation of body for further action. (Detumescence result of relief of tension only.)

Conflict: Conscious or physical aspect temporarily satisfied, unconscious not satisfied.

Result: Preparation for action again and affective tone of fear (unattached) (apparent at first as apprehensiveness).

This will in a short time lead to further pseudo-gratification, and thus causing undue loss of vital energy and leading, *viâ* the anxiety states, to true neurasthenia.

The only difference being that in the former the danger is to the individual and is conscious, and in the latter the danger is to the race and unconscious; a corresponding effort is made in each case to combat it.

Jung has remarked that criminals about to be executed

have seminal emissions, and it has also been noted that men on their death-beds have desire for intercourse.

Was this in any way related to the tremendous increase of venereal disease during the War ?

If we continue the simile, we can now understand that mysterious dictum of the psycho-analysts that repressed sexual desire changes to its opposite, *i.e.*, fear.

In our former example of the self-preservation aspect *terror* did not obtrude itself in the field of consciousness as long as action for change of environment is in progress.

TREATMENT.—There is a line of treatment that can be adopted here other than psychological. Dr. Stoddart has demonstrated that the administration of prostatic and orchitic extract ameliorated the conditions. This is probably due to the neutralising of one group of endocrine activity by another and bringing about a temporary physical stability.

I trust I have made my point clear, *i.e.*, that, to obtain satisfactory control of an instinct, we must understand the cognitive aspect, or the conditions which bring about stimulation of the instinct, rather than the conative aspect, or the line of action which the instinct indicates when once stimulated.

(It is easier to stop a machine gun firing by pulling a lever, *i.e.*, understanding the mechanism, than by putting something in front of the muzzle.)

This now leads us directly on to our next problem, finding the law of fertility. If we undertake Birth Control we must be able to help the sterile woman as much as the over-prolific.

Doubleday, in 1837, enunciated: "A corresponding effort is invariably made by Nature for its preservation and continuance by an increase in fertility, and that this especially takes place when such danger arises from diminution of proper nourishment or food, so that consequently the state of depletion, or deplethoric state, is favourable to fertility and that, on the other hand, the plethoric state, or state of repletion, is unfavourable to fertility in the ratio of the intensity of each state."

A little reflection will show that this is true but does not contain the whole truth.

Spencer enunciated: "The degree of fertility varies inversely with the cost of individuation."

If we compound these two and add a rider, I think we

shall have a good working proposition: "All organisms multiply in the presence of an excess of food or when in danger of extinction, providing always that they have sufficient vital energy to efficiently complete this function."

Before attempting the application of this law to biological conditions it is interesting to note the vital energy required in the case of the male is much less than that in the female to efficiently complete this function, so it is obvious that the occasion or call for sexual intercourse should come from her and not the male.

Animals, especially in their wild state, show this clearly to be the case.

The general principle is well worked out by statistics, which show that there is a definite relation between the birth and death rates of any country.

The unicellular organisms conform to the principle asexual multiplication in favourable circumstances and conjugation under adverse.

The vegetable kingdom gives us many examples. The more blooms one plucks from the sweet pea the more the plant flowers.

Darwin noted many plants preserved in perfect condition in hot houses rarely produced seed; wild plants under cultivation became sterile. Also, to make European vegetables in the favourable climate of India seed, it is necessary to artificially check their growth.

On the other hand, our sterile wild plant under cultivation when it has become adapted to its environment will again seed, but in much less quantity than before, and now its seeds depend on the quality of the ground (corn, for example).

The animal kingdom presents several problems, but it works on the whole.

Rabbits have overrun Australia—favourable conditions.

Animals mate in the spring when there is a shortage of food. (Westermarck's "History of Human Marriage" explains this, that the mating season is fixed so that the offspring may be born at the most favourable season of the year. This is still a question needing considerable research.)

Darwin and Spencer noted that pigs and cows were more fertile when not in the best condition.

Let me try and explain the apparent discrepancy of the law when applied to the human race and domestic animals.

Animals in their natural state, once they have reached maturity keep an almost constant weight, the hibernators excluded.

William Aird carried out numerous experiments on food values and types of food, natural to various species, and found there was a selective mechanism in the alimentary canal that accounted for this phenomenon.

He demonstrated that when an excess of natural food was taken it was passed out unchanged, only that quantity required by the organism being absorbed; likewise he showed that foods not natural to the species on being liquefied by digestion were absorbed, and then acted as stimulants, a corresponding effort being made by the body to eliminate them.

The Classics give us an excellent example of the effect of unnatural food acting as a stimulant. Diomedes, King of Thrace, fed his mares with the flesh of miserable strangers, cut in pieces for the purpose, which made them so fierce and unmanageable that they were obliged to be kept in stalls of brass and tied up with iron chains.

There are many other examples of unnatural feeding of animals to produce states of stimulation, *e.g.*, the domestic hen laying nearly an egg a day during the laying season.

Now let us review the human race with these factors in mind. We need only touch on those questions now under discussion.

Why should the average woman menstruate monthly when the periodicity of animals tends to correspond with their gestation period?

Again, the frequency and method of sexual intercourse is out of all proportion when compared with that of animals in their natural state.

I venture to suggest that a solution will be found when we can revert to natural foods which have not lost their vitamins; this in its natural course producing a desire for simpler living.

May I again repeat, before we can advance along the lines of Birth Control we must work out the *Law of Fertility*, and I trust I may have here given a few suggestions for your further consideration and research.



## THE FERTILITY QUESTION.

BY C. E. PELL.

I am somewhat at a disadvantage in that I came here in the expectation of having to defend my views rather than expound them, but I will give you as good an idea of them as I can under the circumstances. I am an advocate of Birth Control with the emphasis upon the word "control." I hold that at present we are not controlling, but failing to control, the birth rate, and that unless we obtain a real measure of control we shall ultimately witness the decline and fall of our present civilisation. My view is that a merely falling birth rate is not a controlled birth rate, and that the present decline is due, not to the use of contraceptives, but to a natural law which, as I have shown in my book, "The Law of Births and Deaths," can be traced in its action throughout the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and even among unicellular organisms. All this can be proved by an overwhelming array of facts.

Mere opinions do not constitute evidence. The only evidence of any real value is that which is based upon facts. A witness in a court of law is told that he is there to give evidence as to facts, not to express opinions. Now, all the real evidence contained in the report of the National Birth Rate Commission—all the substantial facts, that is—told with decisive force in favour of the view that the decline in the birth rate is the result of natural causes. Not a single material fact was quoted in support of the opposite view, yet the Commission proceeded to ignore its own evidence, and it based its report upon mere opinions—the opinions of so-called "authorities" who offered no proof in support of their views, and who were obviously repeating each other.

The evidence in support of the view that the decline of the birth rate is due to causes beyond the control of married couples, is overwhelming and decisive. For instance, the Commission reported the results of three distinct inquiries carried out by three different parties, and, taken together, covering a very considerable body of people. The result of all three inquiries showed that those people who took no contraceptive measures had families no larger than those who were using contraceptives; while no more than a third were taking any really effective

contraceptive measures at all. The inference to be drawn from these facts is obvious and irrefutable, and no attempt has yet been made to meet them.

A few years ago a leading Paris journal published a list of the leading families in Paris, the heads of which had distinguished themselves by their advocacy of a higher birth rate. Of 445 marriages, no less than 176, or well over one-third, were absolutely childless, while the average number of children per family worked out at one and a third. Another case was that of twenty-five of the leading men in France who constituted themselves as a committee for the express purpose of agitating for larger families. These twenty-five distinguished men had nineteen children between them. The facts I mention are given in Dr. Drysdale's book: "The Small Family System." It is monstrous to assume, without a scrap of evidence in support, that the ablest and most far-sighted people in France are mostly deliberate hypocrites. Deliberate hypocrisy is very rare, and why should we assume, without reason, that they were not only hypocrites of the most barefaced type, but that they wantonly mounted public platforms to denounce what they were secretly practising and practically invited other people to expose them?

All the leading countries of Europe and America show exactly the same phenomena. You will find in the United States among the millionaires, among the ablest people, and among the very oldest and best families, that from one-quarter to one-third are absolutely childless; and the same is true of the British peerage. Are we really justified in assuming that anything up to one-third of the ablest and best elements of all the leading countries of the world are such unmitigated lumps of egotism, selfishness, and cowardice, that they deliberately refuse to rear a single child? I am ready to make a friendly bet with any one present that from one-quarter to one-third of the married members of this audience are childless, and not because they do not want children. It is the fact that nearly every married couple want one or two children that makes the number of childless marriages the best test as to whether there has or has not been a decline of fertility due to natural causes.

The matter is becoming one of life and death for our modern civilisation. The figures for the French Census

of last year show that since the Census of 1911 France has been losing her native population—as distinct from population of foreign origin—at the rate of 40,000 per year, or 400,000 in ten years. Only the foreign element maintains the population at its present level and prevents the birth rate from falling below the death rate. In the United States the Anglo-Saxon element is steadily dying out. In 1901 the city of Providence, which has the best statistics in America, had a population consisting of two-thirds native and one-third foreign, but the foreigners produced two-thirds of the birth rate; while the birth rate of the native section was considerably below the death rate. If that was so twenty years ago, what will be the position now? In Canada the birth rate of the Anglo-Saxon element is appallingly low—as low as 10 per thousand in some provinces. Yet at present we talk of Birth Control when there is no control, and attempt to ignore these facts.

It would be far wiser to grapple with the question in a scientific way and force the issue to the front. If it is not successfully grappled with it will ruin our civilisation, which will go the way of ancient Rome and Greece, ruined by exactly the same causes. In order to grapple successfully with this problem, it is essential to force it to the front and advertise it, for propaganda is essentially advertising. It is only by concentrating the attention of thousands of experimental biologists and physiologists all over the world upon the problem of overcoming this constantly increasing sterility that we can hope to solve it. It is the accumulated observations of thousands of different workers and observers which lead to progress.

I am quite prepared to treat the matter as an open question myself, pending the results of further inquiry, if only because I am confident as to what the result of inquiry must be. And, after all, the members of the Malthusian League have nothing to fear from the truth if their objective is really a controlled birth rate. For if the result of inquiry should be to prove that there is no natural law at work, you will be able to point out that there is no alternative to the use of contraceptives. But if it turns out that there is such a law, we are bound to find some means of ensuring fertilisation at will before we can control the birth rate. When that is accomplished, however, there will be no need for Dr. Norman Haire to

agitate for the sterilisation of the unfit, because both the slum types and the slum birth rate can be abolished by simply abolishing the slums. And when the birth rate falls below the death rate, as it ultimately must, you will be able to calculate the number of additional births required, and then obtain them from the ablest sections of the population, who are best able to rear them, the result being an enormous improvement in the physical and mental development of the people. When you can do this you will be well on the way to a really *controlled* birth rate.

### A MALTHUSIAN VIEW OF DEATH RATES AND OF THE AVERAGE DURATION OF LIFE.

BY B. DUNLOP, M.B.

The great Thomas Robert Malthus (clergyman and Professor of Economics, who died in 1834) pointed out in his "Essay on the Principle of Population," that all living things ordinarily reproduce themselves far in excess of their food supply, a doctrine which led to the doctrines of evolution and of neo-Malthusianism. He realised that population cannot increase faster than the food supply, and that man increased his food supply so slowly that there had practically never been food enough for all in any country, and never would be unless the birth rate were greatly reduced. He urged that countries should keep accurate registers of population, births, deaths and marriages, and thereby he doubtless hastened the advent of the international vital statistics which we now have. Malthus, as he himself said, was not at all concerned about the far-distant time when the world might have more inhabitants than it could possibly feed properly; what concerned him was the ever here-and-now difficulty, namely, that the food supply could only be increased slowly (*i.e.*, at a very much slower rate than the rate at which man, in the days before contraception, tended to produce children), and that man consequently tended to press very heavily upon his means of subsistence—as he is still doing in India, China, and other high-birth-rate countries. To use my own analogy, Malthusians are not concerned as to when the national or the world hall may be absolutely full up, but merely as to the fact that people

can only pass into and fill the hall very slowly owing to the narrowness of the entrance.

