

Seven Reasons

FOR

(27)

THE REPEAL

OF THE

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (WOMEN'S) ACTS

1866—1869.

ISSUED BY THE CITY OF LONDON COMMITTEE FOR OBTAINING
THE REPEAL OF THOSE ACTS.

“The avowed toleration, and in some countries the licensing, taxing, and regulating, of public brothels, has appeared to the people an authorizing of fornication.—The Legislators who have patronized receptacles of prostitution ought to have foreseen this effect.”

Archdeacon Paley's Moral Philosophy.

FIFTH THOUSAND.



London :

DYER BROTHERS, 21, PATERNOSTER SQUARE.

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SEVEN REASONS

FOR THE

REPEAL OF THE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (WOMEN'S) ACTS

1866—1869.

Because:—

(1.) **The Acts are conceived in the interests of Immorality.**— Her Majesty's Commissioners, appointed in 1870, to inquire into their operation, reported* "that they were framed mainly for the purpose of guarding the men of the army and navy" from a certain contagion, which originates exclusively from acts of immorality. That this is the object of the legislation, and not the stamping out of disease in general, must be obvious; inasmuch as the Acts are applied *to one sex only*, while all cognate enactments in relation to infectious fevers, small pox, and diseases of animals, make no distinction of sex in the methods devised for their extirpation, but bring every infected subject alike under regulation. Had the Acts been honestly framed to minimise or stamp out contagion, they would have been *universally* applied; but they are limited not only to one sex, but to certain naval and military stations and their respective vicinities, and the costs of carrying them into operation are voted by Parliament in the Army and Navy Estimates, and are not charged on local rates, or included in the Civil Service Contingencies. The Acts alluded to were passed—to quote the words in Parliament of the venerable Conservative statesman—the Right Honorable

* Report, vol. i., p. 13.

J. W. Henley—"as an attempt to provide, at the cost of the State, sound prostitutes for the army and navy."*

(2.) **Framed in the interests of vice, they have outraged decency, morality, and the Christian sentiment of the country.**—Passed in secrecy, unattended by that public discussion which would be courted by all healthy legislation, the Acts were a surprise to the nation. So soon as their scope and intention became partially known, they aroused a strong sense of repugnance and indignation, coupled with a determination to obtain their immediate repeal. The very nature of the legislation, however, has prevented such a public discussion as would have been applied to other topics. The very foulness of this whitened sepulchre has tended to its perpetuation. Hundreds of committees and associations have been already formed to agitate for repeal, some of them consisting of delicate women who shrink with pain from contact with such a subject, but who have had forced upon them a duty which their

* That the Acts are framed in the interest of vicious soldiers and sailors, and not for the suppression of disease, must be evident also from the following facts. (1) No woman, or child, known to be *virtuous*, however diseased, is admitted to the Lock hospitals. An artizan's wife, at Chatham, suffering from the misconduct of her husband, was refused admission or medical treatment unless and until she signed a "*Voluntary submission*" as though she were a prostitute. Many women would prefer death to such dishonour, and such afflicted ones must die or submit to such damning degradation, so far as the help of the State is concerned. (2) The same holds good of the treatment of the vicious and the virtuous *at death*. A soldiers' prostitute recently died in hospital in the service of the State, and was buried at the cost of the State, by a State chaplain. A soldier's wife, at the same military station, married in accordance with the law of God, of the Church, of the State, and with the sanction of the War Office, who had performed her duty as attached to her husband's regiment, was at the same time denied burial by the State, and was interred as a pauper in a pauper's grave. (3) How our hypocritical action is recognized abroad by the advocates of the system, is apparent from the following:—Dr. Gross, of Philadelphia, in an address delivered before the American Medical Association, in June, 1874, admits that the English Contagious Diseases Acts are a counterfeit and a sham. He says, in reference to framing a similar Bill for the United States, "Great judgment and care would be necessary in the selection of a proper title; if this be offensive or too conspicuous, it would at once call forth opposition. My opinion is that the entire subject should be brought in, as it has been in England, under the title of the Contagious Diseases Acts; a phrase not likely to meet with serious objection, as it would SERVE AS A CLOAK to much that might otherwise be distasteful to the public." ! !

consciences will not allow them to decline. Already nearly 10,000 petitions to Parliament have been presented, with over 2,000,000 signatures; and as a very large proportion of these petitions were signed by chairmen of public meetings, officers of committees, or pastors of churches, that figure by no means represents the number of persons petitioning. One petition was presented in 1878 signed by nearly 114,000 women of the United Kingdom.

