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ON THE

RECOGNITION AND SUPERINTENDENCE

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BY GOVERNMENTS.

BY AN ENGLISH MOTHER.

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TO BE HAD OF

FREDERICK BANKS, BOOKSELLER AND STATIONER,
MANSFIELD ROAD, NOTTINGHAM; AND OF ALL BOOKSELLERS.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

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AN APPEAL
TO THE
PEOPLE OF ENGLAND,
ON THE
RECOGNITION AND SUPERINTENDENCE
OF
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AN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

I trust you will pardon me for somewhat abruptly addressing to you the following appeal, which I do under a deep sense of responsibility and with a sorrowful heart.

I write in the name of the thoughtful and Christian women of England, and I beg leave to draw your attention to the attempt now being made by a vigorous and active association, calling itself an "Association for promoting the extension of the Contagious Diseases Act to the civil population," to bring into action generally throughout the country measures which provide for the legalization of prostitution. We are deeply convinced that such legislation is opposed to the interests of morality; while it will prove, as it has proved in other countries, ineffectual to stamp out disease. Its effect upon those large classes of men to whom, in default of religious principle or a high moral training, the laws of the country are a guide to conscience, is to teach them to look upon fornication not as a sin and a shame, but as a necessity which the State takes care that they shall be able to practice with impunity. In increasing the facilities to vice, you must certainly increase its noxious results. Such is found to be the consequence of the systematizing and recognition of prostitution in Paris, and in many Continental cities. Special disease is not less prevalent at the present day in Paris than in London, and this may be easily accounted for; for while contagion on the one hand, may be to a *certain extent* diminished by the surveillance exercised upon fallen women, on the other hand so many more men are induced, by fancied security from the danger, to indulge in illicit intercourse with these women, that the risks run by the community at large, and the contagion actually spread are in the one case as great as the other—nay, it would seem they are greater, since some even of the promoters of the extension of this system, together with high medical authorities in Paris, pronounce the state of Paris in respect to venereal disease to be most terrible; and in every place where such a system prevails, men are encouraged to become fornicators by having presented to them for their use, openly, and with the sanction of the State, women with the government stamp upon them, warranting them healthy and sound. Fornication is common in all classes in Paris, it is thought no shame, and the almost universal prevalence of it increases largely the demand for these unhappy women, so that in order that the existing staff of prostitutes should

not be "overworked," it is reported by witnesses from Paris that fresh relays of healthy women have to be continually drafted in from the provinces. (The women of certain provinces are in great request, as being found by the "*Agents de Mœurs*" to be peculiarly strong and healthy.) Dr. Leon Lefort lately replied in answer to the question why venereal disease is not greatly diminished in Paris—"It would require the French police to enrol thirty thousand women to *make the system complete*, and to give any hope of coping with the spread of the disease." And the history of every Continental town where this system prevails, shows a constant increase in the number of prostitutes from year to year, this increase being out of all proportion to any increase in the population in general; it is a gulf into which women are flung by thousands, but which never closes. Such are the effects which inevitably follow the introduction of a "*system*" by which the souls and bodies of tens of thousands of women are deliberately, and under the direction of the government, sacrificed to a supposed necessity.

While the public acknowledgement of such a supposed necessity is deeply degrading to men, both as an avowal that they are utterly and hopelessly the slaves of their own passions, and as an incentive to increased immorality, it is utterly destructive to the hopes of all good women for a purer and better state of society. The happiness and character of all virtuous women throughout the land must eventually suffer from the consequences of such measures, while upon the poor women, on whom the proposed Law takes immediate effect, there falls a blight and a destruction more complete than anything they can in its absence experience—heavy as their punishment in any case is.

The women who are terrified to submission again and again to the ordeal which this law requires them to submit to, are reduced by it to the character of wild beasts, in whom every trace of womanhood, and all hope of recovery are deadened and crushed out; not only does the horrible ordeal to which they are subjected destroy the last trace of the natural womanly instinct which is always a foundation upon which to build the hope of reformation, but, as a little knowledge of human nature teaches us, and all experience proves to us, the last lingering light of conscience is extinguished in them by the direct official sanction, which, under this law they cannot but believe they possess for the practice of their vocation.

Further, the proposed measures, politically considered, are without precedent in the history of our country in their tyranny, and their defiance of all which has ever been considered by Englishmen as *justice*. If you will study the provisions of the Acts of 1866 and 1869, and the evidence given last Session before the select committee of the House of Commons, you will see how distinctly the introduction of such a law tends to the creation of a bureaucracy in England, which would be intolerable to a free people. It resembles the Spanish Inquisition in its system of paid spies, and the admission of anonymous whispers as evidence not to be

rebutted. Contrary to the entire spirit of English Law, the whole burden of proof is thrown not upon the accuser, but upon the accused; there is a complete absence of all fair and open court—to say nothing of jury; and the accused, in this case, are the weakest, the most helpless, and most friendless of the community.

By this Law a crime has been *created* in order that it may be severely punished; but observe, that has been ruled to be a crime in women which is not to be considered a crime in men. There are profligate men who are spreading disease everywhere, but the law does not take effect on *these*.

I have said that a crime has been created—which is to be severely punished. The alternative for every woman accused is either to appear before the Magistrates, or to submit to a torture which to any woman with a spark of feeling left in her is worse than death. Refusing to submit to the torture she is imprisoned. There is no escape from the one penalty or the other. An innocent woman who is accused may escape the torture, but she cannot escape the appearance before the Magistrates, and that very appearance means ruin to the character and prospects of a poor and virtuous woman. The torture to which these poor fallen women (to whom, if there be an acknowledged *necessity* on the side of men for their existence, the State ought to be grateful and tender) are subjected by this Law, has no parallel except in the darkest and foulest forms of persecution practised on helpless women in the cruelest ages of history. This and none other is the character of the inquisition imposed by this Law, albeit it is advocated and practiced in the name of humanity. Insensibility engendered by custom, and ignorance of the nature of women alone can account for the fact that men should be found to practice such horrors in the name of humanity. It is sometimes said that to *these* women it is no torture. Perhaps it is to women rather than to men that they *confess* the shame and the anguish. I will only say, from a large and intimate experience of women of this pitiable class, that I never found one among them, except those very few who are degraded so far as to be beyond the pale of human nature, who did not shrink with horror from that torture, and who would not rather endure any amount of bodily pain than that which is so intolerable to womanhood, violence done to the deepest and the most indelible instincts of her nature. How, then, must the better and more tender,—the very young, the still womanly among them, regard it? It is a solemn question, whether it be lawful for the State to inflict torture of so cruel and indecent a nature upon any of its subjects for *any given end whatsoever*, or for *any crime that can be named*—to say nothing of the lawfulness of the infliction of such torture for a crime which it treats as a crime *only* in one sex, and *only* among the *poor* of that sex—*i.e.* the crime of incontinence. For the torture, be it observed is to be inflicted for the crime of being a prostitute, (a crime to which thousands are on the evidence of witnesses before the Parliamentary Committee,

driven by absolute starvation) while the crime for refusing to submit to the torture (which is the second crime *created* by this law), is punished by imprisonment with hard labour.

It may be objected that these are not criminal proceedings—that the ordeal is imposed without the assumption of criminality, prostitution not being a crime against the State. But disobedience to a law is a crime against the State, and this ordeal being in fact as great a punishment as any criminal could be subjected to, and being regarded as such by women, a woman will naturally if possible refuse to obey it, and is thus forced to become a criminal, and may be imprisoned. Again, this law does not clearly define a prostitute. It is the strangest, the most indefinite law that was ever made, since it does not define that to which it is applicable, but leaves it to be defined by those who in each case are to apply it. Nay, it is most awful in its indefiniteness, for the definition of a woman to whom this law is applicable is to be the *suspicion of a policeman*. There is no woman then, however virtuous, to whom this law is not applicable, for there is no woman on whom the *suspicion of a policeman may not fall*. The quality of “suspiciousness” will be vastly stronger in some policemen’s minds than in others, so that the definition above is wide and varying. I do not wish to make too much of individual cases which have occurred, of arrest and outrage practised on virtuous women; but let us look at this law in its broad sense, in the indefiniteness of its terms, dangerous alike to virtue and to freedom, and in the awful conclusion by which at best it must be advocated, and say if it is not a blot on the legislation of any nation. It is a fouler blot on the legislation of England than even it might be elsewhere; for in England always, except in this case, are the rights of *habeas corpus* respected. Is this a law for Englishmen to sanction? Is this a law to be made in a country where individual liberty has been so carefully guarded? Nay, it is a law for a country of slaves. Are Englishmen to benefit, and our country to become greater, if English women are to be deprived of the rights hitherto inherited by all who are born in her? There are few civilized countries in which people are not brought forward to a fair trial when under suspicion of having done wrong. Individual liberty in most lands is in the *generality* respected, but that which constitutes the freedom, which is the birthright of Englishmen and women, is not the knowledge that *for the most part* individual freedom will be respected, but the knowledge that *in all cases it must be respected*. Freedom, in this sense, is gone from every individual English woman, while the individual liberty of a large class of women is continually violated, and while she herself may run the chance, though it may be but the ten thousandth part of a chance, of having *habeas corpus* disregarded in her own case. I do not speak too strongly. Freedom is the gift of God, and man has only a right to deprive his fellow man of that gift when he is guilty of *crime*; and if immoral

women are to be accounted criminals, what shall we say of immoral men? Again, if “prostitution is a necessity,” which the chief abettors of the Act assert as the basis of the whole measure, then what shall we say of the justice of treating those as criminals, who minister, to their own loss, to this social necessity? A remarkable book has just been published in Paris, from which I extract the following:—“Si le nombre des prostituées, est considérable, celui des *prostitués* l’est bien plus. Ceux-ci n’étant soumis à aucune règle de voirie, infectent tranquillement nos rues de leur corruption, sont un danger permanent pour la sécurité publique, propageant la débauche, souillant jusqu’aux imaginations honnêtes, obligées de tenir compte de leur existence et d’appréhender leur rencontre; mais l’homme, sur ce point, est irresponsable. Par une étrange anomalie, il est irresponsable, lui, déclaré majeur; elle est responsable, elle (la femme), déclarée mineure.”