International vital statistics have further verified Malthus's principle of population, as Mr. C. V. Drysdale, D.Sc., has demonstrated. Examining them up to 1914 (and this cannot be conveniently done without the pamphlet of Dr. Drysdale's epoch-making "Diagrams of International Vital Statistics," price 10*d.*, post free), we find that (1) when a country had a high birth rate it had a high death rate; (2) when a country had a falling birth rate it had a falling death rate; (3) when a country (see Russia, Roumania, Jamaica and Ireland) had a nearly stationary or horizontally-oscillating birth rate it had a nearly stationary or horizontally-oscillating death rate; and (4) when a country (see Bulgaria, Ceylon and Japan) had a rising birth rate it had a rising death rate. The very highly correlated variation of the death rate with the birth rate in whichever direction the birth rate moved (and Dr. Drysdale has rightly called his supremely important demonstration "the law of correspondence of birth and death rates") can only be accounted for by the Malthusian doctrine. Food shortage—the time-old cause of the struggle for existence and of evolution—had clearly continued to exist. In all but one or two of the new countries of the world, the death rate up to 1914 was still determined by the birth rate and the food increase rate, and not at all by medical activities. Those who still say that the decline in Europe's death rate (which began about 1876) was due to medical progress and sanitation have to explain why the death rate remained practically stationary or rose in those countries in which the birth rate remained practically stationary or rose, respectively.

When medical science reduced the mortality from any particular disease, it did not thereby reduce the general death rate. This fact necessarily follows the food shortage fact. As a proportion of people could not get sufficient food to maintain health, there was necessarily a corresponding proportion of deaths beyond the normal deaths from old age and other unavoidable causes; for medical science cannot keep alive the underfed. There will always be germs to kill the underfed. Thus we have had Professor E. L. Collis saying in the *May Hospital and Health Review* that "food, rather than housing, is the important influence in poverty which concerns the prevalence of phthisis."

Food shortage thus caused an excessive death rate which could only be reduced in one or both of two ways—by increasing the food supply faster, and by bringing in babies more slowly. But owing to the difficulties (*e.g.*, the fertiliser difficulty) of increasing the food supply faster, reduction of the birth rate has practically been the only way of reducing the death rate.

It has happened that countries have suddenly become able to increase their food supply faster, and have done so. England and Wales gave a very striking example of this in the eighteenth century. From 1700 to 1750 the birth rate was high (*i.e.*, over 30 per thousand a year), yet the population remained practically stationary from 1700 to 1750. The population remained practically stationary because the food supply remained practically stationary, and the high birth rate was therefore largely cancelled out by an almost equally high death rate. "The children died like flies," as Sir L. C. Money has said of these times. After 1750 there was, owing to the industrial revolution or change, a great increase of food imports; so the death rate fell to a lower (though, according to present ideas, still very excessive) figure, and between 1750 and 1800 the population increased from six millions to nine millions! Clearly, the fall of the death rate and consequent spurt of population were due to a reduction of the food shortage, and not to sanitary and medical progress.

If the food supply is increased slowly, the population can only increase slowly, however energetic the doctors and sanitarians may be. If a country's food increase rate is too slow for the birth rate, it is absurd to say that the death rate could be reduced by ordinary medical measures. It would be equivalent to saying: "We doctors can enable population to increase faster than the food supply!"

Perhaps the most striking and deplorable example of the overlooking of the Malthusian principle has been the frequent suggestion made by doctors, that India's very high death rate could be reduced by medical activities, such as by measures against plague. For it is admitted that famine is endemic in India, as Sir Frederick Treves has well said, and that India's food supply cannot be increased any faster—if, indeed, it can now be increased at all. So the one and only way to reduce India's very high death rate is to reduce her very high birth rate. Yet one never reads of an English doctor in any way depre-

cating India's very high birth rate. The International League of Red Cross Societies has similarly maintained a deplorable silence about high birth rates, notwithstanding that its publications have often included underfeeding among the causes of high morbidity and mortality from particular diseases.

To me it seems clear that even in the relatively prosperous years immediately before 1914 the world's food supply was being increased so slowly that only a small percentage of couples in the world could get sufficient food for more than two children.

#### THE AVERAGE DURATION OF LIFE.

I now come to the second part of my paper. The decline of the birth rate lessened the time-old food shortage (as also, of course, but to a lesser degree, had man's successive advances in food production lessened it), and thus caused a decline of the death rate—in other words, caused a rise in the average duration of life. This rise in the average duration of life was not due to the proportion of centenarians, nonagenarians and octogenarians having increased, for it had not. It was due to the decline of the birth rate causing an ever-increasing proportion of individuals to be less starved and thus to escape dying in infancy, childhood or adolescence.

How is the average duration of life calculated? Dr. John Brownlee says in his monograph on the use of death rates as a measure of hygienic conditions, recently published by the Medical Research Council, that he has had the greatest difficulty in convincing members of borough councils in England that the average duration of life is not obtained by dividing 1,000 by the death rate (per thousand) unless the population be stationary. Doctors, doubtless, know better than borough councillors. I fear, however, that there are many doctors who would say that if two countries have the same death rate their inhabitants must be equally healthy. Yet their inhabitants may not be equally healthy, for the birth rate of the two countries may be different. The point is that, in calculating the average duration of life, the natural increase (if any) of population has to be taken into account. We must not simply divide 1,000 by the death rate (per thousand); we must divide 1,000 by the death rate (per thousand) *plus* a fraction of the survival rate—

the survival rate being the rate of natural increase of population, *i.e.*, the birth rate *minus* the death rate. The fraction varies from  $\frac{36}{80}$  (*i.e.*,  $\frac{9}{20}$ ) to  $\frac{33}{80}$ , according as the survival rate is very low, low, high, or very high, and for absolute accuracy the average duration of life has to be calculated by the formula  $2,303 \frac{\log B - \log D}{B - D}$  or

$\frac{\log B - \log D}{\log \left(1 + \frac{B - D}{1,000}\right)}$ . I find, however, that the fraction  $\frac{9}{20}$

suffices for all practical purposes; in other words, a result sufficiently similar to the logarithm one is got by dividing 1,000 by the death rate *plus* nine-twentieths of the survival rate, *i.e.*, by a formula  $\frac{1,000}{D + \frac{9}{20} S}$ . For it is

only with the countries which have the combination of a very low death rate and a very high survival rate that there is an appreciable discrepancy if  $\frac{9}{20}$  be used, and New Zealand, Australia, and perhaps Canada, America and Holland, are the sole ones with this combination. And even in these very exceptional cases the discrepancy is negligible, for even in the extremest case—that of New Zealand, with its extraordinarily low death rate and high survival rate—my formula under-estimates the average duration of life by about 2.5 years only. It is almost

equivalent to the formula  $\frac{2,000}{B + D}$  which Dr. Drysdale gave in the Economic Section for roughly estimating the average duration of life. But although my formula  $\frac{1,000}{D + \frac{9}{20} S}$  is more complicated, I prefer it because it gives

results approximating more closely to the logarithm ones, because it more clearly indicates the important point that the average duration of life is determined by the death rate *plus* a fraction of the survival rate, and because *I wish to suggest to you that the divisor,  $D + \frac{9}{20} S$ , might be regarded as, and called, the REAL death rate.*



As I have already said, the death rate divided into 1,000 does not give the average duration of life (except in the extremely rare cases of countries in which the death rate equals the birth rate). But the death rate *plus* nine-twentieths of the survival rate approximately does so; therefore the death rate *plus* nine-twentieths of the survival rate may be taken as the *real* death rate.

Let me show you how this idea of the *real* death rate enables one effectively to compare different countries almost at a glance. Before the war Germany's death rate was about 15 per thousand a year, and France's about 18·5; therefore many people thought that the Germans were much better nourished or fitter than the French. But what was the *real* death rate in each case? Germany's birth rate was about 27 per thousand and her death rate about 15, therefore her survival rate was about 12; and as nine-twentieths of 12 is 5·4, her *real* death rate was about 20·4 per thousand a year, for  $15 + 5·4 = 20·4$ . France's birth rate was about 19·5 per thousand a year and her death rate about 18·5, therefore her survival rate was about 1 per thousand a year; and as nine-twentieths of 1 is 0·4, her *real* death rate was about 19 per thousand a year, for  $18·5 + 0·4$  is practically 19. So Germany's *real* death rate was about 20·4 per thousand a year, and France's 19, showing that the French were better nourished or fitter than the Germans. As Germany's birth rate and death rate had only recently fallen so low, one ought to compare the average *real* death rates in the previous decade, and this would show the Germans to have been much more behind the French. When one merely takes the latest year or the current average, one is only saying: "If this birth rate and death rate should continue, the average duration of life in this country will be so-and-so." The French people, although they are notorious for the practice of contraception, have so neglected the theory of neo-Malthusianism that I should be glad to hear that there are many Frenchmen who realise that the average duration of life was higher in France than in Germany, and also that their average duration of life was not yet as high as it should be, indicating that France, too, had not yet in 1913 entirely got rid of food shortage.

Here, to simplify my next two paragraphs, I shall make another arithmetical explanation. It is this: if 1,000

divided by the death rate *plus* nine-twentieths of the survival rate gives the average duration of life, it follows that 1,000 divided by the average duration of life will give the death rate *plus* nine-twentieths of the survival rate, *i.e.*, will give what I am calling the *real* death rate.

Before 1877, the year when contraception began to spread rapidly and to reduce Europe's birth rate, the birth rate and death rate of England were high and the average duration of life was only about 35·7 years. (This means that the *real* death rate was as high as 28 per thousand a year; for 1,000 divided by 35·7 equals 28.) The average duration of life then rose gradually as the birth rate gradually fell. By 1913 it had risen, as actuaries will tell you, to about 52·6 years. (This means that the *real* death rate had fallen to about 19 per thousand a year, for 1,000 divided by 52·6 equals 19.) But even in 1913 there was still a large proportion of underfed individuals, especially if one considers the importance of a proper diet and of vitamins. So it may confidently be claimed that the average duration of life could, and will, be raised by a further three years. In other words, it may confidently be claimed that the average duration of life in a well-fed nation would be over 55·5 years. This means that in a well-fed nation the *real* death rate would certainly fall to below 18 per thousand a year, for 1,000 divided by 55·5 practically equals 18.

It is possible that in a perfectly well-fed nation the average duration of life would rise to over 58·8 years. This would mean a reduction of the *real* death rate to below 17 per thousand a year, for 1,000 divided by 58·8 practically equals 17. But most people probably still consider the idea too optimistic that the average duration of life will rise to 58·8 years, although Dr. Drysdale says he expects it to rise in time to the psalmist's three-score years and ten. So for the present I shall take about 55·5 years as the height to which the average duration of life will rise, and shall, therefore, provisionally take about 18 per thousand a year as the ideal or normal *real* death rate, *i.e.*, I shall take it that the *real* death rate of a really well-fed nation would be 18 per thousand a year, or only a small fraction below 18, and shall assume that it will be impossible to reduce it to 17.

If, then, the normal *real* death rate of a well-fed nation

be 18, or a small fraction below 18, per thousand a year, it enables one to state several very important things.

(1) It enables one to state that no country should have a recorded death rate (whether crude or corrected) of more than 18 per thousand a year, because the death rate *plus* nine-twentieths of the survival rate should together not exceed 18. If a country has a death rate of over 18 (like France before the war, as I have already indicated), it is certainly suffering from food shortage, and should either reduce its birth rate or increase its food supply faster, or should do both. But if a country has a death rate of 18, or less than 18, per thousand a year, one cannot say that it suffers from food shortage, unless one proceeds to calculate the *real* death rate and finds that the *real* death rate is 18 or more.

(2) It enables one to state that the death rate of a country will certainly go on falling with the birth rate until the *real* death rate has thereby been reduced to less than 18 per thousand a year.