The ecclesiastical and religious bodies of the land have also denounced the Acts in various terms; the following amongst others; some of them again and again.

The Established Church of England, represented by 1,500 Dignitaries and Clergymen.

The Free Church of Scotland; Presbyterian; Annual Assembly.

The United Presbyterian Synod of Scotland.

The Presbyterian Church of Ireland; Annual Synod.

The Society of Friends.

The Wesleyan Conference; England (annually from 1870 to 1878).

The Wesleyan Conference; Ireland.

The United Methodist; Annual Assembly.

The Primitive Methodists; Conference for England.

The Methodists' New Connexion Conference.

The Congregationalists of England, represented by 885 Ministers.

The Scotch Congregationalists; Annual Conference.

The Congregational Churches of North Wales.

The Baptist Union of England and Wales, and

The Bible Christian's Conference, 1878.

These may be safely assumed to represent over 20,000 Christian congregations, of almost every denomination, which have protested against the continuance of the Acts on the Statute books.*

(3.) The Acts are cruel, oppressive, and one-sided in their operation.—They inflict revolting treatment and harsh legal

* CARDINAL MANNING, the head of the Roman Catholics in England, has written: "I am of opinion that every dictate and law of morality requires the repeal of these Acts."

penalties upon one sex, and that the most helpless, *from which the other sex are entirely free.* The last Report of Captain Harris, Assistant Commissioner of Police, discloses that a surgical operation, of a character which forbids description, was inflicted upon women no less than 37,253 times during the year 1877, in the endeavour to discover disease, and in no less than 34,496 cases was found to be needless—the women subjected to this outrage being declared healthy. The total number of unjustifiable examinations of healthy women from 1864 to 1877, has been 354,164! ! * While this took place *men* were left free to communicate contagion without restraint or liability to legal consequences. Thus, while the Acts, in a spirit of disgraceful unrighteousness, visit the consequences of immorality on women only, they afford to them in return no protection whatever against diseased libertine men. And this continues, notwithstanding the recommendation of Her Majesty's Commissioners,† “that the periodical examination of women should be discontinued.” For, they say in a previous part of their Report “There is no distinct evidence that any diminution of disease among the men of the army and navy, which may have taken place, is attributable to a diminution of disease consequent upon the system of periodical examination among the women with whom they have consorted.” (*Report*, vol. i., p. 10.)

It is an aggravation of the inherent one-sidedness of the Acts that they are, in their administration by the police, brought to bear upon the humbler classes of society only, women of a higher grade of society riding in their broughams not being subjected to the degrading

* “The outrage upon women is nothing less than diabolical, and is perpetrated, not because the woman has committed any crime, or is even suspected of any legal offence whatever, not because she is diseased, not because she is proved to be unchaste, but simply because a police spy, paid to accuse, says that ‘he has good reason to believe’ she is no better than she should be. No judge! no jury! no trial! no conviction! and in nine hundred and ninety-six cases out of a thousand, not even the miserable farce of an inquiry before a magistrate! Nothing so intrinsically wicked, nothing so outrageously indecent, nothing so dangerous, has ever been sanctioned by the British Parliament, and it is simply impossible to understand how any decent race of men can consent to endure it for a day.”—*Dr. Charles Bell Taylor, F.R.C.S., Hon. Surgeon to the Notts and Midland Eye Infirmary, etc., “Medical Enquirer,” September, 1878.*

† Report, p. 19.

registrations, regulations, and examinations of the Acts. Invidious distinctions, thus created between sex and sex, class and class, are calculated to bring the law and its administration into contempt, and to create impressions in the minds of men in the humbler walks of life highly dangerous to the State.