A reviewer of this book, in one of the Paris journals, remarks “Je crois que ces méprisantes et justes paroles sont concluantes sans conteste, lorsqu’il s’agit de prouver tout ce qu’il y a d’iniquité et d’illogisme dans l’inégalité de l’homme et de la femme devant la morale.”

We must believe that the promoters of this Act have been actuated by a humane desire to arrest a terrible physical scourge, that many of them have forced themselves to look at the question as a purely sanitary one, and while one cannot but feel that the plan of the enquiry was skilfully and carefully framed to exclude the moral question involved, one cannot fail to observe in the evidence that several Members of Committee found a difficulty in excluding it from their own minds and consciences. Disgust with the details which it was needful to hear, may have deterred some from forcing themselves to a candid examination of the matter from all sides. It is impossible to think of our legislators as acting, in such a matter, except under a sense of deep responsibility, but for the law itself we dare not utter one word of excuse. It is not a law for Englishmen to endorse: it is a law worked out in secrecy, mystified by indefiniteness, upheld by violence. When it is unveiled it will be seen to stab at the very heart of freedom. It is a fatally retrograde step. It is called a crusade against sin and misery. It is a crusade against freedom, and to promote the more safe and convenient practice of vice. It is an insult to God and to man. Are the law makers of England to fall into a pit which they themselves have dug, to be caught in their own net, taken in their own devices?

It is not in England alone that the battle concerning such sinister laws will be fought out with the bitterness of death, and with the intensity of a crucial and final decision. In England it is perhaps little known that a social revolution is pending on the Continent, turning upon this very point, the superintendence of prostitution by Governments, based on the assumption that prosti-

tution is a necessity. I have lately been present at some meetings on the Continent, at which there were representatives of Germany, France, Russia, Switzerland, and Italy. The feeling expressed on this subject was unanimous and strong. It is supposed by many people in England that Parisians at least are universally satisfied with the system in Paris; but it is not so. There are men and women in Paris, (their number is increasing every day) who, in their earnest efforts for moral and social progress, point to this shameful system as the first obstacle to be removed. A petition has lately been addressed to the French Chamber for the removal of the great "Plaie Sociale," the "dedication by the Government of a large section of the female population to purposes of immorality," and in a short time petitions will be addressed to every Government in Europe on this subject. A lady at one of the meetings I allude to, spoke thus:—"La première des espérances que j'ai conçues en commençant ces œuvres, a été celle de voir cesser cette honteuse plaie. Au nom de la morale je le demande! Ceux qui nous le refusent sont ceux qui veulent jouir des avantages que l'abus leur octroie. Partout se retrouve l'antagonisme! cela ne cessera que lorsque les lois sont changées." And an Italian lady of high character writes thus, on behalf of those women upon whom destruction is brought by such a system:—"E tempo veramente ch'ella respinga assolutamente questa tiranica inquisizione virile sopra il suo corpo, e si pronunci energicamente sopra questo perpetuo oltraggio che si fa al suo pudore." [I prefer to give the indignant words in her own Italian.] And wherever there are, as there are in every country in the world, high-minded, intelligent, and honourable women ready to head a protest against this tyranny, there are also invariably to be found just men to aid them; and though women may be weak, justice is strong, and the desire of justice in the hearts of these men is all the more powerful a passion because those who are suffering the injustice are the weakest. There is a progress of opinion in these days which no legislature can resist, and in the heart of that progress will be found working that inextinguishable instinct of womanhood which refuses that a large proportion of her sex shall be systematically outraged for the supposed good of the rest of the community; an instinct which has been implanted in woman, by whom?—by God himself; and of which it may be said to those who act in violation to it:—"Take heed lest ye be found to fight against God." In Prussia the feeling against the wicked system is intense, though at present, in that police-ridden country not many have dared to break silence. If our legislators should succeed in imposing upon our country laws which are already beginning to create a secret revolution abroad, they will shortly be obliged to confess themselves far behind the progress of the age, and to perceive that they have been guilty, however benevolent their aim, not only of a great cruelty, but of a great blunder.

You have perhaps been told that this Act is not identical with the French system. The difference, such as it is, is of detail only, and not of principle. You are perhaps aware that the Prussian Government derives some portion of its revenue from the payments of the prostitutes under its control. Our Government has not yet proposed to do the same: but the expenses incident to the working of the Act are to be paid out of the national purse. Now it is affirmed by the supporters of the Act that the present staff of the special police, (woman hunters) for the localities where the Act already operates, is very insufficient, and that it must be greatly increased. If the provisions of the Act are to become universal, the taxation throughout the country must be enormously increased to meet the demand; and it is most probable that the unpopularity of such an increase of taxation would oblige Government to fall back on the expedient of helping itself through the earnings of harlots.

The following quotation from the Parliamentary evidence shows how naturally to the minds of some of the Promoters of the Act, this expedient must follow for the perfecting of the system. A witness says, in reference to a question as to the distinction to be drawn between common street-walkers who openly solicit, and a superior class of women who more artfully practice their vocation:

797. Q. Do you not think that it would be difficult to draw the line in an Act?

A. I do not consider that necessary; I think that every common prostitute should be registered, and a day named for medical examination. It would be desirable to classify, as far as possible, the women for this purpose, a certain day in the week being set apart upon which medical examinations would be made by payment; this would enable the better class of women to classify themselves, and would partly defray the expense of putting the Act in operation. Great discretion, however, is necessary in carrying out an Act such as that contemplated.

[This injunction to discretion and caution occurs constantly in the evidence. It would appear that the minds of some of the examiners and witnesses were alive to the prospect that the "common sense" and justice of the English public at large might become a serious obstacle to the carrying out of this measure].

It is a mere quibble to dwell on the absence, for the present, of a formal license. What else is the system of registration, by which women are compelled to obey the periodical summons? It must be remarkable to everyone who will go carefully through the evidence* how plainly the committee speak of "the system," thus admitting its substantial identity with Continental measures. The essence of all the Acts is the compulsion under which women are placed in regard to the dreaded and cruel ordeal I have alluded to; to secure this it seems that legislators who support the Act will do almost anything, and in order to enforce this over the civil

* See pages 80 and 81.

community they must inevitably adopt the French system in its entirety, and they must back it up with an enormous weight of compulsion. Duchâtelet,† in his faithful and terrible history of the growth of this system in France, describes the lull which succeeded its first introduction. Surprise, ignorance, terror, kept the victims of it quiet, and to some extent submissive at first; but there succeeded to this an agitation, a rebellion; "*recalcitrantes*" increased every day, women, even the most depraved, cried out against this tyranny in the streets; minute directions were given to the police as to how to deal with the women when they flew, like enraged tigresses, at their throats; girls had to be driven to the place of torture at the point of the bayonet; many fainted before the ordeal; every kind of stratagem was invented and circulated among them for evading the police, and every form of espionage and tyranny was superimposed by Government upon the original Act to prevent such evasion. Hunted down, terrified, imprisoned, and despairing, the women at last succumbed, and again there succeeded a period of death-like submission, the effects of which can only be truly estimated by one who is thoroughly acquainted with the cold, passionless vice of Paris, the effeminacy of its men, the rapid, steady increase of prostitution, together with the decrease of virtuous marriages since the introduction of the system, the dissolution of family life, the fears of the Emperor lest the population should die out, and the utterly brutalized condition of its *filles de joie*, who represent a type of animal as yet unknown in England.

The Secretary of the noble "Rescue Society" in London, says:—"The English fallen women who frequent the Haymarket and other similar resorts will be found to speak with the utmost abhorrence of the greater degradation of the foreign women perambulating the same neighbourhoods; and the Committee have known more than one instance where the loathing produced by a knowledge of the habits of these women has led some English girls to desire to escape the abominations incidental to a continuance in a career of sin.