(3) It enables one to state that the population of a country will not decline (except by emigration or war) until the birth rate falls below 18 per thousand a year, because, so long as the birth rate is 18 or more, the death rate must be 18 or less, since otherwise the *real* death rate would not be under 18.

(4) It enables one to state approximately what the birth rate and death rate of a country should be if one knows the survival rate.

For if the normal *real* death rate of a country be about 18 per thousand a year, any particular survival rate should have the particular birth rate and death rate in which

$D + \frac{9}{20}S$  will equal about 18. This can be seen in the

subjoined table—a correct table kindly worked out for me with logarithms by Mr. G. W. Stallard. In it the birth rate and death rate in every vertical column together make for an average duration of life of 55·5 years; and they also give, in all but the last three columns, I was very pleased to find, a *real* death rate of practically 18 per thousand a year when they are submitted to my

formula  $D + \frac{9}{20}S$ , thereby well supporting my suggestion

that  $D + \frac{9}{20}S$  should be regarded as the *real* death rate.

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Birth rate .	18	19.0	20.0	21.0	22.0	23	24.0	25.0	26	27.0	28.0	29.0	30
Death rate .	18	17.1	16.2	15.4	14.7	14	13.3	12.6	12	11.4	10.9	10.4	10
Survival rate	0	1.9	3.8	5.6	7.3	9	10.7	12.4	14	15.6	17.1	18.6	20

If, then, a country's survival rate be about zero, its birth rate and death rate ought (always taking 18 per thousand a year as the lowest possible *real* death rate) to be about 18 per thousand a year; if its survival rate be about 1.9 per thousand, its birth rate ought to be about 19 and its death rate about 17.1; if its survival rate be about 9 per thousand, its birth rate ought to be about 23 and its death rate about 14; and so on.

Thus the table also enables one to say that if a country has a birth rate of about 19 per thousand a year its inhabitants are *trying*, in effect, to increase their population at a rate of about 1.9 per thousand (even although food shortage may, in fact, be making them increase at a rate of much less than 1.9); that if a country has a birth rate of about 23 per thousand its inhabitants are *trying*, in effect, to increase at a rate of about 9 per thousand (even although food shortage may, in fact, be making them increase at a rate of much less than 9 per thousand); that if a country has a birth rate of about 30 per thousand, its inhabitants are *trying*, in effect, to increase at a rate of about 20 per thousand (even although food shortage may, and most probably will, in fact, be making them increase at a rate of much less than 20 per thousand); and that if a country has a birth rate of over 30 per thousand, its inhabitants are *trying*, in effect, to increase at a rate of over 20 per thousand—thereby merely causing a terrible and dangerous pressure of population on the means of subsistence.

Lastly, the table illustrates another very important point, namely, how the death rate must rise if the birth rate continues falling after the maximum possible average duration of life has been attained. Thus (still assuming 55.5 years or 56 years to be the maximum possible average duration of life) if a well-fed country had a birth rate of about 30 per thousand a year, its death rate would be about 10 per thousand; if its birth rate declined to about 29, its death rate would rise to about 10.4 (for otherwise

the average duration of life would not still be about 55·5 years) ; if its birth rate declined to about 26, its death rate would by then have risen to about 12 ; if its birth rate went on to fall to 18, its death rate would by then have risen to 18, and the population would be stationary apart from immigration ; and if its birth rate were to fall below 18, its death rate would have risen to over 18, and the population would actually decline unless it were kept up by immigration.

## RESOLUTION.

At the conclusion of the session the following resolution was put to the meeting :

“ That this meeting of the Fifth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference, consisting chiefly of members of the British medical profession, considers that it is of the greatest importance that the provision of hygienic Birth-Control instruction should become part of the recognised duty of the medical profession, and that such instruction should especially be given at all hospitals and public health centres to which the poorest classes and those suffering from hereditary disease or defectiveness apply for relief.”

Carried unanimously.

(Signed) C. KILLICK MILLARD,  
*President of the Section.*



*Friday, July 14th.*—PRIVATE AFTERNOON SESSION.\*

## CONTRACEPTIVE SECTION.

*President* . NORMAN HAIRE, Ch.M., M.B.

THE PRESIDENT opened the session by reading a paper on :—

### CONTRACEPTIVE TECHNIQUE.

My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to have the privilege of welcoming this afternoon such a large gathering of medical men and women, including so many of the more eminent members of our profession.

I believe that this is the first occasion when medical men and women have gathered together in this country to attend a Conference devoted to the study of the technique of contraception.

My own work in this field is only of seven years' duration, and I should, therefore, have hesitated to accept the Presidency of this session, but we were unable to find any one who had devoted special study to this subject among those medical men and women who would publicly avow their interest in Birth Control.

Why are medical practitioners so ignorant of contraceptive technique? I think it is because the subject has been entirely neglected and omitted from the curriculum of our medical schools, both in Great Britain and in the British Dominions. It is still regarded by many with that aversion attaching to any subject connected with sex, and is considered as "not quite nice." Doctors must pick up their knowledge of contraception casually, when and how they can, and the result is that much of it is quite unreliable.

When a doctor tells a woman that she should have no more children, or when she asks him for safe and hygienic

\* *Note.*—This session was open to members of the Medical Profession only.—EDITOR.

contraceptive advice, he is usually unable to give her a satisfactory answer.

This neglect on the part of the medical profession has opened the way for the quack and the charlatan.

Our business this afternoon is to study the technique of contraception. We are not here to-day to discuss the rights and wrongs of Birth Control, or its social, moral or religious aspects, but to consider the various methods of contraception available and their respective advantages and disadvantages.

You may think me dogmatic, but my experience has led me to believe that all methods but one are faulty. I have found only one method which has given me up to the present 100 per cent. of successes. Methods which may succeed and may fail are not of much practical use. We want something that is sure, safe and simple. I believe I know such a method.

For conception to occur it is necessary that a male element or spermatozoon should meet with a female element or ovum. The union of the male and female elements is the original biological aim of sexual intercourse. In the gradual process of evolution, however, sexual intercourse in man has acquired other values and significances in addition. Man does not now perform the sexual act only when he desires offspring to result. More often civilised man has intercourse with the definite hope that the union will not be fertile.

Before detailing the various methods of preventing conception, the question of *sexual abstinence* must be considered in its medical aspect. I believe that there are adult persons who are able to abstain from sexual intercourse permanently, or for long periods, without any apparent harm resulting. I believe, however, that long-continued abstention from sexual intercourse produces, in the majority of adults of both sexes, more or less severe psychical symptoms, and often physical symptoms in addition. This applies even to individuals who have had no previous experience of sexual intercourse. In the case of married persons, already habituated to coitus, and living in an intimate relationship with their partners, sharing the same room and perhaps the same bed, prolonged sexual abstinence can usually only be attained by a degree of repression which is, I believe, definitely and demonstrably harmful.

The next point to consider is the so-called "*safe period.*" The temporal relation between ovulation and menstruation is still undetermined. It was formerly thought that these two phenomena were nearly, or quite, coincident, and that, therefore, copulation just before or just after the menstrual period was likely to prove fertile, while copulation in the middle fortnight of the intermenstrual period was absolutely or comparatively safe. This view is no longer held by competent authorities. We do not know at what time in the menstrual cycle the ripe ovum is set free. We do know that the sperm may live for days or weeks in the female body, and that it can presumably fertilise an ovum many days after it has been emitted by the male. In some hundreds of cases which I have investigated personally I have asked whether any reliance had been placed on the safe period, and in over 95 per cent. of cases I have found it fail sooner or later. Besides, and this is important from the practical point of view, I have found most couples unwilling to abstain from the fundamental relationship underlying marriage during one half of every month, especially since it is that half in which many women experience desire most strongly.

Some people are under the impression that a woman is immune from the possibility of conception while she is still suckling her last child, and with this idea many women try to avoid pregnancy by prolonging the period of suckling up to eighteen months, or even longer. In my experience this generally fails to prevent conception. I believe that suckling women are less liable to conception than usual, but no real reliance is to be placed in it, and the prolonged lactation is often harmful to both mother and child.

There remain the so-called "artificial" methods of contraception, and it is with these that we are mainly concerned this afternoon. Now at the very outset I will ask you to realise that perfection has not yet been reached in this field, as well as in many others. There is no method which is at once harmless and certain, and which does not call for a minimum of intelligence and care on the part of the user. I know of no appliance which can be expected to be successful in the hands of the imbecile or the intoxicated. But short of absolute perfection, we have one method—the Dutch pessary—which is highly



satisfactory, and which should be available for the vast majority of people. For the small minority for whom, on account of their own stupidity or carelessness, it will never be available, another alternative exists. These two matters I shall leave to the end. Let us first treat of the methods of contraception which are in common use, but which I consider for one reason or another imperfect.

*Withdrawal or "Coitus Interruptus."*—This consists in the removal of the penis from the vagina before the emission of semen. It has the advantages that it costs nothing, requires no apparatus and no previous preparation. But it has many disadvantages. It requires an amount of self-control which many men do not possess. It is uncertain, because if only one drop of semen is emitted in the vagina or even on the external female genitals, pregnancy may result. If a second connection occurs without a previous thorough cleansing of the male genitals, some of the semen from the first emission may be introduced into the vagina at the second coitus and cause pregnancy. Another objection is that it spoils sexual pleasure for many men and leaves many women still tumescent, and without the relief of the orgasm which should normally follow that tumescence. In every case that comes to me for contraceptive advice, both in my private practice and at the free maternity centres at which I work, I inquire whether withdrawal has been practised and with what success, and in more than 95 per cent. of cases I have found it fail. But the main objection to withdrawal is that its habitual practice is generally accompanied by an anxiety-neurosis. That these two phenomena are related as cause and effect I cannot prove, but their association is too frequent to be purely fortuitous. It may be that the uncertainty attaching to withdrawal, and not withdrawal itself, is the cause of the neurosis. Be that as it may, I have found that the neurosis almost always disappears when a different method of contraception is substituted.

*Chemical contraceptives* may be used in the form of vaginal suppositories, or as oils, jellies or ointments, or in watery solution. They all aim at killing the spermatozoa by chemical action, and some aim at entangling the spermatozoa and some at washing away the spermatozoa, in addition. But all share at least one imperfection—

they can affect the semen only while it is in the vagina. It is believed that at the moment of female orgasm some or all of the semen may be aspirated into the uterus. If this is so, any semen so aspirated into the uterus will be immune from the action of the chemical contraceptives. There is another objection which applies in some degree to all chemical contraceptives. A substance which kills spermatozoa does so in virtue of the fact that it is a protoplasmic poison. It is difficult to find a spermaticidal substance which will not have a deleterious effect on the body-cells as well. Most spermaticides will, at least if used without the greatest care, damage the genital passages or cause some degree of poisoning through absorption. And even if eventually we find some perfect chemical contraceptive, it will be a matter of difficulty to ensure that the average person shall obtain *that*, and not some imperfect or harmful, but commercially more profitable, substitute, from the dealer.

Suppositories are most often seen in the form of the so-called "*quinine pessary*." This consists of a small mass of cocoa-butter or gelatin, in which is incorporated a certain amount of quinine. One of these is placed in the vagina before intercourse, and is supposed to melt and spread over the vaginal interior ready to kill the spermatozoa when they are shed into the vagina. The quinine pessary has many disadvantages. First, it cannot affect any semen aspirated directly into the uterus. Secondly, a large manufacturer of quinine pessaries has informed me that it is very difficult to ensure the equal mixing of the quinine and the cocoa-butter. In the process of manufacture the quinine tends to sink, so that those pessaries made from the upper part of a batch may contain no quinine at all, while those made from the lowest part may contain so much as to cause irritation of the vaginal mucous membrane or even symptoms of quinine poisoning. Thirdly, some quinine pessaries are made with such a high melting-point that they do not readily dissolve at body-temperature, and one patient assures me that she has found the remains of a quinine pessary still undissolved when she douched the vagina the morning after inserting it. Fourthly, I have unquestionable evidence that a great many so-called quinine pessaries sold in London are deliberately manufactured without any quinine or other active spermaticide at all, in order to afford an additional

profit to the dealers. Fifthly, in a woman with a normal amount of vaginal secretion, the additional moisture of a quinine pessary is an unpleasant feature, though in a woman with deficient secretion the lubrication may be an advantage.