(4.) The Acts violate the first principles of English Constitutional liberty.—There occur in the history of nations occasions justifying the suspension of the liberties of the subject on the ground of a supreme necessity or the national safety. The innocuous gratification of men's lusts forms no such justification. But the Acts in question, in the vain attempt to attain that object, absolutely suspend the most cherished natural rights of *every woman without exception* in the districts in which they are put in force.*

* "This subject is often discussed as though *abandoned* women alone were subjected to the operation of the Acts.—A police constable can summons *any* woman in the district, can make a *general* charge of immoral conduct against her before a magistrate, the witness is not required to state any act, time, place, or circumstance in support of his charge—indeed, the Government authorities employ counsel who are accustomed to remind the police, under such circumstances, that they are *not* required to answer any questions in support of their allegations. *A charge thus made and sustained it is all but impossible to disprove*; in fact, women are placed *absolutely*, as it regards their reputation, in the power of any one of the police of immorality employed under the Acts. It is not surprising, therefore, that the grossest injustice and cruelty have been practised, inadvertently or designedly. In *hundreds* of cases women have been subjected to imprisonment, some with hard labour, for refusing to register themselves as prostitutes, and to submit to periodical examination. Cases have happened of girls *yet in their state of maidenhood* being subjected to the Acts on the oath of a police constable. Such only can escape the penalties under which women are made subject, for in no other contingency has a woman any answer against the *general* charge of gross immorality, which these abominable laws sanction (*vide* the case of C. W., as authenticated on oath before E. R. Coles, Esq., J.P. for Kent, at Chatham, 30th November, 1875).* As a practical and convincing test of the gross cowardice and unfairness of the Acts, let us suppose that our legislators, in their professed anxiety to stay contagion, and to arrest the progress of disease, had generously selected their own sex to be experimented upon, and had passed the Acts, simply substituting the word "*men*" for "*women*." How would our statesmen, our legislators, our ministers of religion, our church members, and reputable members of society, have fared? and what would then have been their opinions of the Acts, under such conceivable conditions? Let us suppose a blundering or a corrupted policeman (such have been, *vide* page 11) taking his oath that the Member of Parliament, the minister of religion, the City missionary, or the Sunday-

* Dyer Brothers, 21, Paternoster Square, E.C.

Every woman, married or single, abandoned, virtuous, or even in her maiden simplicity, whatever her previous character may have been, is placed as it regards her person and her reputation, absolutely in the power of a *single police officer*, who, "if he have good cause to believe," or profess, assume, or pretend that he has such cause, can summon her and by process of law have her registered as a prostitute; and if she decline to be dealt with accordingly, she must be imprisoned with or without hard labour. And all this upon a *general charge*, without specification of time, place, or occasion; so

school superintendent, was in his belief a person of abandoned character; and as such ought, for the public safety, to be subjected to periodical surgical examination; and let us further suppose that such person, so charged, were so unreasonable as to demand production of some evidence of time, place, occasion, or other circumstance of immoral conduct on his part, and that counsel on behalf of the Crown were to remind the bench that the law forbade the cross-examination of the sole witness, and that his oath on the general charge was final and conclusive, and *must* be acted upon; and that (*as in hundreds of similar cases as it regards women*) the bench were to decide that the law is clear and imperative, and must take its course, and that the party implicated can take one of two courses only: either register himself henceforth as one of the vilest members of society, or submit to imprisonment with or without hard labour. What, we ask, would the *male* members of society think of such a law as applicable to themselves? How could any one of them escape, if such a net as our legislators have designed for *women* were cast about him? and what would become of his reputation, his position in society, his prospects in life, his means of livelihood, to say nothing of the opinions of his family, his friends, and society, if he were subjected to such a charge with no possible defence and no appeal!"

"It must ever excite astonishment that a body of men, to whom has been applied the term 'the first assembly of *gentlemen* in Europe,' should have passed laws, or having passed them should have tolerated them for a single session, which trampled on the reputations of women, whom their gallantry, to say nothing of their generosity, should have protected—placing that which woman generally values more than life, and which is often her sole possession of value, at the *absolute* discretion of men retained at eighteen shillings a week, without the slightest safeguard against mistake or misconduct, such as the law allows to the very vilest of criminals. And all this that men may gratify their unlawful desires with a fancied security."!!