"Moreover, the wheedling, shameless pertinacity of the solicitations of the foreign women who abound in certain quarters of the metropolis is rarely, if ever, followed to a like extent by English

† This careful collator of statistics was himself an advocate of the system, yet details with a scrupulous fidelity all its horrors and all its cowardliness as exercised by the strong upon the weak. He cannot suppress at times a burst of indignation and pity, and of regret that such a terrible coercion should have been brought to bear upon a class whom he, out of his intimate knowledge of them, declares are never without virtue and modesty in the first months of their trade. He tells many incidents, such as one of a poor girl who was permitted on a summer day to walk into the yard of the prison in which she was confined, and who gazing with wide open eyes of admiration at the blue sky above her head, exclaimed with arms outspread, and in a voice of adoring gratitude—"O how good our God is, how good our God is, to give us this beautiful sky to look at."—Yet she was classed among the *lowest*.

girls; and this difference has often been noted and commented on at the time by the members of this Society. It seems impossible in conversation to touch the heart or conscience of a French fallen girl, and the arguments which are found most successful with an English girl are found entirely inoperative to produce any compunction or feeling of shame in the former.

"There is another noticeable feature in connection with this subject. The French woman coolly speculates in her course of infamy as if in regular trade, saves money, and retires: the English fallen woman rarely, if ever, saves; but rids herself as soon as possible of the ill-gotten gain, as if it were contaminating, or its possession a curse. In fifteen years' experience the managers of this Society—one considering the number of cases dealt with, unequalled by any similar committee in this country, have not met with more than one or two English women who have made a persistent effort to save money. It is one thing, therefore, to eradicate physical disease, assuming (which is shown to be the merest assumption) that such will be the result, and, whilst doing so, to damn the soul. It is another and preferable one to avoid—strenuously to avoid—any course which tends to harden and sear the national and personal conscience."

In my own experience I have met with several unfortunate women who habitually gave all they earned in their hateful trade to the relief of the poor. One of these said to me, "I know I am *very* bad, but I will be as good as I *can* be." Another said, "I am a wicked girl, but I love little children." This girl bestowed all her earnings, (as I learned after her death) on little children, and very old people who were in distress. She also nursed tenderly till it died the child of a wicked and cruel procuress by whom she was engaged, and could scarcely be torn away from its coffin, wildly wishing to "follow that child whither it had gone." I could multiply instances of this kind of agonised grasping at scraps of virtue in these outcasts, of whom so large a proportion are driven by a combined force of circumstances, which only the strongest virtue could resist, into this rank. And these are the persons whom Dr. Davies, medical officer, at the late meeting at Bristol, pronounced in one fearfully sweeping and inclusive sentence to be "*dead*" to virtue.*

A lady in a great seaport ventured into a house filled with these unhappy girls. Sitting down among them, she opened her Bible, and without preface, read that beautiful chapter of St. John's Gospel, (a strange one to choose, some would say, for such an occasion), "Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid; In my Father's house there are many mansions." One, and then another of the girls sat down on the floor round the feet of the reader, listening with awe and softened faces. At the close, one said to another "I will go this day to a Penitentiary.

* See Report of the Social Science Meeting, at Bristol, 1869.

Lizzie, will you go?" and they went, and another and another followed, and maintained through the years of discipline the resolution then formed. Persons capable of conceiving an aspiration after holiness and peace on the hearing of those matchless words, which many a Pharisee hears time after time in Church with a stony heart, cannot be wholly devoid of a lingering self-respect. The greater includes the less. But it is of such that Dr. Davies and his *confrères* say, "In this class of women self-respect is dead."

This view, no doubt it is which enables such men to regard the persons of these poor girls as mere carcasses for the dissecting room. A gentleman, full of indignation against this assertion, said, "these helpless girls are considered by such men it would seem as created only for death and the dunghill here, and perdition hereafter." In France there was lately an exposure of cruelties practised by vivisection in the cases of horses and other animals. Let us suppose the case of a horse which the operator, *believing to be dead*, proceeds to dissect: the approach of the knife to some sensitive nerve reveals, by the quiver which runs through the poor creature's frame, and its spasmodic effort to escape, that it was *not* dead, and that the operator has been guilty, through the falseness of his own conclusions as to its state, of *vivisection*. Such is precisely the case of the thousands of women (creatures at least originally as noble as a horse) whose womanhood the majority of the medical faculty seem to agree with Dr. Davies in pronouncing to be *dead*, and whom they treat accordingly. And mark the result! the horse is killed by that very stroke of the knife which revealed that there was life in him; and the last remnant of virtue, modesty and womanhood in these human victims is killed by the infliction of that bitterest agony induced by the revival under the process of vivisection of the strong instincts of womanhood. But such agony cannot last; womanhood has been murdered. The very process which aroused into existence the whole sensitiveness of that most sensitive of God's creatures, a woman, has in the same moment dealt its death-blow. One of the officers appointed by the French Government to carry out the provisions of its system said to an English gentleman, "The women betray strong emotion at first, but very soon they care *not a sou for anything*." The streets of Paris are to the eyes of a foreign visitor, orderly, bright and beautiful, like a magnificent whited sepulchre; but what a Golgotha within, thanks to the wisdom and the ingenious legislation of man!

We are constantly told that the French system renders the women orderly, quiet, and submissive, while it greatly lessens their misery by the care taken of their health. To the legislators who have brought about such a state of things, we may apply with force the words of Tacitus "*Solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant*."

Appeals are continually made to our feelings in support of the Act. We are told of the thousands of innocent women and children in the better as well as the lower classes, who are at this moment the victims of the terrible disease which it aims at suppressing. Now an appeal to our human tenderness is not likely to be received with indifference by the women and mothers of England, who, for the most part, are not unfamiliar with the sight of suffering, and who are not generally idle in the work of alleviating or removing it. We surely mourn, if any do, over the "slaughter of the innocents;" and those among us who have ministered in Lock Hospitals and other receptacles of the sick and miserable are sufficiently aware of the prevalence and virulent nature of the disease in question. Let it be understood that we at least as much as any, desire to arrest disease, to rescue every evil-doer, man or woman, from the present and future consequences of sin. The question therefore to all of us, is of the most vital consequence, "how is this best to be done?" We believe that from a medical point of view alone (having forced ourselves to examine the subject, though preferring to leave the arguments connected with it to be dealt with by others) these regulations proposed are futile. And we are profoundly convinced that *wherever moral principle is loosened, and evil deeds are consequently multiplied in a community, there will inevitably, by a law of God and of nature, follow increased bodily disease*. In a material as well as spiritual sense it is universally true that "The wages of sin is death." "Fornicators and adulterers God will judge." The judgment may not immediately succeed transgression, but, given a generation or two after the passing of such an Act as we are considering, with its tacit license granted to vice, we shall see that the inevitable judgment is not to be averted by any scheme whatsoever that man can devise, except one which is based firmly upon a recognition of the moral law, and of the harvest of results to be reaped in the future. While writing the above the post has brought to me a letter from the Editor of a public journal in Paris; he, being one of those who are of opinion that the medical surveillance exercised in Paris does lessen disease among those *who come under* that surveillance, and not regarding the question with any over-sensitive prejudices on moral grounds, is in a position to speak dispassionately of the facts before him. His testimony is therefore of no small value as to facts. He says that since these regulations were in force they have seen prostitution in Paris "*prendre des développements considérables: Il n'est bientôt plus possible de faire un pas dans Paris sans être coudoyé par une foule de malheureuses*."* After speaking of the

* "It is no longer possible to walk a step in Paris without being jostled by a crowd of unfortunates. Whilst protection therefore may have advantages, it has also inconveniences. Precisely because the public health is less exposed, men, finding a greater security, are less restrained. Thus, legislation has ministered to the health of the prostitutes, and by a *contre-*

crusade against the physical evil, he says, "Pendant que la protection peut avoir des avantages, elle a aussi ses inconvénients. Précisément parce que la santé publique est moins exposée, les hommes trouvant une plus grande sécurité, se gênent moins. Ainsi, la législation a assaini les prostituées, et par contre-coup a augmenté le nombre de celles qui s'y livrent, et le nombre d'hommes qui recherchent la fille de joie. Rendre la débauche moins dangereuse, c'est l'encourager, c'est l'étendre. Voilà mon avis personnel." Where is the judgment, where are the powers of reasoning of Englishmen, if they can look upon the testimonies which crowd upon us from abroad, and from the contemplation of human nature generally to this particular case, and not see that such a result as this must inevitably sooner or later, eat into the heart even of that which is at present their chief concern, the physical well-being of the community. *Inevitably wide-spread disease must follow wide-spread immorality.* Science, religion, and experience all alike teach that lesson.