A mixture of oil and quinine is sometimes used. This has all the disadvantages of the quinine pessary except No. 3, and the additional disadvantage of requiring the use of a special syringe for its injection.

Contraceptive jellies are much used in Germany. One preparation, called *Patentex*, was very highly spoken of, and Mr. Porter, of Cambridge, had a specimen analysed with the following result :—

PATENTEX.

Starch . . .	20 grams . .	}	= Glycerine of starch.
Glycerine . . .	130 millilitres . .		
Distilled water	30 millilitres . .		
Boric acid . . .	20 per cent. . .		

A friend of mine ordered some *Patentex* from the manufacturer, but received instead what the latter described as an improvement on it, entitled *Metag*. A specimen of this was analysed, and the analyst reported :

“ Careful search was made for substances with a contraceptive action and other alkaloids, salicylic acid, and metallic salts. None was detected. Starch was absent, and a minute trace only of boric acid was present, together with a little tragacanth. A microscopical examination revealed the presence of a very large number of vegetable organisms, including diatoms and algæ, together with a smaller number of animal organisms, small fleas, etc. In my opinion the sample consists solely of a tragacanth mucilage (18 grains of tragacanth to the ounce) prepared with *ditch-water* and containing a trace of boric acid.”

The jelly is contained in a collapsible tube, like an ordinary tooth paste tube. When the cap is removed a long glass nozzle is screwed on, the nozzle is inserted into the vagina, and an inch or two of the jelly squeezed into the vaginal fornix.

It is possible that some form of contraceptive jelly may be found which will kill the spermatozoa without harming the patient. Dr. Davidson has suggested a preparation of 1 per cent. lactic acid in mucilage of tragacanth. This will kill spermatozoa *in vitro*, whether it will do so *in vivo* is still undecided. That it will kill the spermatozoa in any semen, aspirated directly into the uterus, I find it difficult to believe. We have here, however, a field for future investigation.

There is a device on the market known as Baxter's Control Patent Outfit, or K.P.O. This consists of a vaginal speculum with a plunger. The plunger is inserted into the speculum, leaving a small space at the end which is filled with a contraceptive ointment, consisting of quinine in vaseline. The instrument is then inserted into the vagina, the plunger is pushed home, and by manipulation of the instrument, the ointment is supposed to be distributed over the vaginal vault and the *portio vaginalis* of the cervix. I have no experience of this instrument. It is admirably adapted for purposes of female masturbation. Its market price is a guinea. I doubt if the average woman would be able to use it so as to distribute the ointment in the manner intended. Its greasiness, and the danger of faulty dispensing of the ointment, are additional objections.

*Watery solutions* of chemical contraceptives are used in two ways. They are used, firstly, as douches. Here the chemical action of killing the spermatozoa is supplemented by the mechanical action of the douche in washing away the semen. Douching is often successful if carried out immediately after coitus. But the necessity for getting out of a warm bed, and using a douche, immediately after connection, is not only highly unæsthetic, but, I believe, physiologically harmful, in that it disturbs the natural rest that should follow sexual intercourse. Further, it is not to be expected that a woman will get up out of a warm bed on a cold night, to prepare hot water for a douche. In the case of the lower middle classes and the poor, who have insufficient privacy and very imperfect sanitary and heating conveniences, it is out of the question. Frequent douching with spermaticidal solutions often gives rise to vaginal inflammation and discharge. Finally, douching cannot act on any semen which has already entered the uterus.

If douches are used, I recommend :—

- (a)  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 1% solution of lactic acid.
- (b) Normal saline.
- (c) Vinegar, 1 dram to the pint.
- (d) Permanganate of potash, 1 in 4,000.

I have found that *Lysol* and *Milton*, which are frequently used as douches, often give rise to a discharge.

Watery solutions are often used, secondly, to soak a sponge or a tampon of cotton wool, which is then inserted into the vagina with the object of occluding the external os. We have already considered the possible harmful effects of the chemical. The action of the sponge or tampon remains to be considered. If it is too small it may obviously be pushed into one of the fornices and fail to cover the os. If it is large enough to ensure that the whole of the vault is protected, its bulk usually causes discomfort and interferes with sexual satisfaction. The physical nature of an animal sponge renders it difficult to keep clean. If this method is to be used at all, an artificial rubber sponge, which can be boiled, or a cotton-wool tampon, which must be used only once, is preferable.

There are a number of contraceptive instruments which aim at mechanically preventing the semen from reaching the uterus. The first of these is the *condom*, or *French letter*. This consists of a sheath of rubber or animal gut, which fits on the penis and receives the seminal fluid at emission. These can be obtained in reliable brands at moderate cost, and if tested before use by blowing up with air or filling with water to detect faults, they are safe and harmless. Many persons, however, find that they diminish sexual satisfaction so greatly as to be objectionable.

Another rubber device is known as the *Female Sheath*. This consists of a stout rubber sheath, which is pushed into the vagina, and which has a sort of apron to cover the external female genitals. It is lubricated inside and out before use. It is certainly a reliable preventive, but it diminishes sexual pleasure so greatly as to be quite unsuitable in ordinary cases.

Persons suffering from venereal disease should abstain from sexual intercourse. If they will not do so, they should use a condom or a female sheath, or both.

There are a number of different types of *Intrauterine Pessaries*. The first is known as the "*Gold Pin*," "*Wish-*

bone," "Butterfly" or "Brooch Pin." It is usually made of gold and silver or gold and platinum. The button remains in the vagina outside the cervix, while the hollow stem occupies the canal of the cervix and the uterine cavity. It must be inserted by a doctor. As it is hollow it can be left in during the menstrual period. It is left in for six or twelve months. It was originally introduced for facilitating impregnation in cases of stenosis of the cervix, and is not a preventive of conception. Conception often takes place in spite of it, or perhaps because of it, and if the pessary is not soon removed, abortion follows. The cervix is kept patent by it, and the way is thus left open for the entry of septic organisms from the exterior which may reach the uterus and give rise to pathological conditions. The use of this instrument has been followed by abortion and by inflammatory conditions. It is not a reliable contraceptive; it often acts as an abortifacient, and in my opinion it is a dangerous instrument.

In Germany a much cheaper pessary, consisting of a glass button with strands of silkworm gut to form the stem, is used for the same purpose. I consider it is open to the same objections.

There are several slightly differing types of *Stud Pessary*, made of gold, silver, aluminium, bone, ebonite, or other material. The base of the stud remains in the vagina and the stem occupies the cervical canal, and protrudes more or less into the uterine cavity. It is claimed that the stud prevents the entry of spermatozoa or other matter from the vagina, but permits the escape of the menstrual fluid. In many cases these instruments have given rise to inflammation, discharges, and dysmenorrhœa.

There is a tiny *Silver Cap* which fits on the cervix like a thimble on the finger. The correct size and shape must be found for each person, it is difficult to introduce properly, and it must be removed and replaced at each menstrual period. As this necessitates a visit to a doctor every month, and as it may cause irritation, I do not advocate this method.

There is a tiny *Rubber Cap* of the same sort. This has much the same defects.

Then there is the *Small Check Pessary*. This is a small hemispherical rubber cap with a thickened rim. The diaphragm covers and fits tightly the vaginal portion of

the cervix, and is supposed to adhere to it by suction. It is made in three sizes and, if accurately fitted and applied in cases for which it is suitable, it is relatively safe. But in my experience the majority of women find it extremely difficult to apply correctly, owing to the distance of the cervix from the vaginal orifice and their ignorance of their own anatomy. Indeed, I know of one medical woman, married and a mother, who, even with her professional knowledge of her own anatomy, is unable to fit it in herself. Further, if the cervix is much scarred or deformed by previous pregnancies, it is often quite impossible for a gynæcologist to fit a check pessary.

The *Mizpah Pessary* is a little better. In this type the cap and the ring are separable, but the principle is the same, and the same objections apply, though perhaps in slighter degree. Good results are reported from America with this pessary.

And now, lastly, we come to what I consider to be the best contraceptive method available. These are the two types of rubber pessary which have been widely used in Holland for some forty years past, and which I introduced, or perhaps re-introduced, into England about a year ago.

The *Mensinga Pessary* is a simple rubber ring enclosing a flat watch spring, and closed by a rubber diaphragm. It is introduced preferably so that the convex surface is towards the cervix and the concave surface towards the vaginal opening. The ring rests anteriorly behind the pubic bone and posteriorly on the back wall of the vagina, high up. Thus the whole of the vault of the vagina is occluded and the semen denied access to the os. The spring and the muscular walls of the vagina adapt themselves to each other even during the movements of coitus. Once it is in position the patient is not conscious of its presence, and the husband would not know it was there unless he were told. It does not interfere in any way with the normal pleasure of intercourse. It is made in a dozen sizes, varying from 50 to 90 millimetres in diameter. It is essential that it should be fitted first by a medical practitioner, for if a size too large or too small is used it will not protect adequately. Once the patient knows the right size and has been shown how to place it in position, she can use it with ease and security. It may be inserted during the afternoon before the husband comes home from work, and she can then forget about it.

If intercourse occurs during the night, she need not get up and take any precautions, but may go to sleep without fear. The next morning she should douche with soapy water or any other simple solution, remove the pessary, and douche again. This method has been used in Holland for forty years with a very small percentage of failures, due to stupidity or carelessness, and I myself have used it in nearly 200 cases in the past year without a single failure, either among my private patients or among the less intelligent patients at the welfare centres. In a few cases, owing to perineal deficiency or uterine displacement, a slightly different shape of pessary on the same principle, known as the *Matrisalus*, is preferable.

I said at the beginning of this paper that this method was available for the vast majority of people, and that for the small minority another alternative existed. The alternative I referred to is *permanent sterilisation*. I think that all people who can be determined as definitely unfit for parenthood, *e.g.*, the insane, the epileptic, the hæmophilic, and those suffering from any other disease which would probably be transmitted to, or would seriously damage the offspring, should certainly be sterilised. Women suffering from diseases which would be seriously aggravated by pregnancy should also be sterilised. I believe that the time will come when all but the very lowest intellectual grades will be using Birth Control, and that then the great majority will say to the small minority, "If you are too stupid or too lazy to use contraceptives in the interest of society, then society compels you to submit to sterilisation, so that you may no longer contaminate the race."

I understand that sterilisation may be effected by X-rays, but the questions of dosage, duration of effect, and possible damage to offspring propagated after the return of fecundity, have not yet been worked out. At present this method is uncertain.

The method which I advocate and which I practise at the request of the patient in suitable cases is *surgical sterilisation*. In the male this is effected by removing an inch or two of the vas deferens on each side. An incision is made in the vas scrotum, or over the external inguinal ring. The spermatic cord is drawn out of the wound, the vas deferens isolated, tied in two places an inch or two apart, and the intervening piece cut out. All



vessels and nerves, even the most delicate, should be preserved, as their destruction may lead to damage of the testicle. By this procedure, sterilisation of the male can be easily, safely, and effectively carried out without any bad influence on the general health or sexual life. The patient's desire, potency and pleasure are undiminished. He still has an ejaculation at orgasm, but the ejaculate consists of the secretions of the prostate and other accessory sexual glands and contains no spermatozoa. Steinach and his followers have claimed that in a very large number of cases this operation is followed by an improvement in the general health, and my own experience, though small, corroborates this.

The female is best sterilised by removal of the Fallopian tubes through a mid-line incision. This operation of double salpingectomy has no ill-effect on the general health or the sexual life, and the menstrual cycle remains unaffected.

It may appear to some unnecessary to labour the point, but as I know that most people, and even many medical men and women, think one means castration or double ovariectomy when one speaks of sterilisation, I wish to emphasise the fact that surgical sterilisation need only mean vasectomy or salpingectomy, and that it need in no way unsex the patient.