"It is no answer to such objections that it has only been the poor, the friendless, and often the unworthy, who have been brought by the police under the operations of the Acts; this fact only aggravates the iniquity of the system. The law should know no distinction of persons, nor put it in the power of men to select their victims from any one class. All should have equal rights in these respects. Until these atrocious laws were passed, England could proudly claim that there was equality before the law; SUCH CLAIM SHE CAN NO LONGER SUSTAIN!"—From "*The Injustice, Inutility, and Immorality of the Contagious Diseases (Women's) Acts*," by the Rev. Henry Batchelor. *Dyer Brothers*, 21, Paternoster Square, E.C.

that evidence to rebut becomes an impossibility, and upon the testimony (which may be malicious, mistaken, or corrupt, or based on anonymous slander) of a single police officer—all those safeguards which the law provides against misconduct or mistake for persons charged with the vilest crimes being denied her. This is no fancy picture, as hundreds of women can testify, who have shrunk from the infamy of registration as prostitutes, and have suffered imprisonment as the preferable alternative.

There is not to be found on the statute books of any country, however despotic, so disgraceful an enactment, so utterly opposed to that first principle of English freedom—that a subject should be considered innocent and entitled to liberty, until proved by evidence to be unworthy of it.* Who can wonder that women, driven to desperation, should have, again and again, terminated their lives when confronted with such a tribunal; and that maidens, innocent of a knowledge of the very terms used for their entanglement, have been placed on the registers, deprived of their natural liberty, and subjected to the outrage sanctioned by the Acts.†

* Even in France, where vice is directly licensed as well as protected, a woman must be *proved* to be a prostitute before she can be registered and treated as such (*vide* Evidence before Royal Commission, No. 367). Mr. Batchelor truly remarks, “Our (Metropolitan) police are armed with an amount of arbitrary power which is certain to be injurious to the State, and is subversive of our civil liberties. It is directed *now* against women—virtuous, unfortunate, or abandoned. It is impossible to confine it to them, even were it righteous to deprive females of equal rights with men. Despotic laws against special classes always bring in their wake despotic laws against the whole community. *The nation that tramples on women shall itself be trampled on.*”

† *Vide* reference to the case of C. W., at p. 7. Mr. C. J. Tarring, Barrister-at-Law, writing to THE PROTEST, under date April 16, 1878, states:—

“I am frequently myself informed of women being positively hunted about by the spy police; and being ‘deterred,’ not from entering upon or pursuing an evil calling, but from succeeding in their efforts to avoid or escape from it. For in all large towns there is many a poor woman shuddering on the brink of the abyss, to whom the suspicion of the policeman, followed by his prompt order to ‘go up to the examination house,’ is the last push which sends her over the edge. There are many, too, who have, alas! succumbed in their hour of weakness to dire temptation, who yet are struggling to return; but whose struggles grow fainter under the leer of the detective, with his ‘Come, now, you know you are no better than you ought to be,’ and receive the *coup de grâce* from his sharp order to ‘go up to the examination house, or it will be the worse for you.’ It is not surprising that there are well authenticated instances of women, in their wretchedness and despair, having sought relief even in death from the cruel

(5.) **The Acts tend to demoralize the Special Police employed in enforcing them, or reporting upon their results.**

—This is manifest from their Reports made annually to Parliament. Statements are put forth and repeated, which those engaged in enforcing the Acts must know to be unfounded, unless they are culpably ignorant on the very subject on which they are specially employed.* The special police are accustomed also to vaunt yearly, *as*

persistence of their police tormentors. A girl of twenty, named Brown, drowned herself at Plymouth from this cause in July, 1874, after a previous attempt to cut her throat. Another, named House, threw herself out of the window of the Royal Albert Hospital at Devonport in May, 1869; and a third, named Mulcarty, who had only recently been married, drowned herself at Milbay in April, 1873. And in the summer of 1876, the widow of an actor named Percy committed suicide at Aldershot, after having written to the newspapers to complain of being prevented by the police from getting an honest living. And innocent maidens have been terrorised into signing the disgraceful fraud called ‘the voluntary submission’ (by virtue of which they are straightway inscribed on the register of prostitutes, although there is not the faintest indication of such an effect in the paper itself), and compelled to undergo the degrading consequences, without having had the slightest idea what they were being entrapped into. How much is there behind and beneath what is known of this kind that never comes to light! for the class to which these women belong do not find a very ready access to the public ear with their tale of wrong.”