Some of the appeals made to us on behalf of the innocent who suffer, amaze one by their impudence. I must be excused for making use of so harsh a word, but I can call it nothing else. These appeals assume that the only remedy for this slaughter of the innocent is the making safe for married men the path of the fornicator. They continually speak as though there were but two sets of persons to be considered—fallen and contagious women on the one hand, and pure women and children on the other. It is curious to observe how they ignore in their arguments the existence of that intermediate class, who convey contagion from the one to the other. Certain persons resent, as if it were an indelicacy, any allusion to that most important link, the adulterous husbands and fathers who are dispensing disease and death in their families. Yet to a truth-loving mind the question must occur, "would not the abstinence from fornication on the part of these husbands and fathers be at least as direct a mode of hindering disease as that of reducing a vast proportion of the female population to a condition worse than that of the lower animals for their convenience?" But, it is objected, it is not for married men chiefly that this safe provision needs to be made, but for youths who will afterwards be married, and there is an affecting case in point always ready for citation, of some young man upon whom life-long suffering has been entailed by a single lapse of his youth, and not only on himself but on his wife and children. We, mothers of England, are not less concerned for our sons than for our daughters. Assuredly we do not fail in compassion towards anyone upon whom retribution falls so heavily; and undoubtedly the penalty for a single offence in a

coup, has augmented the number of those who are devoted to it, and the number of men who seek the society of prostitutes. To render debauchery less dangerous is to encourage it, to extend it. Here is my personal view of the matter."

man is sometimes very heavy; in the case of a woman it is invariably overpoweringly heavy. Such a case as this is one which is continually cited as an argument appealing at once to our reason and our compassion for the establishment of these public regulations. But let us look at the matter a little more closely, and see whether it is wholly compassionate either to the erring or the innocent to set this Act into operation. Does it not occur to those who use this argument that under the operation of this Act such lapses among young men, who would afterwards be married, would be somewhat more frequent, nay that they would become so much more frequent as altogether to counterbalance the advantages said to be gained by the one-sided expedient which we deprecate. We know what human nature is, and the very prevalence of this terrible disease proves a state of morality among men which warrants us in saying that the moment the double restraint is withdrawn, the moral and physical, by means of the recognition by Government on the one hand of the veniality or necessity of such offences, and by the supposed removal of a material risk, young men in England will plunge into vice as freely as they do in countries which have adopted this system. I have dwelt at some length on this part of the subject, but I beg to be excused for doing so, since the testimony which pours in from foreign countries,* while I write, is of such weight and significance that I cannot but feel that the advocates of the measure at home have failed to look at this part of the matter calmly, and with a wise consideration. Before leaving this part of the subject I must say, with shame and grief, that it is well known to those women whose charity leads them to seek out their unhappy sisters in their haunts of sin, that these incautious young men are not in fact the only persons in whose interest this Act proposes to work; that it is not the young and unmarried alone who support these abodes of infamy.

We are asked what we have to offer in place of the proposed Government interference. We have much to offer—much to suggest; and this is the most important part of my subject. Within the limits of this appeal I can only state generally what will be brought forward carefully and in detail hereafter.

At the late meeting at Bristol, an advocate of the Act spoke as follows:—"It appears to me that the cure of these unhappy women of their bodily disease is so naturally connected with the attempt to reclaim them from the course of life on which they

* And not only from foreign countries, but from the Military Depôts at home where this Act is in force. On the authority of a medical man, and of officers of high standing at Aldershot, it may truly be stated of the soldiers there that since the passing of the Act, they (in the terrible words of the Hebrew prophet) "assemble themselves by troops in the harlot's houses," and it is instructive to listen to the tone in which the men speak of the kind, fatherly, and protecting attitude of Government towards themselves in this matter, together with their increased brutality of feeling towards the women.

have entered, that it is almost impossible in a country like England to dissociate the one from the other." Now with these words we entirely agree; this speaker has accidentally indicated the basis upon which the measures *we* advocate must be built up. We believe that any considerable mitigation of disease throughout the country can only take place when associated with direct, large-handed, and enlightened efforts for the reclamation of the fallen and still more for the *prevention* of prostitution itself; we believe also that this mitigation of disease can only be attained when government has recognised the necessity of dealing out equal justice to all classes and human beings alike, and taken account of the inextinguishable instincts implanted by God in the nature of woman. We believe that result can only be attained when the means for that end have been once and for ever dissociated from legal enactments and from that inhuman ordeal, to which by such legal enactments, women are driven. Now let us look at the words of this speaker and at the matter of which he speaks, and see whether there is not something very important which he has omitted to mention, something which, under the system he advocates, is so intimately a part of that care of the bodies of these unhappy women which he says must go hand in hand with the care of their souls, as to render *nil* the good which might under other circumstances result from this union. His words would have had a closer relation to the facts of the matter before us, and would apparently have represented more correctly the views of the medical men who are eager for this Act, if they had run thus, "It appears to me that certain repeated outrages on the persons of these unhappy women, to which they shall be compelled under the fear of imprisonment to submit, are so naturally connected with the attempts to reclaim them from the course of life on which they have entered that it is impossible to dissociate the one from the other." Now on this very dissociation I shall chiefly insist as the first and most important means by which any progress can be made towards the ends we aim at, the lessening at once of disease and of the great evil of prostitution itself. And here I must pause to express my amazement at the blind and unscientific manner in which men, generation after generation, have tried to combat this disease in the face of an obstacle which is superable, and which to this day they have failed to perceive the real essence of, and therefore have failed to surmount. What is it which has made women continually evade and rebel against the arbitrary provisions of all government enactments? What is it which has made needful the immense background of coercion and terror, the enormous police force and taxation needful to maintain such coercion? Why is it that women in all countries where such measures are in operation refuse to obey until this expensive machinery and this cowardly terrorism brought to bear on them by men forces them to obedience? Is it because they love to

suffer, that they prefer to be unmolested when sick, that they do not value the comforts of a hospital and shelter and nursing, but choose rather to let disease run on till it kills them? Assuredly not. Most of them are very poor, and when the first symptom of illness comes on, their thoughts would naturally turn to the hospitable door of any asylum where alleviation of suffering or the arrest of disease was promised. The answer is plain enough to all who have had any intercourse with them, who have reasoned with them on the disastrous consequences to others of their carrying on their trade while afflicted with disease, and who have heard the scornful, bitter answers to such reasoning. And if, under the pressure of disease and with the hope of cure they cannot, without this expensive coercion be forced to endure the public outrage, it is not strange that they should resist it while in health, and this Act as you are aware inflicts the hideous penalty on women in health equally with the diseased. It is strange that so little of the truly scientific spirit should have entered into experiments so momentous as these,—that an end should have been aimed at by means which have left wholly out of account the essential peculiarities of the subjects of the experiments. It is as if men had laboured to solve some problem in chemistry or in any other material science, while blindly and persistently leaving out of account the essential qualities of the most important of the ingredients to be dealt with; and as if French and German chemists having failed, after great expense and labour wasted, to solve the problem, English chemists were about to take it up and to blunder on in the same way, leaving out of account some physical truth as important, for example, as that water or air expand when heated. Is there no one who has science enough to look into this matter, and to proclaim the futility of this proposed enormous and expensive coercion of women, while women remain what God made them? Pascal said, "*La tyrannie est, de vouloir avoir par une voie, ce qu'on ne peut avoir que par une autre.*" "Tyranny is, to seek to do in one way what can only be done in another." The present is a particular example of this general statement. Most certainly such government tyranny seeks to accomplish what *may* be accomplished, but *never* by such means as it designs to use.

I have spoken of the instincts of womanhood. While these continue to be outraged the beneficent results aimed at will for ever remain as far out of our reach as they now are; while on the other hand the taking into account of these instincts and letting them to some extent guide us, instead of working in defiance of them, would go far towards the solution of a problem which has remained till now unsolved. For God has given to woman, for good and wise ends, an *absolute sovereignty over her own person, and of this no man, no legislation on earth has any right to deprive her*—no not even if she becomes a criminal. And our laws until lately have recognised this. Any outrage on the person even of

a prostitute has been punished as an "assault." No male criminal is for any offence, however serious, subjected to indecent personal outrage perpetrated (to add to its horror) in the presence of persons of the other sex. If the government were to sanction torture beyond the limits of legitimate punishment in the case even of a few of the lowest and most despised of *men*, a popular tumult would soon arouse it to the consciousness of what it had done. I repeat that while this right bestowed by God on woman—this absolute sovereignty over her person—is disregarded by man, no efforts of his will avail to lessen that blight under which nations, cursed for their own sins, are now groaning. I speak with a force of conviction which I feel confident, even were I alone in my conviction and all the world against me, would by itself and by its own force ultimately win the day. But I am not alone. I express the conviction of the intelligent women of England, of France, of Germany, of Sweden, of Prussia, of Italy, of our Colonies. It has begun to be felt in England that there are *some* social questions coming now within the range of legislation, in regard to which it would not be amiss to have some expression of the feelings of women. Surely on a question which *directly strikes* at the physical and moral life of tens of thousands of women, and profoundly affects the morality of the whole population, which threatens the purity and stability of our homes, which stabs at the very heart of pure affection, which degrades all womanhood through foul associations of thought and feeling, and which murders chivalry and generosity towards women in the hearts of our sons and brothers, surely on such a question as this the voice of the women of England should be heard; and undoubtedly it will be heard; for we live under no Imperialism in England, and to a Parliament—a future if not a present one—fairly and truly representing the people, we shall fearlessly appeal. Of such a Parliament, we shall claim that it let this matter alone. Meanwhile a great and important duty falls upon the community at large to fulfil.

The accommodation in Voluntary Hospitals for persons venerably diseased has been and is utterly inadequate, inasmuch that the voluntary system cannot be said to have had by any means a fair trial, while at the same time the results accompanying the trial, as far as it has gone, have been successful. The Report of the Rescue Committee says:—"It is within the knowledge of this Committee that no case is at present admissible to a hospital in an incipient stage of disease, and that at least three out of every four which should receive hospital treatment are refused on that ground alone, there being only room now for the worst cases. Here is a state of things,—while only one poor creature in every four can be received and placed under treatment, a proposal comes forth for a wholesale scheme to prevent the spread of contagion."