In many of the States of the American Union this operation is prescribed or permitted by law, and is carried out in State institutions on habitual criminals of certain types, and on incurably insane persons, after a duly thorough examination and consultation by expert authorities. To my knowledge some 4,500 cases have been done in this way with satisfactory results. In this country it is legal if carried out at the patient's request, and in my own practice I have had an epileptic, a person who had formerly been insane, and an incurable alcoholic among the men who spontaneously came to me for sterilisation. In the case of women sterilisation is, of course, much less unusual, and therefore far less repugnant to the average medical practitioner.

Two points remain to be touched on. It has been said by some people that in normal sexual intercourse the woman absorbs through the vaginal mucous membrane certain unknown substances from the semen which are beneficial to her. As evidence in support of this, one

prominent non-medical writer on the subject announces that she found that if iodine was placed in the vagina traces of it could be discovered in the saliva soon afterwards. This is no proof whatever. Iodine is a protoplasmic poison and may act on the vaginal cells in such a way as to overcome their resistance so that it is absorbed. Semen is not a protoplasmic poison. While we do not deny the possibility of such an absorption, we can state quite definitely that at present this theory is purely fanciful and unsupported by any evidence.

A suggestion worthy of deeper consideration has been made by Thompson, who considers that absorption of the semen, in whole or part, may occur through the mucous membrane of the uterus. He points out that it is much more probable that absorption should occur from this epithelium than from the squamous epithelium of the vagina, and he quotes microscopical appearances which, in his opinion, support his hypothesis.

The other point, the psychological effects of contraceptive methods, is one which we must leave to the psychologists.

In conclusion, I would urge upon you the necessity for the serious study of contraception, and for much research and experiment in this field. I would remind you that there is a Welfare Centre for Prematernity, Maternity and Child Welfare, at East Street, Walworth, which was founded by the Malthusian League, and of which I am in charge, where every married woman requesting it is instructed in a safe and hygienic method of Birth Control. I would impress upon you the need for other such centres in other districts, not only for the relief of over-prolific families, but also as places for study of this important question.

I am anxious to form a Medical Society for the Study of Contraception, and I invite any of you who would care to join such a society to communicate with me either at the close of the meeting or later.\*

SIR ARBUTHNOT LANE: Ladies and Gentlemen, I think all I can do is to congratulate the reader of the paper on the excellent way in which he has put this subject before us. I think the subject is one of enormous interest, and, although I have had little practical experience myself, I think one's philanthropic instincts make one support a

\* Dr. Norman Haire's address is 71, Harley Street, London, W. 1, England.

man who is doing such magnificent work for the benefit of humanity. I only differ from him in this point, that I am sure material is absorbed through the vagina. If a woman has not got prostatic secretion in the ordinary way, and you give her prostatic extract by the mouth, you get the same result which is evidenced by changes in her breast. I have little or no practical knowledge of this subject, but I think we shall be glad to hear the opinions of the many expert people present.

DR. LEONARD MYER: I support Sir Arbuthnot Lane. Twenty years ago he said the same thing, when I had the pleasure of dressing for him.

DR. M. I. FINUCANE: I listened with great interest to the paper, but what struck me throughout was the absolute ineffectiveness of all these methods which you have described, and also, what is more important from a doctor's point of view, the absolutely harmful effect of them. So far as I can see, you described no method which you can say is absolutely effective in producing Birth Control, and I think every one is in itself harmful. How any medical man can justify the use of them in those circumstances I do not know.

THE CHAIRMAN: I apparently did not make myself clear. I am of opinion—and I thought I made it clear I was of that opinion—that the rubber pessary which I spoke of last, the Dutch rubber pessary, or the other one—the two types of Dutch rubber pessary—are as near perfection as we can expect to get. They are available, without any fear of unreliability, to all people—I was going to say of average intelligence, but it applies to people of far *below* average intelligence. Any woman, any intelligent individual, could use the Dutch pessary. Any woman not intelligent enough to use it, after having been shown by a doctor, must be classed, I think, as slightly mentally deficient. I am not able to discover any harmful effects of the Dutch pessary at all. If you can tell us any, we should be glad to know. What harmful effects has it?

DR. FINUCANE: I thought this paper this afternoon excluded discussion of the general subject of Birth Control, and that we were confined to contraceptive technique. I have not had the pleasure of attending other sessions of the Conference, or I should have been quite prepared to say something against the whole subject; but you

opened your paper by excluding anything like a questioning of the general subject at all. All you proposed to discuss, I think, were these various methods, and I only suggest that, on your own showing, none of these methods are effective ; and I think I gathered—I may be wrong—that some, or most, of them were absolutely harmful.

THE CHAIRMAN : Exactly !

DR. FINUCANE : I say that generally, and should be prepared to prove it, I think, amongst medical men, if I had time. As to that particular method you speak of, this Dutch affair, or whatever it is, I should say, speaking generally as a medical man with a good deal of experience of general practice, and special practice too with regard to the psychology of people, that it was extremely harmful. I say, speaking generally. I should like to hear from other members of the audience who are experts, dealing with such cases every day, whether that is so or not. I appeal to my medical brethren to say whether any method of Birth Control is not harmful, above everything to the woman. By your paper I am debarred from entering into the general question, but on your own showing to-day, from the paper you have just read, you have made out to me that that is so. You have not produced evidence, which any person with a logical mind would demand, that the methods you have used do not fail in their effectiveness. All of them, not only on your own showing, but from my personal experience, are absolutely harmful.

THE CHAIRMAN : I intended to say that all methods are imperfect, in my opinion, except the Dutch pessary, but you still have not told us, sir, why you consider the Dutch pessary harmful. When I said we were not here to discuss the rights and wrongs of Birth Control, I said that because this is a discussion on contraceptive technique—anything that applies to the methods of Birth Control from the medical aspect, but not from the moral or economic aspect. We have no time to discuss that, but anything which is germane to the subject we want to hear. Dr. Stoddart will tell us what he thinks of it as a psychologist. He told us this morning at the Medical Section and will now kindly repeat it.

DR. W. H. B. STODDART : The point to which I wish to refer is the effect upon the patient, upon the individual, of the various methods of Birth Control, and I think one

answer to Dr. Finucane is that some people adopt methods of Birth Control to prevent pregnancy which are distinctly harmful to them. I refer especially to *coitus interruptus*, and I think the medical profession should be able to give advice respecting Birth Control, so that people should not employ harmful methods.

The various methods are abstinence, *coitus interruptus* and the use of contraceptives. Abstinence does no harm in the absence of sexual stimulus, as, for example, when a husband and wife occupy separate bedrooms; but if they lie in contact with one another there is sexual stimulus. Perhaps the stimulus may be unconscious and unrecognised, but it does occur and it is not gratified. I mentioned this morning a case that came before me during the war. The man applied to me for a certificate of exemption. Certainly he deserved exemption. He suffered from anxiety neurosis. The practice between him and his wife was that they should live a purely spiritual life; that they should sleep in bed with one another, but that their love should be purely spiritual, and that there should be no sexual connection. The result was that they were both extremely nervous, both suffering from severe anxiety neurosis, and it would have been positively cruel to send this man to the war under those circumstances.

*Coitus interruptus* has the same effect as abstinence in the circumstances I have described, and I have many cases among my out-patients at St. Thomas's Hospital suffering from anxiety neurosis. In every case, the cause is *coitus interruptus*. That is an exceptional thing to be able to say on a medical matter—that there is one definite disease always produced by one definite cause, and one definite cause invariably causing that one disease. In this particular case it is so.

I will come to contraceptives later, although what I have to say has perhaps already been said. What is the mental attitude of these people? What is their psychology? They experience a desire which they do not wish to feel, and what happens in the mind when that state of affairs occurs is that the desire is "put out of the mind," as it is popularly expressed; but as we psychologists put it, we say the desire is "pushed deeper into the mind" really. That is, it is repressed into the unconscious and replaced in consciousness by its opposite—its opposite being fear, dread and anxiety. That is the conscious attitude of

these people, that they suffer from constant fear, dread or anxiety. It is a psychological fact that any emotion may be detached from the original idea which gave rise to it, and be attached subsequently to other ideas. That is to say, an effect may be floating about loose, so to speak. The result is that these people become frightened of all sorts of things—frightened of a closed room, knives, water, and even if the postman comes with a letter they are frightened that it may contain bad news.

That is their mental attitude, but there are a large number of physical signs of anxiety neurosis—the physical signs arising from secretion of the endocrines. There is an affection of practically every system of the body. One has known people suffer from attacks of unconsciousness. Even fits and hallucinations accompany fear. In the circulatory system we have cardiac attacks and palpitation. In the respiratory system, there is difficulty of respiration, attacks of asthma and attacks of air hunger. In the alimentary system we have disturbances of digestion and constipation, sometimes diarrhoea and sickness. In the urinary system people suffer from frequency of micturition. There are not all the symptoms in the same patient, but some in one, some in another. I have seen a case of goitre in a man who practised *coitus interruptus*. It disappeared as soon as his sexual life was regulated. I took the trouble in one case to count the number of symptoms of anxiety neurosis. They numbered seventy-three—almost all physical signs. There is one particular symptom or sign I have been rather interested in lately, and that is that anxiety neurosis is liable to give rise to visceroptosis, but where this takes place, as Cannon has shown, there is filtration of much adrenalin into the circulation. The effect of adrenalin is to stimulate the sympathetic. It closes the pylorus and inhibits peristalsis. The result is dilatation of the stomach. A dilated stomach is liable to be missed unless you look for it, and where the trouble is caused by *coitus interruptus* you will find the dilated stomach. And it is not merely dilated, because in several known examples X-rays show that the stomach descends into the pelvis. The result is that the transverse colon descends also, because at the hepatic end it is held by the transverse meso-colon only. It is held by the costo-colic ligament at the other end. The ascending colon comes to the pelvis, dragging the kidney

out of its bed at the same time. That is why a floating kidney is associated with neurosis. It used to be a puzzle why a floating kidney caused neurosis. It is not the floating kidney which causes neurosis, but the neurosis which causes the mobile kidney. The result is that the patient suffers from fatigue, pain in the back, and it gives rise to all sorts of kinks. It gives rise also to constipation, so much so that occasionally an operation becomes necessary. At any rate, the condition so produced requires special treatment.

Now just a word with regard to the effect of contraceptives. It is said that the methods of Birth Control are harmful. Are contraceptives harmful? In some cases it would appear they are, because I have come across some cases of anxiety neurosis occurring in patients using them—quite a few as compared with the others, but still some cases. It is usually the female, by the way, although sometimes the male. In these cases, always the female suffers from anxiety neurosis, although she has experienced gratification on each occasion of sexual stimulation. During coitus she has experienced gratification, but a contraceptive has invariably been used, and according to Professor Thompson, we may conclude that the uterine mucous membrane does absorb semen. Five grammes are injected into the vagina, although there is sometimes an escape. It is certain the whole of the 5 grammes does not escape. What becomes of it? It must be absorbed somewhere. If it is absorbed, has it any effect? Professor Thompson mentions the fact that after a first coitus, perhaps after coitus on several occasions, the thyroid is enlarged, showing that there is some general effect on the female, and Sir Arbuthnot Lane has referred to the effect on the breasts. Whereas they are liable to become “nobbly” in the absence of prostatic fluid being injected into the uterus, they remain soft if the woman does receive prostatic fluid. There is a curious confirmatory piece of evidence with regard to this. Probably all of you have heard of the Abderhalden reaction, which is a reaction between the serum of a person and certain tissues. The Abderhalden reaction is employed for determining whether a given endocrine is in excess. It is not generally known that there is a reaction for coitus. Within twenty-four hours after coitus the female blood gives a certain positive reaction, and that reaction does

not take place if a contraceptive has been used. It does not take place unless the semen has been absorbed by the female. Those are a few of the remarks which I made at this morning's meeting.