To this may be added the shocking case which transpired at Hong Kong in 1877, of a woman who was killed in falling from the roof of a house in her endeavour to escape from one of the spy police of immorality. At the inquest on her body, the disgraceful fact was elicited on oath from a Government official that men were bribed to commit fornication in order to establish evidence against women; the funds for such bribes, with shame be it spoken, being obtained from the “Secret Service Fund”!! *Evidence of John Lee, H.M. Inspector of Brothels reported in full in the Overland China Mail, Oct. 25 and Nov. 8, 1877.*

* Four illustrations in support of the above allegation must suffice. 1. The official police report for 1875 stated the number of prostitutes in WINCHESTER at twenty-three; the report for 1876 stated them at the reduced total of *twenty*, whereas as many as *thirty-six* were invited, by name, to a meeting in that city, and *twenty-five* actually attended. 2. Again, as it regards SOUTHAMPTON, according to the official police report for 1875, there were in that year *no* known common women or girls *under sixteen years of age*. But a census, taken by the School Board of that town, of children between five and thirteen years of age who should be attending school, disclosed the startling fact that there were *no less than twenty girls under thirteen years of age* pursuing the trade of prostitution. It may well be asked, if twenty under thirteen, how many under fourteen, under fifteen, and under sixteen years respectively? The Rev. J. P. Gledstone, who ascertained these facts, may well ask, “How are we to account for the omission of the twenty from the official returns? Can the police not get to know what other officials can? or do they neglect to get to know? or do they

results of the Acts, matters which they must know are not included within their scope—such as the closing of brothels, the reclamation of fallen women, and the prevention of juvenile depravity—objects most desirable on social and philanthropic grounds, but which are neither contemplated nor effected by the Acts in question. The police engaged under them know very well that the closing of brothels, and the prevention of solicitation, are dealt with by Common and Statute Law quite irrespective of the Contagious Diseases Acts, and by the *local* police, with which they have no possible connection. Again, they must be quite aware that the reclamation of the fallen, whether juvenile or adult, is not undertaken at all under Parliamentary sanction, *certainly not under the Contagious Diseases Acts*, but is the work of Christian and philanthropic men and women, and Societies established for that purpose. If the Acts should be repealed to-morrow, all the powers to deal with such matters will remain unimpaired, and all the benevolent operations now carried on will be continued with increased results.

The Annual Returns referred to serve no purpose whatever but to throw dust in the eyes of the public, diverting attention, as they do, from the true character and operation of this legislation. They know and withhold the truth? Are they incompetent, or unfaithful, or false?"—(*Vide Letter in Shield, April 21, 1877.*) 3. The official police reports, professed to be made *under the Acts*, include returns annually, showing the number of public houses, beer houses, and brothels in the several districts;—an attempt to hoodwink Parliament and the public which would be incredible if it were not true! A return of public and beer houses would form a proper and instructive portion of a report on the LICENSING ACTS extending from 1828 to 1874; or a return of brothels might properly be made in reference to the Act of George II., and subsequent legislation, for enforcing the Common law against brothel keeping; but it will hardly be believed that there is not one syllable in the CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS referring to public houses or beer houses; nor a single word which deals with the closing of brothels!! 4. Two Inspectors of the Metropolitan Police, recently employed under the Acts, are at this moment suffering criminal confinement. Police Inspector N. DROSCOVITCH, (whom Captain Harris, Assistant Metropolitan Police Commissioner, for enforcing the Acts, employed as a detective to inquire and report on certain alleged charges of abuse of power by the police of immorality,) is now undergoing a term of imprisonment for fraud and conspiracy to defeat justice. Inspector EDWARD PATRICK COFFEY, also of the Metropolitan Police engaged in enforcing the Acts, now lies under criminal detention for embezzlement of money paid to him in the execution of his duty under the Acts. Such are the men whom the Parliament has intrusted with absolute power over the reputations and persons of *every woman without exception*, in the districts subjected under the Acts!