Secretaries of Refuges inform us of poor outcasts wandering from hospital to hospital, and being rejected by each in turn for want of room to receive them. Such then have been forced back *against their will* into circumstances wherein they spread contagion, and are now supposed to be only amenable to coercive measures of the most horrible kind. It is well to mention here certain customs which act as obstacles to the poorest class of outcasts seeking treatment when ill. These customs are not needful, and may and ought to be dispensed with. They prevail in the Lock wards of the Workhouse Hospitals. It is to these wards that the persons most dangerous to the lower classes of the community must resort. The Secretary of the Rescue Society writes on this head, "The accounts forced upon us, and the bitter complaints made to us by fallen women themselves cannot be presented to the public, but we earnestly hope that the evils we refer to will ere long be obviated." Those who cannot look beyond existing conventions, however shallow and cruel, will reply that it is necessary nevertheless that we should continually be educating young doctors, that the persons of the poorest of our population best afford the needful scope for medical tuition and clinical practice. To this I reply that no voice of nature or of experience has ever ordained that the persons of women of any class should afford scope for the practice of boys. It is needful to speak plainly of this obstacle as well as of the other; for so long as it acts in any degree as a deterrent to the seclusion of diseased persons, the voluntary system cannot be said to have had a fair trial throughout the country. But there are hospitals where no such practices are allowed, and there is nothing to prevent the immediate disuse of them in others. That such customs do act as a deterrent is beyond all dispute.

Further, I am impelled to suggest here that if a lessening of the great social evil itself be an object with the country, as well as the prevention of contagion, the principle announced by the speaker at Bristol must be carried further than it has yet been carried. It is the same hand which searches out the hidden causes of suffering and ministers to the diseased body which must lead the sufferer back to the paths of virtue, and none but women can effectually combine these two offices. I do not deny the excellence of many kind Christian doctors, and that their efforts for the moral restoration of their patients are sometimes successful. But there is a peculiarity in the case, both physical and mental, of a suffering outcast woman. Such require human tenderness as well as the announcement of God's forgiveness. It is not the reading out of exhortations by a chaplain only which will restore the wrecked nature to health, and deliver the crushed heart from the bitter hatred of human beings, which so often enchains it: especially is this the case when the patient is a *prisoner*, previously outraged by command of the Government, and maddened with the sense of wrong or hardened into fiendish

impudence. A poor repentant girl said to me one day, "Shall I tell you the first thing that softened my hard heart which had withstood all the prayers and all the preaching? It was that day that you came into the ward and to my bed, and stroked back my hair with your hand, and kissed my forehead again and again: I did not speak to you, but I wept all that night, and thought, 'O if I could be loved *once* with a pure love before I die!'" To be loved with a pure love, and to desire such a love is salvation for these. How can this human kindness be safely exercised towards them in the degree that they require it, by the present healers of their bodily ailments? Ladies who superintend hospitals are well aware of what is too often involved in the expression on the part of medical students of a natural kindness towards such patients. I am not lodging any serious complaint at the door of our youthful medical staff. I take a favourable view of the natural modesty of boys, while I deprecate the early hardening and destruction of pure and tender feeling in them by the processes to which they are subjected. What mother of a pure young son entering the medical profession can read the following unmoved? They are the words of a lady who has had many years of experience at the head of one of our great Hospital Training Establishments. "No one can feel more strongly than I do on the subject of the extension of the Contagious Diseases Act. I shall be glad in any way to express my conviction that all good women should oppose it. We deplore extremely the deterioration in the health and character which takes place after a short time in almost every young student who enters our Hospital, and probably the undue familiarity with the persons of poor women may have something to do with this. It is very sad, and many who have entered healthy and happy, and, as I believe, good lads, have become anything but what they should be. I wish from the depths of my woman's heart something could be done to make this evil result less frequent; certainly if this Act passes into law, it will become *worse* and not better."

It will scarcely be maintained, at this day, that women are not as capable as boys of being trained in the delicate discrimination, and mechanical skill required for the detection and treatment of a subtle disease. For their own sex their faculties will assuredly be found peculiarly available. In what, to them, would be a work calling forth all their sympathies and all their womanly tact, their perceptions would be fully roused, and their skill exercised to the utmost, while their moral influence would be incalculably beneficial. For the establishment of a sufficiency of voluntary measures, and especially in the provision of female medical officers, whose presence alone would add a great attraction to the voluntary hospital, above that which it now possesses for the poor outcast, we must necessarily encounter some delays, but much may be done at once, if the public were fully awakened to the urgency of the case, and aware of the success of the partial voluntary

agencies already at work. Delay, however, if inevitable on the one hand, is as much so on the other; for as Mr. Simon has well shewn in his report it would be a task neither easy nor of speedy accomplishment for Government to impose its proposed regulations on every town in England. A long time must elapse before the populations in certain localities could be persuaded or coerced into adopting a system which they abhor, and until the system became universal, any benefits resulting from it of a physical kind, would, as Mr. Simon shows, be inappreciable. Disease cannot be arrested at once, nor is there any one grand specific for the diminution of the present evil under which our country is suffering. The evil must be met from many sides at once, and with a largeness of aim, a patience and a prescience, in which we cannot but think that the promoters of the Act have been wanting.

Meanwhile when we shall have done away with compulsory legislation as utterly insufficient, through the direct encouragement given by it to the practice of vice, for the *ultimate* diminution of disease; when we shall have established voluntary hospitals, voluntary not only as being separate from the State, but in the sense that the stricken are at liberty to enter and to leave, making the continued residence not a matter of punishment, but an occasion of gratitude for kindness experienced and benefits received; when we shall have set on foot a sufficient missionary agency to search out the fallen and induce the diseased to seek timely aid in these hospitals, and with this, coupled proportionate measures for their complete moral reclamation; when the pure women of England shall in earnest have taken up the matter; when the verdict of society shall cease to require that an impassable gulf shall for ever separate virtuous and Christian women from their fallen sisters, and shall grant these Christian women leave to exercise in an infinitely smaller degree the grace and magnanimity which the Saviour of the world showed forth when He Himself bridged over the gulf between God and fallen human nature; we shall have made no inconsiderable step towards the solution of the physical problem, which can never be solved while it continues to be considered and treated apart from the moral and spiritual influences and principles with which it is inseparably united. The measures we propose in place of Government interference it will be seen admit of none but moral suasion: it will probably be allowed by most persons that persuasion is better than compulsion, if persuasion will effect what we aim at. I repeat, then, that we confidently believe that it will affect—not the *extinction* of disease, nor the final up-rooting of the great social sin, but far more than compulsory measures can ever effect. I have dwelt strongly on this, for the amazing blindness is not easily overcome which has for so many years hindered men from seeing that it is in vain as well as immoral to endeavour to stamp out the instincts in women which ever will continue to make them resist, and justly resist, the compulsory system. That perversion of

sentiment and of judgment is not easily rectified, which has so long and so strangely overlooked the essential nature of the tacit and dogged resistance on the part of women, which renders inevitable on the part of men and rulers such a background of indecent and tyrannous coercion and costly machinery in order to overcome it.

Mr. Simon closes his admirable Report, drawn up for the Privy Council, with the following words:—"I cordially agree with those persons who deplore the extreme insufficiency of Hospital (voluntary) accommodation provided among us for prostitutes venereally affected. The defect may not be for legal remedy, but not the less is it real, and I sincerely hope it may be dealt with by agencies appropriate to its nature. But considering how large a proportion of society has responsibilities of causation or connivance in that sphere of suffering and shame, and considering what cause for compassion, even those who are purest from such responsibilities, may recognize in states of human life so estranged and so bitterly punished, I should suppose that dictates of justice on the one side, and impulses of charity on the other, would respond, and not parsimoniously, to any well-considered appeal in the matter." The first practical step to be taken is here clearly indicated. Another writer says, "The public may be assured that the check and diminution of the disease (which is all that can be hoped for) may be best secured by voluntary provision for the cure of persons afflicted with it, extended either by benevolence alone, or by benevolence subsidised by Government aid." It has been objected by a writer in a local newspaper, who is in favour of the Act, that what is here stated about the aversion of women to obey its requirements is not true, and that that is evidenced by the fact that some have voluntarily come from districts not under the Act and applied to be admitted under medical supervision when suffering from disease. Now before we can estimate the amount of repugnance which such a poor woman may have had to overcome in herself before taking such a step, we must consider the nature and the number of the influences on the other hand which drove her into taking it. The writer himself unconsciously indicates one. He says, they hoped to be cured "without going to the Workhouse Hospital, which they naturally dread." Why do they dread the Workhouse Hospital? It is in the Lock Wards of the Workhouse Hospital that, as I have said, the freest use is made of living subjects for purposes of medical tuition. The case of this poor woman then is that of one who only has a choice of evils, and who flees from one she knows to one she imagines *may not* be so bad. The alternatives presented to her are death from disease in some miserable lodging or in a ditch, the Workhouse Hospital with its horrors, or entrance into the lazaret created by Government with its far greater horrors. To apply to a Refuge she knows to be useless, for Refuges cannot receive diseased applicants. What wonder that we should have heard

some poor wanderer say, when racked with pain and without the means to support life, that she would go and try the new kind of Hospital? Has a Christian country no more merciful alternative to offer to a suffering outcast than any of these which I have described as surrounding her?