Another point to which I did not refer this morning is the effect upon the voice. Professor Thompson mentions that singing teachers have told him that the female voice does not obtain its full richness until after coitus has taken place, and I have heard there is every confirmatory evidence of that. I do not think there is anything more I want to say.

DR. C. KILLICK MILLARD: I think it was very wise to limit this discussion to the purely medical aspect of the subject. There has been plenty of opportunity at the other meetings to discuss the other aspects, but there is little opportunity in this country to approach the medical aspect, and I think it would have been disastrous to allow the opportunity to be frittered away. There are so many medical problems awaiting solution, which have been so sadly neglected in the past, that it is high time we addressed ourselves to them. Whatever view you may hold about the ethics of Birth Control, a large section of the public want and mean to have Birth Control, and if the medical profession will not advise them they will go outside the medical profession. It is for us to be in a position to give them the information which they look to us to afford. Unless we discuss it scientifically, how can we give them the information?

A year ago I brought this question before a local medical society in my own town to get light and information. I found the medical profession only knew as much as was general knowledge, and not more. I consider the address we have had from the Chairman to-day is of the utmost value. It is, as far as I know, the first serious attempt to approach the question in a scientific spirit.

I could not understand Dr. Finucane saying that the Chairman, on his own showing, had admitted the methods were injurious. Dr. Haire said nothing of the kind. He said that some of the methods were unsatisfactory and some might be injurious, but he certainly did not say they were all injurious. On the contrary, one method he specially singled out, which he said he considered as nearly perfect as possible. There was one other method which



Dr. Haire did not say was injurious ; all he said was that it was objected to. That is a very different thing, and that is the method I will refer to directly.

I may say that I have recently issued a *questionnaire* to a number of leading gynæcologists in this country, medical men and women of eminence, to find out the opinion of the profession on this question. I did not expect to get very definite light, because I know how this question has been neglected. I expected, of course, to get something useful from Dr. Haire, who has been giving special study to the subject. Out of sixty-five replies I have received to date an analysis comes out as follows. I asked whether they approved of the use of contraceptives, and a very large majority answered "Yes"; some said "Emphatically." To the question "Do you approve of married couples using contraceptive methods to limit the size of the family" thirty-seven answered "Yes" without qualification, thirteen answered "No," and fourteen gave qualified approval. They said, "Only after one child or two children." In six cases they said, "On health grounds only." A very large majority—three to one—was in favour of these methods. That is to say, the majority of leading doctors in this country, specially qualified to answer this question, are in favour of the use of contraceptives. That surely justifies us in going on with this investigation.

Then I asked what method or methods they considered, on the whole, to be most satisfactory, and I want to repeat that I do not suggest they were as well qualified to answer that question. Many said they had given little attention to it, as Sir Arbuthnot Lane said, and probably they were speaking from general knowledge; but, still, eighteen voted for the condom, five for the condom or some alternative method, that is, twenty-three in favour of the condom. Eight voted for quinine pessaries, three for the occlusive pessary, and only one for the occlusive pessary *plus* the quinine pessary, as advocated by a distinguished lady whose name I need not mention. Therefore, I say, if we do not take up this question, the inevitable result will be that the laity will settle it themselves. As you have seen, a large majority voted for the condom. That is the method which Dr. Haire did not say was ineffective or injurious, but merely said was objected to by a large number of people. But I think we

are bound to admit, as medical men, that it is the most effective method of all. I venture to say it is more effective than the occlusive pessary. I may be mistaken, but I suggest it is the most effective method. It is definite, and it is very suitable in the case of the large class of men who are not quite certain whether they are cured of an old-standing gonorrhœa. Surely, in a case like that, where there is a remote chance that the gonorrhœa may return and infect the wife, that would be a justification for selecting the condom rather than any other method? It is said that men object to it; but one must recognise that Birth Control involves self-control and self-denial. People must be prepared to make some sacrifice in this matter, and the majority of thinking people are prepared to make some sacrifice. They recognise that it is not right to bring possibly diseased and defective children into the world. They recognise that it is not right to incur responsibilities which there seems no reasonable probability of their being able to meet. Therefore, they wish to restrict the size of their family, and they say: "We want a reliable method which is not injurious; we do not mind a little inconvenience or expense."

I suggest that we want two alternative methods, one essentially for the male and one essentially for the female. It is no use recommending a male method to the wife when the husband perhaps will not be bothered. When the man does not wish to bother his wife, I suggest the condom is the proper method for us to recommend. There is one objection to the condom we want to clear up, and that is the point recently raised by Professor Thompson. If it is true, as he suggests, that the female is being deprived of something which is beneficial to her, and that would be the case if his theory is correct about absorption, that would be an objection to the condom. Many people would say the disadvantage can be no less, or little less, than entire abstinence from sexual intercourse, but that is a point that wants clearing up. I am not in a position to do that; I am only a medical officer of health. It is a question which physiologists and gynæcologists want to address themselves to—whether the deprivation of the male seminal fluid is really detrimental to the woman in this matter.

DR. ABRAHAM WALLACE: As an old student of this

subject, I wish to offer my congratulations to Dr. Haire and to congratulate the audience, especially the younger members of it, on having had such an experience as listening to this paper. I have been a student of this subject for thirty-five years, and I wish the President of the Congress were here to-day, that I might congratulate him, the celebrated son of an equally celebrated man, Dr. Charles Drysdale, who many years ago earned the scorn of a host of people. If he could see to-day such a company of medical men to listen to this excellent paper, he would be very pleased indeed. I also see Dr. Dunlop on the platform, the son of an old fellow-professor, and I should like to congratulate him as the Medical Secretary of this Conference. I have been able on one or two occasions to come to the sectional meetings, and I wish the gentleman on my left (Dr. Finucane) had been present. He would have learned something about these things.

I have used these methods for many years, but you cannot form an opinion from general statements. Almost every case must be considered on its own basis, and while I congratulate the reader of the paper on his generalisation with reference to the various methods of contraception, I think you must consider each case. I hope the young men here—and I rejoice to see so many of them—have learned something from the excellent paper.

There is one point, sir, that you did not bring forward, and that is that we sometimes have cases where women are anxious to have children, and yet we use contraceptive means. That seems a paradox. I have had many cases where women have been subjected to repeated abortions, and if you tell the husbands that some means ought to be taken, they do not adopt it; but if you have the power of putting on one of the check pessaries, after a time you take it off, and the woman conceives and bears a child. That is one of the most interesting aspects of the case.

DR. W. H. B. STODDART: I omitted to mention a point in connection with the treatment of those cases of anxiety neurosis which are due to the use of contraceptives. The treatment I have adopted is to administer prostatic extract and orchitic extract in tabloid form by the mouth, with the result that the patients recover.

DR. HUXLEY: I think Dr. Haire's paper is excellent,

and covers the whole of the ground which has to be covered at the moment. I do think it extremely desirable that a method of security should be available, both for the husband and for the wife. The condom is safe for the husband, but I have not yet used the Dutch pessary at all.

Then I think any woman using contraceptive methods must have personal help, because the anatomical structure is so different in different women. With regard to the Dutch pessary, I should have thought there was a loophole there, because in fitting any ordinary ring pessary one knows there is often rather a gap in front between the rim and the symphysis. If you make it so tight that the ring fits against the symphysis, there is often discomfort from the ring itself. I should have thought there was sufficient gap there to be a danger to the patient, although Dr. Haire says it is not. If it is fitted by a doctor and practised by the patient, I can, however, understand that it is quite successful in many cases.

LORD DAWSON: I disapprove of bringing the subject of venereal disease into this discussion. Contraceptive methods should stand or fall as between normal healthy people; carriers of the gonococcus require separate consideration. As to methods of contraception, no ideal method has yet been discovered. The best method in any individual case depends on the degree of importance of prevention of conception. If absolute security be desired the only way of securing it is, in my opinion, the use of the penile sheath. An important criterion by which to judge a method is whether it is troublesome to apply, as in this case it will often be imperfectly applied, and will fail. Some medical women have assured me that it is possible to find a pessary which can be fitted easily over the cervix and be made secure when applied, but I cannot help feeling sceptical on this point. Many women have an almost sessile os uteri. The existence of tubal pregnancies proves how small an aperture can be negotiated by a spermatozoon, and it is difficult to imagine a pessary fitting so exactly that no crevice or chink would ever allow of the passage of spermatozoa. The incidence of conception may well be reduced by this means; but some men are so fertile, or so well mated, that this method of contraception would surely fail on occasion. Another side of the question is the strong psychical element in the

sex act, which can only be neglected at peril. Some men consider it a pure physical act, and others go so far as to convert it into a reflex act, an attitude fatal to married happiness. Many women are very sensitive, and all must have their desire provoked psychically. Any elaborate preparation or effort will often suffice to crush out all sentiment, and some women find the insertion of a pessary some hours before anticipated intercourse distasteful enough to produce this effect. Soluble quinine pessaries have the great advantage that they are so easy to use. Many marriages have been wrecked for want of understanding of the woman's attitude; she needs wooing afresh on each occasion. The use of the sheath involves a measure of sacrifice. The man has to pause before proceeding to physical consummation. This effort of self-control comes early enough to be feasible, and both man and woman can without let or hindrance, or anxiety, enter into that complete abandonment which is essential to the complete realisation of the sex act. With *coitus interruptus*, on the other hand, the strain of control at the wrong time is bad physically and psychically. Reciprocity is impossible under these conditions, and instead of abandonment only, followed by satisfaction, exhaustion results. I regret I did not arrive in time to hear the President's views, but, in my opinion, the male sheath and the use of soluble pessaries by the women are the most satisfactory methods of contraception at present available.

DR. F. GOLDSTEIN (Berlin): I have studied the demographical science for twenty years, and I know what, alas! nobody knows, that civilisation is menaced by a huge danger—the danger that its borders will be overwhelmed by the mass of the proletariat, as happened in Germany. There is only one means to save civilisation from this danger, and that is Birth Control.

Birth Control may be by artificial abortion, which is rejected by public feeling, or by contraceptive means practised by doctors. The exact situation to-day is a very unfavourable one, but I hope when knowledge of the imminent danger extends that the position will slacken.

Before beginning my demonstration, I have to urge two points. The first is the safety of contraceptive means. Doctors ask that contraceptive means shall be absolutely safe, and when they hear that a protected woman has

become pregnant they say all contraceptive means have no value. Mankind is not able to make inventions which never fail.

The second point is what we call in Germany *Kolle-gialität* (friendship among doctors).

THE CHAIRMAN: I am afraid I must ask you to limit your remarks purely to the methods of Birth Control. We have asked the audience to do that, and you must do the same.

DR. F. GOLDSTEIN: Then I will produce the contraceptive means I use. One is the silver cap (produced). I have heard it said it is difficult to introduce. Dr. Haire said so, but I think he said it because he has never applied it. It is very easy to apply. I have a patient who introduces it herself. Of course, it happens that it is difficult in certain cases. There are several sizes which I apply; some are bigger, some are smaller, than this one.

Contraceptive means were discussed by the Gynæcological Society of Dresden. Here is the report. I will read what was said in this Society about this silver cap. I will prove they are so safe that it is difficult to remove them. They suck quite fast, and they are perfectly sure. They have a high degree of safety.

This is the second method, which I apply in nearly all cases. (Pessary exhibited.) Among the women protected by me are seventy-six protected by the sterilett. You may say it is a small number; it is true, but it is better to be able to say that than to speak of prejudice. The first sterilett I used was a short one, with a barbarous Latin name, and the first time I used it I found it was too short. This big one must pass the orifice. This external plate has no protective power; it is only this bit which projects from the uterus. It is said this form of pessary must produce inflammation. I have never seen inflammation, but it must be properly applied. The sterilett is made of aluminium, and it does not tolerate heating in water. It must be put in the flame, but not in the Bunsen flame, only in the white flame. This sterilett (exhibiting another) I do not now apply, because there are failures. I use the big one or the smaller one I have shown you. Some doctors say it produces abortion, though the woman is not pregnant, but they are convinced so much that it produces abortion that they have in their mind an abortion even in a woman who is not pregnant. (Laughter.) It

is impossible for this instrument to produce abortion, because the length of the uterus is 7 cm., and this pessary is only 5½ cm. This is a plate with a smaller diameter. (Specimen exhibited.) I shortened it and got this size. It is introduced in this way. This bit (the stem) must pass the orificium internum. You know you have passed it when you know the woman has pain and you have resistance. It is introduced with the speculum. I open the vagina and I find the cervix. The great advantage of the sterilett is that it remains in the cervix for six months. The women forget they are protected, and they do not come to me for six months. They even come after a year or eighteen months. I tell them they should come sooner, but they say, "I did not feel anything, and I did not think it was necessary to come." I wish my colleagues to examine this pessary as severely as possible, to see whether I am wrong or whether I am right.