fully justify the serious allegation which has been made by the Managers of Rescue Societies and Female Reformatories, that the system constitutes "*the greatest moral hypocrisy of the day.*" *

(6.) The Acts have legalized Espionage of the most objectionable type.—A system of espionage has by these Acts been established by law, borrowed from the worst days of French administration, but utterly abhorrent to the genius of a free country. The spies employed extend their espionage over persons *innocent of crime, or of any infraction of the law*, involving inquiry into the private character of *every woman, without exception*, in the subjected districts; they are entirely independent of the control of the local magistracy; and they work in plain clothes, and without any symbol of authority, although the Royal Commission of 1871 recommended that "they should perform their duty in uniform." (*Report*, p. 19.) Thus a dangerous precedent has been furnished by introducing and legalizing the most objectionable of all the hateful institutions of despotic Governments.

(7.) The Acts, moreover, tend to increase and intensify certain contagious diseases.—We conceive that it is *not* one of the proper functions of a Christian Legislature or State to protect men of any class against the inevitable consequences of vice in any form; a wise Legislature would afford every encouragement to the practice of virtue, both in the naval and military services, and amongst all classes of the people, and discountenance by every means at its disposal indulgence in immorality.† We should so contend even

* Vide, "*The Greatest Moral Hypocrisy of the Day*;" "*Exposure of False Statistics of the Police*," by the Managers of Metropolitan Female Reformatories; "*Further Answer by the Managers.*" For publishers, see cover.

† "I do not think it is the business of Government to provide the means of such examinations." "I do not think it is part of their business to provide securities *beforehand* against the consequences of *immoralities of any kind*; that is a totally different thing from remedying the consequences *after they occur.*" "I do not think that the State should resort to any remedy which operates by taking means *beforehand* to make the indulgence safe."—Mr. John Stuart Mill, M.P., in his *Evidence before the Royal Commission (Questions 19,998, 19,999, and 20,043).*

"All Christians succour evildoers in the miseries which they have entailed on

if it could be shown that disease was reduced by State-regulation of vice. What shall we say, then, when it has become evident (as must have been anticipated from the results of similar systems on the continent of Europe) that the encouragement given to the vice from which these diseases spring is aggravating and extending them, both in frequency and virulence, to the deterioration of the military and naval services, and the serious hygienic detriment of the civil populations in the districts which are said to be "*protected*" by the Acts.* The statements of the Royal Commissioners admitting hygienic failure, and recommending the discontinuance of the periodical examinations of women, have been already quoted. Since that date further returns have been laid before Parliament. Trustworthy statistics in regard to the Army have been rendered difficult to obtain, by reason of an order of the Horse Guards, made in 1873, causing men to conceal their diseased condition.† But it is undoubtedly shown that a very decided and continuous improvement was taking place in the Army before the passing of the Acts, which was arrested when they were put in operation. Recent returns, moved for by Sir Harcourt Johnstone, show, as it regards the Navy, that in the five principal ports under the operation of the Acts, venereal disease has increased from 77 per 1000, when the Acts were first put in force, to 106½ per 1000 during the last five years of their operation. The men were detained in hospital *eighteen* days, on the average, at the former period, while the average detention has steadily risen, year by themselves. Here lies the damning immorality of the Contagious Diseases Acts—not that they relieve the sufferer, but that they resort to unjust, inequitable, and degrading means to abolish the penalties of sin *before the sin is committed, and to make as clear a course as they can for the sinner to keep on in his sinful way.* So did not the Saviour: He healed and He pardoned; but His injunction ever was, 'Go, AND SIN NO MORE.'—*The Rev. Henry Ba'chelor.*

"The nation sins, just as truly as the individual man, when, in reference to these or any other immoralities, *it becomes an accessory before the fact.*"—*Rev. Principal Rainy, D.D.*

* "We have abundant evidence to show that the Contagious Diseases Acts have not only failed in every known clime to effect any good whatever, but have really aggravated every evil, both physical and moral."—*Dr. C. B. Taylor, F.R.C.S. "Medical Examiner, September, 1878.*

† *Vide Army Report for 1875, p. 14.*

year, and amounted to over *twenty-seven* days in the last Navy Report.* This confirms what some of the members of the City Committee