The association for carrying out the Act have spoken much of the good moral effects, which they say have accrued to the women subjected to it; and the fact of the reclamation from vice of a certain number of the women under surveillance was dwelt upon at the Bristol meeting by advocates of the Act. These things deserve our grave consideration. Before entering more minutely into the matter, I wish first to observe that there is an essential incompatibility in general between the objects of the Act and the objects of a Rescue Society, which labours to reclaim from public use the persons whom the Act declares (and to be logical it must declare) to be a necessity for the public. So incompatible have the two ends in view been found in every country where the system under consideration has been tried, that it has been found needful to discourage, as far as possible, the return to virtue of the women leaving hospitals with certificates of health. An English gentleman went over to Paris, a year or two ago, to try to trace out a young English girl who had been persuaded to go to Paris, and whose excellent parents had continually mourned her as worse than dead. He found her in the Hospital of St. Lazare. She was fully minded to return to her home, but communicated in a whisper to her deliverer that she would not be permitted to leave the hospital until she had given a written promise to return to her former mode of life. This, on enquiry, he found to be true, and the refusal was boldly defended as a matter of necessity. "She is cured, many are wanted; we cannot dismiss the diseased for this purpose. The ranks of those who pursue this *métier* must be filled up from other sources if you take away those whom we have now in use." Such is the answer given. This girl could only escape by giving the required promise, and breaking it as soon as she left the hospital. It may be said that we English are not so likely to forget moral aims in our pursuit of a physical one as the French are. But I think we shall be ultimately disappointed if we trust to our general sense of morality for guarding us against results which have accompanied such a system in every other case. Let the matter be searched into. Let evidence be sought out of every country as to the numbers of "*filles publiques*" enrolled in each succeeding year since the establishment of these regulations. Numbers will convince sometimes when arguments will not; and in places where a strict register is kept there cannot be any serious mistake in the matter of numbers. When we find, therefore, as we do, that such a system inevitably and rapidly increases the number of women devoted to the uses of debauchery, we are justified in asserting generally that the tendency of such a system is in direct opposition

to the aim and tendency of a reclaiming society, which seeks the reduction of the numbers of these women. We can scarcely fail to observe a hidden significance in the following wording of the Report of the Association for promoting this Act:—"A collateral but not unimportant result which inevitably follows the establishment of these measures is the improvement in the moral and social condition of the women." Of what women? Of the women who by it are delivered from a life of sin and restored to home or to a refuge? No, these are not the women alluded to. This sentence has reference to the prostitutes, who are subjected to Government control, and carrying on their vocation. Now let me ask, what moral improvement can take place, by any possibility, in the character of the harlot, which is not evidenced by an immediate effort to quit a life of sin and shame? I know not how the case may be with men, but certainly I know enough of the heart of women to affirm that conscience in them does not shed so oblique a light as to allow the profession of an improved general moral tone unaccompanied by the renunciation of vicious habits. The effort may be spasmodic, and frequently repeated without success, so many are the forces combining to press them back again to evil, and to keep them out of society; but wherever there is the smallest progress there will be the struggle, and where it is again and again defeated, the pangs of conscience will produce a wild uneasiness of conduct, an alternation of hope and despair, and a recklessness or sullenness of manner, which would not entitle them to the designation of orderly and well-conducted prostitutes. To my mind the above words of the Association's Report contain the strongest condemnation of the system that could have been uttered, proving appallingly that wherever moral ends are postponed to purely physical ends the moral sense concerning the relative importance of the two is quickly blunted: so blunted is it in this case that it becomes possible for men to conceive of and to report publicly moral improvement in women who are persevering in a life of the deepest ignominy. It indicates in the women themselves the sleep which precedes death, the collapse succeeding fever, from which it is so hard to arouse them. It takes us at once in imagination to the well-mannered, well-drest, desperate, or conscience-hardened *fille de joie* of Paris. An improvement in the moral and social condition of publicly disciplined, recognised harlots, forsooth! it is a washing of the outside of the cup and platter, a whitening of the sepulchre; it is the deadliest symptom which presents itself to the eyes of one who is versed in the characters and histories of these unhappy women. A picture of one such may suffice to enable us to compute the "moral and social improvement" alluded to. "She has not the troubled expression of countenance she once had, but looks as if she regarded herself as of some importance. She, and I hear many others, whose repeated reports of good health cause them to be looked upon as prizes, are much sought after. There is no need

now for solicitation in the streets, for her lodging is constantly frequented by uninvited guests.* She is better drest, more orderly in person, better fed evidently, and on the whole satisfied with herself and her present life. She is one of those who resented at first the police control, but who now is beyond all sense of shame. Those who like herself are submissive to the regulations and orderly in their houses, receiving crowds of male visitors, and complimented by the police, begin to feel themselves popular persons, pets, in fact, both with the garrison and with the medical staff, and the notions they formerly had about right and wrong, about God and about sin, are all, as it were, turned upside down. I could scarcely regard her as any longer a woman, and as you may imagine, left her, feeling that it was utterly hopeless to try any more to influence her for good. It is evident that the poor souls, when they reach this state of hardness, believe they have the sanction of the Queen for the continuance of their profession,—for Government to them means the Queen,—and that so long as they are clean and orderly in their profession they have satisfied the Queen, and thus they satisfy what remains to them of conscience." Mr. Simon says in his Report,† that he believes it to be unquestionable that the women, who have come under the Act, have become more cleanly in their persons, and that "brothels inspected by police are less apt than they were to be scenes of riotous disorder; changes, on which no doubt the users of those persons and places may congratulate themselves; but which cannot without extreme abuse of terms be described as of any moral significance." An Inspector of the Special Police, questioned before the Parliamentary Committee, bears evidence with much apparent satisfaction to the fact that at Devonport and Portsmouth, where the Act is in operation, the women look healthier, neater, and are more decent in demeanour; also, "that the greater cleanliness of the brothels is something very remarkable." Upon this an experienced and humane friend of the poor remarks:—"The public are not accustomed to hear houses of ill-fame spoken of

* It is insisted by upholders of the Act, that the fact of the women not holding their own certificates makes the system more moral than that of France. But it is evident that the women are quite as able to make a trade of their dismissal from the medical room, as if they had the certificate in their own hands; for the periods of such dismissal are known to the whole neighbourhood of male prostitutes, and every woman knows that her dismissal means sound health. Moral men who have been accosted by women in the localities where the Act is in force, say, that the form of solicitation runs thus:—"Superintendent So-and-So has my certificate;" or "I was discharged this morning: the fact of my being at large shows you that I am safe." The certificate which lies in the policeman's pocket, is capital to a woman as much as if it were in her own.

† See the Blue Book containing the Eleventh Annual Report of the Medical Officer to the Lords of Her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.

as other than places that must be unrecognised by parish authorities or police; or else, say they, these dens would at once be rooted out, and their keepers prosecuted. Has it come to this, that the heads of police can inform us of the existence of these places, with a congratulating speech on their improved appearance and more orderly management?"

It may be needful to guard our arguments from misapprehension as to the freedom we claim for all who are not criminal before the Law. That the Law should deal far more stringently than it has yet done with public soliciting in the streets, with procurers and procuresses, and with houses of ill-fame, is much to be desired. And it seems probable that the Act we are considering will practically nullify those Acts under which brothel-keepers are at present liable, as such, to penal consequences. Section 36 of the Act we are considering, provides that penalties shall be inflicted on brothel-keepers harbouring women who are *diseased*, and the whole bearing of the Act has reference, not to the offence of prostitution, but to the offence of being in a diseased condition. When the police agent employed in carrying out this Act finds diseased women living in houses of notoriously evil fame, he ought at once to take steps to suppress that house; but this he does not do, nor does this Act require him to do so. His active and official interference then with such houses, stopping short of measures for their suppression, is a practical admission of their necessity, and we can scarcely wonder to hear him giving a congratulatory report on the more orderly and cleanly condition of such places of resort. This principle will naturally develop into the French system of publicly licensing such houses. It is indeed the openly avowed wish of some of the advocates of the Act that it should be so. The Rev. W. Clay is reported, in the newspaper reports of the Bristol Meeting, to have said that "he maintained that prostitution was a necessity, but he hoped that the time would soon come when we should sweep the streets of those girls, and if they would ply their trade they should do it in *licensed* houses."