This is a glass and silkworm-gut pessary invented by Dr. Brown. I have no experience of it, and it is not necessary for me to make experiments on my patients, but I am told by other doctors it is quite safe. (Specimen exhibited.) The silk-threads are introduced into the uterus. It is opened and introduced in this way, and the plate lies upon the cervix. It can be worn four or five months.

The conclusion is that for me, on the ground of my experience, the demographic question is solved. It depends now only on the doctors. The question is whether they will apply these contraceptives or not, having in mind that the principal thing is that the proletarians should not breed so many children, otherwise they will overwhelm the educated classes, as has happened in Germany.

DR. ANTON NYSTRÖM (Sweden): I only wish to tell my experience. I have been a physician more than fifty years, and have been occupied especially with these contraceptive means for more than forty years. I only wish to say a few words about bad and good preventives.

There are a number of bad preventives. Absorbent material is one (exhibited), and then there are pastilles to be dissolved in the mucus of the vagina. It produces a half-viscous fluid in the background of the vagina, and it presents no obstacle to the sperm being injected direct.

I have specimens of the sterilett. I have seen some

cases of inflammation, and I have seen in the journals cases where pregnancy has followed in spite of the sterilet.

The next are the sponge, condom and rubber pessary. (Specimens exhibited.) They are all reliable. Perhaps I should say no means are really reliable in all circumstances. It depends on how they are applied. Therefore there must be physicians who thoroughly understand the question. They must know, when they apply this Dutch rubber pessary with the steel spring, that it should be properly applied. It makes no obstacle to performance of the sexual act. A physician tells a woman how to introduce it. After it has been employed, that is after coitus, it is taken out, and the woman must employ a syringe with water. The water injection is given after the pessary is taken out.

As for the sponge—the absorbent rubber sponge—that is only of use when the uterus has its normal position, but when the uterus has a retroversion the sponge is placed in the posterior fornix, but that is no use. When we give advice we must always examine the position of the uterus.

As for the condom, it is absolutely certain, but it must be tested first. It must be filled with water. That is very necessary. It is an excellent precaution used by hundreds of thousands of women, but when it bursts—and it bursts very often—what shall we do? It is a very serious thing to give advice to married and unmarried people. It is all very well for those in the great towns; they have advice from specialists about these things. I found during the war that condoms were made so badly that they frequently burst. A patient of mine bought a dozen condoms, and ten of them burst. In such a case I have recourse to this measure. I take a uterine syringe (specimen exhibited) and inject sterilised tepid water into the uterus. I say to patients, “Within two days come to me, and I will give you an injection.” That it is our duty to do. We do not do any harm by injecting the water. I have done that in hundreds of cases and always prevented conception.

Just one other word about the quinine pessaries. They are supposed to melt and to run backwards. But by their use there is no obstacle to the sperm entering the orifice of the uterus. They are no use whatever.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think, in view of the lateness of the



hour, we had better declare this session closed. We hope to form a Medical Society for the Study of Birth Control, and I shall be glad to receive the names of colleagues who would care to join.

#### RESOLUTION.

At the conclusion of the session the following resolution was put to the meeting :—

“That this meeting of the medical members of the Fifth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference wishes to point out that Birth Control by hygienic contraceptive devices is absolutely distinct from abortion in its physiological, legal and moral aspects. It further records its opinion that there is no evidence that the best contraceptive methods are injurious to health or conducive to sterility.”

One hundred and sixty-four present. Passed, with three dissentients.

(Signed)      NORMAN HAIRE,

*President of the Section.*

Friday, July 14th.—EVENING SESSION.

## SUPPLEMENTARY CONTRACEPTIVE SECTION.

President . . . NORMAN HAIRE, Ch.M., M.B.

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—Following upon the Private Afternoon Session held for members of the Medical Profession only, a public session was held in the evening in order that lay members of the Conference might have placed before them certain details of the afternoon session. The paper which Dr. Haire read before members of the Medical Profession in the afternoon (see p. 268) was read again by him.

Dr. Somerville's contribution to the discussion which followed the reading of Dr. Haire's paper in this section has been printed below, as it was felt that his expert opinion upon this subject should receive serious consideration.

Dr. Tokijiro Kaji's paper given here was also read at this session.

No resolution was put before the meeting.]

### METHODS OF BIRTH CONTROL KNOWN AND USED IN JAPAN.

BY DR. TOKIJIRO KAJI.

There was no Birth Control in Japan for the common people, but among the prostitutes there were the following methods:—

(1) *Use of Paper as a Pessary.*—The higher class of prostitutes used very soft and tender paper called *yoshi-nogami*, and the lower class used rather hard toilet paper called *asakusagami*. These papers were placed just to cover the mouths of the womb, to prevent the entering of the male germ.

(2) *Douche after the Sexual Act.*—It was specially used

for sanitary purposes, but prevented conception unconsciously. Japanese prostitutes called this douche *shimoyu*. Immediately after intercourse they went to the bath-room and washed the vagina with hot water with their fingers till all the secretions were out. It was, of course, originated to prevent venereal disease. About thirty-five years ago most of the prostitute houses began to have disinfecting solutions instead of hot water. Birth Control among the prostitutes seems very effective.

Speaking for the common people, Birth Control medicine was first introduced by Mr. Sadao Oguri, a friend of mine. He came back from England twenty years ago with a book on Birth Control. He translated it (ref. the article "Birth Control Movement in Japan"). From this book he got the idea of making a suppository having quinine as its chief ingredient. It was called *kijonotomo* (Lady's Friend), and is in the market now.

Thirty years ago (1892) two students were sent from Japan to Germany to study venereal disease. One was the late Kentaro Hayashida sent by the Government, and I went from my own interest in the subject. As it was after the Franco-German War, the French Government was encouraging her people in Birth Control. Therefore I had a chance to learn about capsule, suppository, tablet, and simple abortion after one month's conception.

Returning to Japan, I taught this latter method, especially to the poor and to people suffering from ill-health. As the Japanese Government, of course, did not permit propaganda openly, and also the Japanese people as a whole had not much interest, I limited this use to the prevention of venereal diseases. However, I finally wrote about the necessity for Birth Control in the magazine *Heimin* (*Common People*) last year (1921), and invited people to inquire for the written practical method.

The method is as follows :—

*"Prevention of birth of an unhealthy child, and the protection of the mother.*

"Conception should be avoided when there is tuberculosis, syphilis, gonorrhœa, and also when conception is undesirable—when the mother is not strong enough to bear a child. Of course, in any case a physician should be consulted. When the mother is considered not to be fit for conception the best methods are as follows. They seem, after many experiments, the most safe, simple, and

effective. There are, however, methods which I do not recommend for the reasons given. These are :

- “ (1) Pessary ; this is very difficult to adjust by women themselves. Sometimes even the advice of the physician is not effective.
- “ (2) Condom or sheath ; it is effective, but not good for the magnetic action of the sexual union.
- “ (3) Suppositories like *kijonotomo* (Lady's Friend) have the power to kill the germ. But they have not enough effect when used in small quantities, and decrease lubricant effect when used too strong.
- “ (4) Douche ; bichloride or corrosive sublimate solution can clean the womb, but very often is too strong for the membrane.
- “ (5) Paper pessary ; when the paper is not thick the male sperm is likely to get into the womb, and when there is too much paper it takes away the pleasure. Also difficult to find a suitable solution.

“ As the above methods are not always effective, I recommend the following two, especially for Japanese. These are very simple and effective, even when travelling :

- “ (a) Douche ; 0·2 per cent. of boric acid or 100 to 500 times salt water should be used within five minutes after the sexual act. All secretions must be thoroughly removed.
- “ (b) Wiping out ; ‘arubose’ solution (camphor solution) for disinfecting purpose diluted in from 5 to 10 parts of hot water. Gauze or antiseptic cotton should be soaked in this solution. Within five minutes after the sexual act all secretions should be wiped out with the fingers holding the gauze or cotton.

“ Washing should be done by syringe, not washing-basins. The solution should first be put into hot water, and be cooled by adding cold water. Washing should be done within five minutes after the sexual union, in the toilet or in the bath-room. It is possible to judge when sufficient douching has been carried out by putting the first finger into the mouth of the womb and ascertaining if there is still any secretion or not.”

Records show that, of more than 500 people, there was no conception amongst those who practised these methods faithfully. As many Japanese women have the habit of *shimou* (douche by finger), the above methods are more suitable for use in Japan than the pessary, etc., used in Europe and America.

\* \* \* \*

DR. SOMERVILLE, of Oxford, during the discussion said :

I think at this point it might be of service to you who are engaged in this work if I say a word about disinfection. It may be known to some of you that in 1904 we took up research in the University, not merely in my laboratory, although there was continuous research in my laboratory, which was continued from 1904 to 1910. It went all over England and passed to the Bureau of Public Health in Washington, and as this bears largely on the whole of the chemical products used for contraceptives, I will let you have the results of our findings.

The disinfectants first investigated were directed first to tiny and easily-destroyed bacteria, and then to spermatozoa. It was found that there was no chemical substance we could inject into the vagina which was of service for disinfection, for this reason: dead organic matter destroyed the germicidal effects of all these active agents. If you take, for instance, a 1 in 4,000 wash of permanganate of potash, it has given up all its oxygen long before it reaches one-third the way up the mouth of the vagina. The dead cells will absorb the oxygen gradually long before spermatozoa in the neighbourhood will be attacked. The living thing is always last attacked by the so-called oxygen disinfectant. That throws out all such washes as permanganate of potash. Any stronger preparation, like salts of mercury and quinine, to be of service, must be far too powerful to allow any sensible doctor to introduce it into the tract. We used practically every disinfectant placed on the British market, and also on the American market, of the coal-tar type, including Lysol and Milton, which are bringing enormous revenues to their makers all over England. We published tables in 1906—1907. Then this work was taken up by the University of Cambridge, under Professor Sims Woodhead, and they carried on, and their findings confirmed ours.

In a word, I would say that disinfection, so far as spermatozoa are concerned, of the vaginal tract is not to

be done by chemicals. You may throw that out of court right away.

I was employed in the early days of the war by the Medical Research Committee, now the Research Council, on investigation work in France in the matter of the hypochloride disinfectants, suggested for killing micrococci in war wounds. I made a research in 1915, and went to France and joined the French Army, and saw 10,000 men treated with disinfectants of all the types of chemical substance you are supposed to use in the pessaries. Not one will kill bacteria at the strength you can afford to use it in the vagina. You can throw your chemical substances overboard. I left a note with Dr. Haire, urging the great necessity for continued research—patient, hard-working research—so that you may save yourselves from being trapped and let down. In England you know the attitude of those who are engaged in ordinary affairs. We are so conservative, especially the higher members of our various professions, that, if anything is found wrong in the first years of a movement like this, the whole thing is damned, and the next generation has to take it up again.

This matter of disinfection has been thoroughly worked out in America, and all Mrs. Sanger has to do is to apply to Professor Anderson, of Washington, and he will give her the literature, and she will get all the material she wants on chemistry in that section. I think we ought to be careful, as Lord Dawson said this afternoon, in what we recommend and how we recommend it. You can do a lot of damage by indiscriminately using disinfectants you do not know the value of. We began with coal-tar products—dilutions of 1 in 50,000—and injected them into the veins of animals. We ran the whole thing on coal-tar products in that year's work. Injected into the veins of a dog, it did no damage, but killed no bacteria. When we got anything like what would inhibit the movement of bacteria, to say nothing of killing them, we killed the dog.