* Dr. J. BIRKBECK NEVINS, M.D. Lond., M.R.C.S., Consulting Surgeon to the Liverpool Eye and Ear Infirmary, Senior Lecturer in the Liverpool Royal Infirmary School of Medicine, thus summarises the effect of the Acts, in his analysis of the Official Report on the Health of the Navy for 1876, and of Special Return made to the House of Commons in July, 1877:—

“It is evident, from the Returns, that the presence of the Acts does not prevent the increase of venereal disease, and their absence permits entire freedom from disease; and from the above tables it is clear that it is immaterial as regards the amount of disease, both in the army and the navy, whether the Acts are in force or not. It is to other causes that we must look for an explanation of the difference between different ports and stations, and not to the presence or absence of this legislation.”

“To summarise our criticism of these Returns the following points are clearly established:—

1st.—That the C. D. Acts have not prevented the increase of venereal disease in these five ports under their operation, the ratio being 77 per 1000 when they were first put in force, while the average ratio, during the last five years of their operation, has been 106·65 per 1000.

2nd.—That in ports *under* their operation, there are ships in which venereal diseases have *risen* from a low standard to a ratio of several hundreds: *e. g.* “Royal Adelaide,” Plymouth, from 25 to 383 per 1000; “Duke of Wellington,” Portsmouth, from 199 to 442; “Excellent,” Portsmouth, 73 to 186.

3rd.—That in ports *not* under the Acts ships have been stationed for years without a single case of venereal disease.

4th.—That in ports eventually placed under the Acts there have been ships, at the same time, with ratios varying from 0 to several hundreds, both before and after the introduction of the Acts: *e. g.* Plymouth, 0 and 285—5 and 337 *before* the Acts, and 0 and 382 *after* them; Portsmouth, 0 and 309 *before*, and 0 and 370 *after* them.

5th.—That in ports, *whether under the Acts or not*, one ship has had many times the ratio of disease present in another stationed in the *same* port and at the *same* time.

6th.—That in ports subsequently placed under the Acts there have been ships in which there has been a much higher ratio of venereal disease *after* the Acts have been put in force than was ever present before them: *e. g.* “Royal Adelaide,” 337 *before*—383 *after* the Acts; “Duke of Wellington,” 326 *before*—442 *after* the Acts.

7th.—That the Army Returns give no more proof of sanitary improvement resulting after the application of these Acts than the Navy Returns of these five protected ports.

8th.—That these results are in harmony with the Report of the Royal Commission in 1871:—THAT THERE WAS NO DISTINCT EVIDENCE OF THE PERIODICAL EXAMINATIONS OF WOMEN HAVING REDUCED DISEASE EITHER IN THE ARMY OR NAVY.

9th.—THAT THIS NAVY RETURN IN 1877, AFTER SIX YEARS' FURTHER EXPERIENCE, SHOWS THAT VENEREAL DISEASES, UNDER THEIR MOST COMPLETE OPERATION DURING NINE YEARS, HAVE INCREASED FROM 77 TO 106·6 PER 1000, OR ABOUT 350 MEN YEARLY, IN THESE FIVE PORTS UNDER THEIR OPERATIONS.”

witnessed and heard for themselves, at the close of the Franco-German War, as to the condition of the French army, which had been “*protected*” for a century by State-regulated and licensed vice, but which was so decimated by venereal disease as, in some instances, to render the regiments all but useless.

To a like condition will the services of Great Britain be brought, if the present system be persisted in of attempting to make an odious vice reputable, facile, and innocuous. It is an experiment which cannot succeed; for it is to fight against nature, or rather against the Divine law, physical as well as moral. The example of France, as testified by the officials of immorality in Paris, ought to have deterred our Legislators from so fruitless an attempt.* That of Brussels, where the system has been tried for thirty years, utters the

“INCREASED SEVERITY OF THE DISEASE.—Not only has the *number* of cases of gonorrhœa increased, but their *severity* also, as is shown by the increased length of their duration, as recorded in the *Navy Reports*, year by year :—

“AVERAGE DURATION OF EACH CASE.