The Act moreover does not directly forbid solicitation in the streets. The lessening for the present of that evil is to be accounted for therefore, as I have said, by diminished need for solicitation, in other words by the popularity bestowed by Government on certain women at regularly recurring occasions. But let the Act work for a few years, and see then the result. In Paris as we have seen, the streets are crowded to excess with women of one character. People conversant with some Continental towns know well what is meant by the saying that "no respectable woman can walk alone in the streets there." It not only implies a danger of being accosted by dissolute men, but a danger of being arrested, as two elegant ladies, strangers to Paris and all its evils, were lately in the Champs Elysées, by the

Agents de Mœurs with the demand "Vos billets, Mesdames," and on failing to produce the certificate of a prostitute, to be driven off, as they were, in a cab to the Hospital of St. Lazare. The promenaders of the streets of cities which long have been subjected to these Government measures may not perhaps have the coarse manners of some others, nor do they so openly solicit, but are the temptation and the danger lessened for young men by the orderly and elegant appearance of the crowds of unfortunates, or by the fact so well-known that virtuous women are almost excluded from the thoroughfares by them? That system has the contrary effect to what Mr. Clay desires, that of "sweeping these girls off the streets," for it effectually clears the streets of all other women *except* these. So much for the lessening of temptation of this open nature for the pure and the young. It seems however that there are persons who would rather their sons should fall again and again into gross sin, provided they suffer no physical inconvenience from it, than that they should incur the smallest risk of suffering the penalty which God has attached to a breach of the law of purity.

One of the supporters of the Act, at Bristol, when asked whether provision had been made for the restoration to virtue of the women coming under it, replied — and there is much significance in his reply — that that end had been kept in view *as far as it was consistent with the spirit and intentions of the Act to do so*. It will be found that only the minimum of effort for the reclamation of the fallen is consistent with the spirit and intention of the Act, experience of the Act proving to those who work it the necessity, according to their logic, of a supply proportioned to the invariably increasing demand. It is worth while to consider carefully the figures contained in the evidence, on the subject of the reclamation of the women. Let us look at clause 12, (page 9) of the Report, and compare it with the abstract given on page 94 of the Evidence. Between June, 1868, and April, 1869, 17,161 women have been under the regulations. Of these, 391 have quitted the profession of prostitutes, and are computed as restored to virtue. This is urged as so great a success as to justify the extension of the Act, while no reference is made to the fact shown by a writer in the *Westminster Review*, and known to every one experienced in the history of prostitution that, about a sixth of this unhappy class do in any case quit their dreadful trade year by year — not by death, but by voluntary reclamation of one kind or another. [It must not be supposed that we assert that this sixth become virtuous members of society for the rest of their lives. From my own experience of this matter I should say that many of these are again, after a time, ensnared by sin, through many causes, while on the other hand I should say that of more than a sixth of these unhappy people, it may with truth be said, that they do not practice continuously their degrading

profession; disgust and many other motives drive them out of it for a season at least; in not a few cases, for ever.] If then we look at it in this light, these Government measures hinder recovery frightfully. According to statistics in the *Westminster Review* (which are undoubtedly within the mark) more than 2000 would have been reclaimed without the help of the Act: under its provisions only 391 are restored.

Supposing that many of the cases for the four quarters are the same women, or even supposing that all are, and that the last quarter represents the real number of cases, the disproportion is still very considerable, and the number of reclaimed cases does not increase in proportion to the number brought under the Act.

	Under the Act.	Reclaimed.
For the first quarter	2,212	68
For the second quarter...	6,974	99

The statistics before the Select Committee are opposed to the conclusions drawn by the Committee. Probably few among them have compared these tables with the evidence. A reference also to page 94 (Aldershot) reveals that the case is pretty much that of compelling the women back to their miserable life, as in Prussia, Austria, and France, where it would seem Governments have pledged themselves by the superintendence they have undertaken, and by the regulations they have set on foot, not to allow the supply to fall below the demand, the demand being continually increased by these very regulations. The following are Mr. Simon's words on this subject:—"The clause of the statement, (that women are reclaimed by the Act,) cannot fail to seem morally important to anyone who accepts it without reserve. I fear, however, that such hopes as it at first sight would seem to justify, as to possible moral result of a government superintendence of prostitution, would on any large scale show themselves *essentially delusive*; not, perhaps, as regards individual reclamations to be affected, even from brothels, by pure and kindly contact, but as regards the statistics of prostitution, broadly and practically considered. For I apprehend that the concubinage market, like other markets, tends to be fed according to demand; and that, if prostitution is really to be diminished, the principles of those who would diminish it must be *preventive*."

We are told by promoters of the Act that the spiritual wants of the poor women have been taken into account, and that accordingly a chaplain has been appointed in some of the large Hospitals, and that at Plymouth a subscription of £10 has been voted by Government to a "Samaritan Fund" for the aid of those who wish to escape from their evil life.

This is well, but when we consider that hospital accommodation for London alone under the Act, would cost £100,000 a year, and that £20,000 have already been expended at Plymouth for the carrying out of the material provisions of the Act, it is

impossible to look upon the £10 bestowed for the moral reclamation of the women, as a magnificent outlay; and it may also be said that the omission of the appointment of chaplains to Lazarets of such magnitude, would have had an appearance so invidious, that mere regard for public opinion would have made such appointments desirable.* The promoters of the Act have become too suddenly zealous for the conversion of the fallen not to force us, however charitably inclined, to question a little the nature of their zeal. Can they be ignorant of the voluntary efforts on behalf of the fallen, which have been made for years past in London and in other cities, and that some of the refuges in the neighbourhood of great military stations have, after a brave struggle, been obliged to close their doors to the outcast, *for want of funds*; that the Rescue Society numbers 5000 rejected applicants since its establishment, from the same cause; and that many other Refuges throughout the country record similar forced rejections of these poor wanderers? It has been said, "To compound with conscience for the omission of active efforts for the ingathering of strayed sheep to the fold, by a reliance on extraneous and legislative compulsion to secure their return, may be a social and religious snare incidental to some persons and to some places, but to affirm without hesitation that 'no other way can be so effectual' for the reformation of lost women, as their arrest for the calamity of physical disease, and that they can be reached by no other plan, is entirely opposed, at least, to the experience of persons deeply interested in the welfare of this unhappy class."

To anyone well acquainted with the temper of the humbler classes in some parts of England, it appears inevitable that the attempt to impose such a Law upon the whole country will be attended with far greater difficulty than has ever attended it in other countries, or as yet in the military and naval towns where it has been carried out. I allude to the opposition of the women themselves, the victims of it. It is well known that the wretched women who haunt such localities as Aldershot, Plymouth, &c., are the lowest, most ignorant and debased of their unhappy class; compulsion would therefore not be so difficult in their case. In spite of this, however, it is stated by Mr. Sloggett (visiting surgeon) before the Select Committee, that 143 women in Plymouth manage *every week* to evade the requirements of the Act. But let the Act be tried in the case of any of these

* In the estimate for 1869, for the purpose of extending the operation of the Contagious Diseases Act to a few additional towns, the sum of £43,460 was granted; viz.:—For buildings, £18,500; for general expenses, £18,700; for police, £3,260; for the colonies, £3,000. There will shortly be in England and Ireland 507 beds in various hospitals for the use of women under this Act. The average cost per bed per annum is £33, involving an annual expense of £16,731, which estimate does not include cost of police or buildings.

numerous civil populations of our great towns, especially those of the North of England, where the spirit of the people is more independent, and then the real difficulties of the matter will be in a position to be truly estimated. Vast numbers of these fallen women are by no means of the lowest class. Many have fallen from a much higher grade than that in which they now are. They are, moreover, by no means wanting in acuteness of intellect, independence of feeling, and a disposition to enquire into the causes of all they see around them. They begin already to enquire the meaning of this Act, as applied to military stations: numbers of them are asking; "if we are *necessary* to the country, why are we to be persecuted by such a torture as this Act inflicts on us?" A refined looking woman of this class was lately informed of the provisions of the Act, and replied, with an apparent deep conviction of the truth of her words, "Such treatment of women will never be allowed in England while the Queen lives." And this is the conviction of most of them.

A servile rebellion, of an unusual and awkward kind, is what our Government must expect to have to deal with if it should ever fall into the error of attempting to extend this law. And it must expect also that the sympathies of the great majority of respectable citizens will be with the poor rebels, who would gain courage from the knowledge of that sympathy, however careful the virtuous might be to conceal that it was felt for them. The police force which would have to be brought to bear in this case would be in a position of antagonism to the feeling of the rest of the public, and a struggle would ensue, the like of which I trust will never be seen in England—a wholesale persecution of women by men! Whatever may be said of the faults of our countrymen, we do know that the English are not yet a nation of cowards, and most certainly none but cowards could look calmly on and see such a struggle as this going forward, at such fearful odds, and with such a sinister significance. It may be needful in great popular rebellions, when the mob proceeds to acts of violence and aggression, to turn out the police or the soldiery upon men and women alike, and that women rioters should take their chance of being shot down with the men. But in such a conflict as we anticipate, if this Act should be pressed on the civil community, of what acts of violence or aggression are the women guilty? of what crime are they accused? Painful as it is to speak so plainly, I must say the truth—the only crime of which they would be guilty is that of protecting themselves from personal violation, and this is a self-protection, which under any other circumstances whatever, it would be a discredit and a reproach to any woman, fallen or not, to fail to exercise. And "why," these women themselves ask; "Why, if under all other circumstances we must and ought to protect ourselves from forcible outrage, are we justified in submitting to it in this case?" They cannot be made to see that the protection of their own persons from indecent violence, is not an

inalienable right of womanhood, and in this view of the matter they are not alone.