**THE CHAIRMAN :** When I recommended 1 in 4,000 wash of permanganate of potash, I was not thinking of its chemical action ; I was thinking of its mechanical action in washing out the spermatozoa. It will do that to some extent even if it has given up its oxygen.

Friday, July 14th.—AFTERNOON SESSION.

## PROPAGANDA AND GENERAL SECTION.

*President* . PROFESSOR KNUT WICKSELL (Sweden).

THE PRESIDENT formally opened the proceedings and called upon Mrs. Porritt to read a paper on :

### PUBLICITY IN THE BIRTH CONTROL MOVEMENT.

BY MRS. ANNIE G. PORRITT

(Managing Editor, *Birth Control Review*, New York).

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

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

It is a curious fact that in very many movements the advocates utterly fail to secure effective publicity until their opponents practically thrust the weapon into their hands. Thomas Malthus lived and wrote over seventy years before his arguments touched the people of Great Britain or aroused them to vital interest in the subject of Birth Control. It was the prosecution in 1879 of Charles Bradlaugh and Mrs. Annie Besant that brought the Malthusian movement out of the study and the closet, and flung it into every home, made it the subject of conversation at every street corner, and forced people to revise their ideas concerning the responsibility of parents for the existence of their children.

A similar service—though much less inconvenient to the sufferers—was done to the Birth Control movement in the United States when, last November, just after the formation of the American Birth Control League, the New York police undertook to break up a meeting called for the consideration of the question, "Is Birth Control Moral?" In the case of Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant, this hero and heroine of the movement had to suffer loss and imprisonment in order to infuse emotion and interest into the Malthusian movement. In the case of Margaret Sanger, last November, the opponents did the maximum of service to the movement with the minimum of trouble and inconvenience to the protagonists of Birth Control.

Lest I should appear to be overlooking the fact, I must here recall that Margaret Sanger's movement was not started last November. It had been under way for several years, and in 1917 she had shown her readiness to use this martyr publicity by courting arrest while carrying on a clinic in Brooklyn for the instruction of mothers who needed Birth Control information. In fact, it was her prison sentence that had aroused the interest of hundreds of men and women, and had set in movement the forces that converged in New York in November, 1921, when the First American Birth Control Conference came together to take counsel as regards the next steps forward.

Persecution furnishes perhaps the very best publicity. It touches people's sympathy and arouses their indignation as they cannot be aroused by cold reasoning, however marvellously presented. It forces the discussion of the



questions involved and compels people to take a stand in regard to them. But the time comes when this form of publicity is no longer available—the movement gets beyond the stage of persecution. It is then necessary to study and utilise the same psychology in order to keep the movement alive and not to allow the interest of the public to flag. This psychology was grasped and utilised by the Suffragists both in England and America, and their understanding of it enabled them to keep the movement for votes for women before the public night and day, month in and month out, until success crowned their efforts.

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

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

I wish I had time to trace out the publicity campaigns of the National Woman's Party. They are worthy of the closest study by any group of earnest men and women who desire to "put over" some new idea, or to bring about some change in public opinion. The point I want to make here is that while hundreds of women have deprecated the conduct of the Suffragists, it has never been sufficiently recognised that this conduct was guided by a profound understanding of national psychology, and that it was throughout, not an emotional outburst or series of outbursts, as many people seem to think, but a calm, well-

calculated publicity campaign waged with full knowledge that the most important thing for the success of any movement is to make the idea thoroughly familiar to every man and woman in the country.

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

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

What have been the results? The newspapers, at the time of the police raid on the town hall, were obliged to print the news, and the name of the organisation was a necessary and unavoidable part of this news. In fact the name had its publicity value for the public Press—it made their news interesting. The public was galvanised into keen attention. The Churches, especially the Roman Catholic Church, came to the aid of the movement through vigorous attacks on it. Long-drawn-out controversies were carried on in some of the most widely read—although not the most highly respected—newspapers of the country. Articles for and against Birth Control were solicited from any one whose name was sufficiently known to attract attention, and these signed articles appeared in papers,

under the same proprietorship, in New York, in Chicago, and in San Francisco, thus accomplishing for the movement without expense to itself what would have cost the League hundreds of thousands of dollars if it had undertaken it on its own account.

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

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

It is much the same with Birth Control. We shall make real converts as we go on; that is, through our arguments we shall make men and women who have been actually opposed to the idea, revise their opinions and accept it. We shall rouse hundreds of people who would always have been in favour had they thought about it, and we shall bring to our banners the thousands who have thought about it and believed in it, but have been isolated, and have not known that others were thinking on the same lines and working towards the same end. These last two classes are the fruitful field for our endeavours—the people of the first class who are as yet convinced

opponents, are for the present negligible—they are not worth the tremendous expenditure of time and trouble necessary for their conversion, while these expenditures can be utilised so much more profitably in arousing interest among our potential friends.

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

I have gone in some detail into the publicity value of the name assumed by the movement in the United States, because it is an excellent illustration of the psychology of publicity which ought to be studied by the leaders of the movement. It may be that in some of the countries where Birth Control propaganda is going on, the popular reaction to the name would be different. Not every country has so strong a puritanical strain in its popular thought and opinions, and not every nation would be shocked into alert attention by something so straightforward and simple as a name which expresses just what an organisation stands for. But whatever the conditions may be, the same general principle holds. Any movement to succeed must have publicity which arouses warm attention. The attention may be hot with resentment, or fervid in advocacy; in the first place it does not much matter which. If the movement is good and is in the end intellectually acceptable, it will succeed whenever enough interest is aroused to get the idea into the minds, not of the intellectuals alone, but of the men and women who make up the bulk of the nation.

For successful publicity three principles must be adhered to:—

1. The publicity must arouse emotion. The Birth Control movement is especially favoured in regard to this element. Anything that touches parenthood and the sex

relations of men and women calls out the strongest feelings of which human beings are capable. Pity and sympathy for the women and children victims of the present system, glowing hopes of family and race regeneration on the one hand, and resentment and hatred of change or criticism of moral standards on the other, furnish a gamut of emotions which can hardly be equalled.

2. The publicity must be challenging to the indifference of the average man and woman engrossed in other interests. It must not be addressed to those who are already strongly for or against the propaganda. It must be a trumpet call to the unawakened, and must address them through any channel of interest that can lead to their attention.

3. It must be intelligent, well-based, accurate and capable of withstanding hostile criticism. Although this is demanding a high standard, I am convinced that the publicity of the Birth Control movement measures more closely up to the mark in regard to this condition than in regard to principles one and two. It is, however, no use to be scientific, accurate and exact if no one is listening to us, and I assert without hesitation that our propaganda profits more from the words of the unlearned that are heard, than from the wisest counsels of the most learned when these do not reach the ears, the minds, and the hearts of the people.

[Following the reading of this paper was a long discussion on propaganda and general subjects, which it is regretted has had, owing to considerations of space, to be deleted from this Report, as have all other discussions. Other papers were to have been read, but they were not forthcoming. The road was therefore left clear for general discussion, which because of the particular nature of earlier sections, would have been irrelevant therein.—EDITOR.]

#### RESOLUTION.

At the conclusion of the session the following resolution was put to the meeting :—

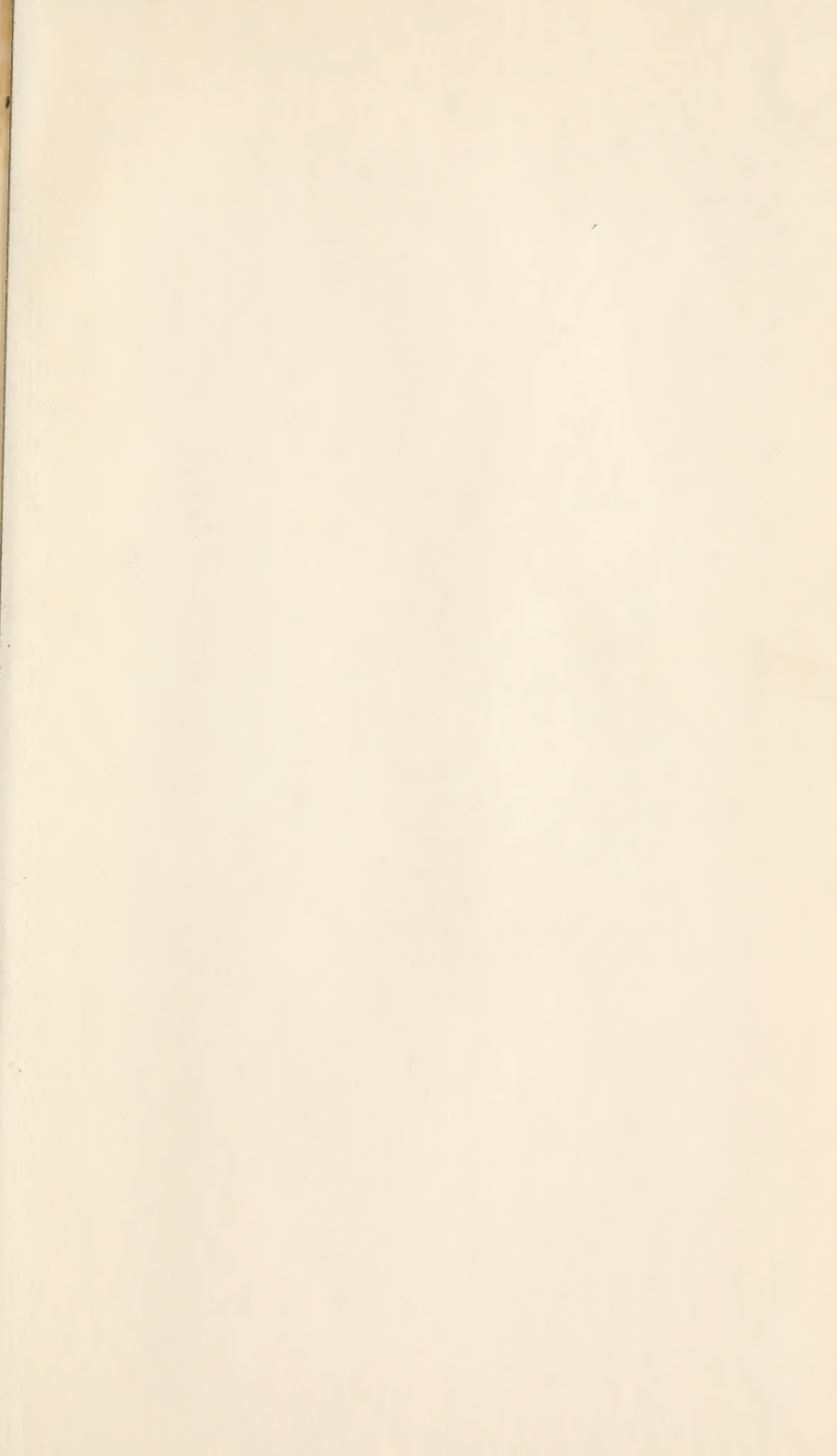
“The Fifth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference sends its heartiest greetings to the Birth Control propagandists in all parts of the

world, and especially to the newly-formed societies in Japan and India. It records with the deepest satisfaction the great advance of public appreciation of the movement in many countries, as evidenced by the success of this Conference, and urges all propagandists to use their strongest efforts to induce the Governments of the respective countries to recognise the movement, and thus to promote individual welfare, race improvement, and enduring international harmony and peace."

Passed unanimously.

(Signed) KNUT WICKSELL,

*President of the Section.*







University of Toronto Robarts  
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04:09 pm

Item: International aspects of birth control  
Due Date: 05/31/2001

Item: Report of the fifth International

HQ	International Birth Control
763	Conference, 5th, London, 1922
.5	Report of the fifth
156	International Neo-Malthusian
1922	and Birth Control Conference