1866—18 days.	1871—‘Over 3 weeks.’
1867—17 to 18 days.	1872—21 to 22 days.
1868—17 „ 18 „	1873—24 „ 25 „
1869—18 „ 19 „	1874—26 „ 27 „
1870—20 „ 21 „	1875—25 „ 26 „
	1876—26 „ 27 „

Cases lasted on the average 18 days *before* Acts and 27 days *after* 10 years of Acts.”
—From “*Health of the Navy*,” by Dr. Birkbeck Nevins. F. C. Banks, No. 2, Westminster Chambers, Victoria Street, S.W.

The increased virulence of disease since the Acts were put in operation is also shown by the following lamentable facts :—

“If the *deaths* among the prostitutes in the subjected districts are considered, it is found, that taking the average since the passing of the Acts *these have more than doubled*. In 1865, the year before the Acts, the deaths were 9·8 per 1000 women annually, but they had risen to 15 per 1,000 in 1875; in 1874 they had actually risen to 23 per 1,000.”—From “*Have the Contagious Diseases Acts proved a Hygienic Success?*” Scottish National Association, 5, St. Andrew’s Square, Edinburgh.

* On the CONTINENT all pretence of good moral results from regulations of this kind has been recently openly disavowed. M. Lecour, the head of the “Police des Mœurs” (so-called) of PARIS, in the second edition of his work on Prostitution in Paris and London (p. 255), said : “the evil was a moral and social one, and could not be controlled by the police, *who could neither restrain nor destroy it*. The evil must be overcome by moral, *not by legislative, means*.” In the last edition of his work on Prostitution in Paris (p. 57), he says : “We may recognize amelioration as far as outward disorder is concerned; but we are none the less sensible that *the ever rising tide of debauchery* is due to causes which repression in detail cannot reach.”

same warning in a recent official Report, calculated to make moral and thoughtful men shudder.* There is no safety but in retreat, by the total, immediate and unconditional repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1866-9; to be followed by legislation for the more effectual treatment of *all* who are diseased, whether male or female, virtuous as well as vicious; for the greater discouragement of procuring, harbouring, and soliciting, and the more effectual protection of children, the orphaned, and the inexperienced against the cruel wiles of the seducer.

The Seven Reasons, given above, by no means exhaust the argument for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases (Women's) Acts. For instance, the very important RELIGIOUS and MORAL aspects of the question are but briefly touched upon. These have been dealt with separately and more at length in a Memorial addressed by the City Committee to HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY; and in pamphlets by the Very Rev. Dean CLOSE, and the Rev. HENRY BATCHELOR, a minister of religion residing in one of the subjected districts. The reader is referred for further information to these works and other publications on the cover hereof.

The statistics of disease in PARIS, where the regulation system has been longest in operation, disclose that "during five years ending with December, 1869, the proportion of registered prostitutes who were found syphilitic had *increased from 100·35 to 139·12 per 1000 !!*"—*Vide Pamphlet by Scottish National Association, as above.*

* AS IT REGARDS BRUSSELS.—M. Lenaers, the Chief Commissioner of the Brussels police, reported to the Burgomaster only last year, that after thirty years of a system which had been recognized as the most complete in existence, and taken as a model by various administrations, prostitution had so greatly developed in Brussels that it called for new measures. He accordingly, after an elaborate examination of the state of the case, actually made the following proposals, *all of which have been carried into effect !!!*
—viz. :—

1. MULTIPLICATION OF TOLERATED BROTHELS AND HOUSES OF ACCOMMODATION.
2. REGISTRATION ON THE ROLLS OF PROSTITUTION OF *minors (children) and married women* WITHOUT THE PREVIOUS CONSENT OF *parent or husband*.
3. FACILITY TO YOUNG WOMEN, NOT PROSTITUTES, *as well as to married women*, TO MEET THEIR LOVERS WITH PERFECT SECURITY (!) IN HOUSES OF ACCOMMODATION.
4. LIBERTY TO PROSTITUTES TO WALK THE STREETS FROM MIDNIGHT TO MIDDAY, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF CERTAIN PROMENADES AND PUBLIC THOROUGHFARES."

It is utterly impossible that good hygienic results can follow such an outrage upon the moral law.