I observe in the evidence before the Select Committee the following question and answer. The Secretary to the Admiralty says:—

489. I think it very important that anything that is done should be quite gradual. I think it would offend, and prevent the Act being carried into effect, if it were forced upon any place.

490. Q. If the Act were really resisted by any popular force, it would be impossible to enforce it?

A. Quite impossible.

The Select Committee, in framing their report to the House of Lords, after bringing their labours to a close, use these words:—

"All the witnesses examined before the Committee are agreed as to the practicability of extending the Act, but all recommend great caution in doing so."

What! have the rulers of England altogether forgotten that there is a truth couched in the familiar words "*Vox populi vox Dei*?" Have they forgotten that we are supposed to be governed by a Parliament *representing the people*, and is it possible that they are able to assert with one breath that the Act will probably be obnoxious to the people of England, and yet that it is desirable to impose it, and *for the good of that people*? Surely it is not among members of the present Government that such inconsistency will be found. Surely it is not by men so true to the nation as they have been, that an attempt could be made to impose upon the nation by stratagem and extreme caution what members of their own committee have confessed it will be impossible to carry out if the people should once be roused even to a clear knowledge of the matter! I extract the following from the evidence:—

190. Q. Has it ever occurred to you to hear the religious objection, to which reference has just been made, raised in conversation by any persons of the civilian class; I mean the objection that interference of this kind was a sort of recognition of the existence of the class?

A. I have heard that.

192. Q. By persons of what class or position?

A. The middle class; superior tradesmen and persons of that class generally with whom I have casually come in contact.

All honour to the middle class of England! To them chiefly our appeal is directed; on their efforts mainly our hopes are fixed. The over-refined, and the luxurious of the easy-going classes of society will not encounter the disgust and annoyance of dealing in any way with this matter. Mere theorizers there are who will dabble in it, but from whom no practical help can be hoped for. Nevertheless there is virtue yet in England.

A few words I must say on the subject of the wide indirect moral effects of such measures. First as to the demoralizing effects of it on the large police and medical staff required. The Warden of a well-known House of Mercy, a gentleman not unknown to the public, writes, "This Act will tend to degrade the

medical profession. It ought to revolt every feeling of a surgeon's better nature to subject a poor woman to such an ordeal *against her will*, and I do not see how men can do it without themselves being the worse for it." On this subject the testimony of Parent Duchâtelet is fearfully instructive, wherein he describes, in pages which it is scarcely possible to read, the demoralization of the medical staff employed under this system. Respectable men relinquished the office one by one, in disgust, and the work was left to medical students of inferior grade and reckless character, upon which succeeded a state of things too nearly approaching Pandemonium for human words to express. But as to the general effect on public morals we need to recall to our minds the meaning of some of the provisions made and the laws given by Moses to the Jewish nation; "Thou shalt not seethe the kid in his mother's milk?" This might seem a waste of tenderness, for neither the kid nor the mother could be aware of the supposed outrage of natural instinct. This and similar laws were given for the sake of the *people*, among whom the Lord would not sanction even that amount of hardness or cruelty which would succeed in the popular mind familiarity with an outraged sentiment in regard to the maternal instincts of a poor goat. But, alas! what comparison can such an outrage bear to that practised on the feelings of tens of thousands of women, beings tenderly fashioned, and possessing human affections and immortal souls? (That offence *will come* through the frailty and corruption of human nature we know, but it is an awful thing for a Government to sanction such offences). By our laws cruelty to animals is punished; the flaying alive of a cat is an offence punishable by imprisonment; but those laws are not so much for the sake of the poor animals, as for the preservation of public morals, it is the effect on the feelings of the people of the *knowledge of the perpetration* of such cruelty that is the main thing considered, and justly so. But surely it is a mere sentimentalism to punish an outrage on a dumb animal, to shut up the serpent house in the Zoological Gardens from the public view, in order that the terror of the poor rabbits destined to be devoured should not become a familiar and heart-rending sight to the visitors of the gardens, while there is the remotest prospect of the sanctioning among us of the constant and periodical torture, in a far more subtle and cruel fashion, of beings susceptible not only of bodily pain but of the cruellest rendering and scourging of their natural instincts and human emotions: beings whom God made physically weaker than man, and spiritually his equal, not that they should be despitely and shamefully handled, but that they should be revered, even at their lowest estate, even as man claims to be revered. Now these terrible inquisitorial proceedings cannot be kept from the knowledge of the whole population. Not only the mature among us, but our young men and maidens must all know of what is being constantly enacted. The imagination of

the young and the pure will be tainted by such knowledge far more than it could be by the possible knowledge of anything which now exists. The conscience of men will become seared, and their feelings blunted. Cruelty is perhaps the most horrible of all vices, and one which everyone agrees needs to be watched against in boys and young men of the Anglo-Saxon race. But what refining or tender influences will avail with our young men if they become familiar with the horrible adjuncts of an Act such as is under discussion, with the utter contempt implied in them of the persons and feelings of women? The Hebrew Law-giver did not permit that the instincts of the mother goat should be outraged, and this was because of his regard of the moral education of the people. But in these days the instincts of a much worthier creature are recklessly and inhumanly outraged for an end doubtful of attainment, and including consequences to the male community solemnly to be deprecated.

On the subject of measures for the prevention of the great social evil the limits of this appeal will not allow me to speak. It is of such importance as to deserve to be treated alone, and drawn out carefully. I will only mention that Duchâtelet, after a careful examination of the matter, attests that at the beginning of the present system in France, out of 3000 lost women in Paris, only 35 were in a position in which they could by any means gain a livelihood otherwise than by their base traffic. If statistics on this head could be had in England, they would reveal a pitiful state of things. Among the lowest class sheer hunger, among the better the denial to women of the admission to trades and professions, their wretched education, their frequently orphaned and utterly friendless state, the severe judgment of society on a single lapse, are among the causes which make it humanly speaking, *impossible* for many to escape the worst fate. A member of the Moonlight Mission addressed a poor girl on the moral and spiritual aspects of her life of sin: She looked up at him with her haggard face, and said earnestly, "I know all that sir, but *I am very, very hungry*." These then are the persons of whom it has been coarsely said, "if they will make a trade of their own persons, they deserve to be outraged."

It remains for me only to express our conviction that this our appeal will not fall upon barren hearts. We profoundly believe in the existence of purity among Englishmen, we have seen something of the anger which the prospect of the extension of the Act has aroused in the minds of just, tender, and clear-thinking men, an anger almost as great as a woman can feel, and we believe that this noble indignation will not be unfruitful.

Courage is needed to take up the subject, and your practical aid, fellow countrymen, is needed at this crisis. Working men ought to be fully alive to the dangers which threaten their innocent wives and daughters through mistakes inevitably made by the special police, in all places where prostitution is super-

intended by the State. Young women working in mills or otherwise in manufacturing towns must be warned of the danger which there would be in walking abroad, if this Act were put in operation. Thoughtful and maternal women of the better classes should now take courage and do what they may by quiet influence in this matter, and lastly upon ministers of religion of every denomination, a grave responsibility rests. Some articles on this subject appeared in the *Daily News*, in 1863, when these proposals were first made in connection with garrison towns, from one of which I extract the following:—

"There is evidence, accessible to all, that the regulation system creates horrors worse than those which it is supposed to restrain. Vice once stimulated by such a system imagines and dares all unutterable things; and such things perplex with misery the lives of parents of missing children in continental cities, and daunt the courage of rulers, and madden the moral sense, and gnaw the conscience of whole orders of sinners and sufferers, of whom we can form no conception here. We shall have entered upon our national decline whenever we agree to the introduction of such a system; and it is only necessary to bring the case fairly before the public conscience to secure us against any such fatal lapse.

"The clergy ought to be looking to this, and we trust they are. They are charged, above other classes, with the promotion of education in our country, and with the enlightenment of individual conscience which is the security of all that we care for as a people. Why do not they remonstrate when vile and corrupting proposals are publicly made? or, have they attempted to speak, and been silenced? If they do not feel qualified to form an opinion, why do they not investigate the facts? But if they who can tell us most of the morals of private life will not bestir themselves, there are many more who might and ought; and our belief is, that if those gentlemen of England who have, or can obtain, a conviction as to the course to be taken under present circumstance were to speak their minds, the proposals we have discussed would be scouted, decisively and for ever."

One word on the utter uselessness of the proposed measures. It is precisely on the material side that experience at home and abroad most fully proves the advisers of the adoption of this measure to be wrong. The assertion of all these men is, "the material advantages of such a measure are unquestioned and unquestionable, if only they can be carried without moral evil." The reply is, "the material advantages are not only not proved, they are absolutely disproved by the facts and statistics of all countries." The application of a Sanitary Act to one sex alone, is, I believe, without parallel in the history of England. It is impossible to stamp out disease where half of those who are conveying the contagion are under no surveillance or control whatever. A woman dismissed with a certificate of sound health may become diseased within an hour after such dismissal, and is from that time till the next periodical summons in a condition to contaminate many. This is precisely the point on which medical witnesses from Paris are staggered, and on which they have no answer to give. On this head Parliament has statistics enough to refer to. Let them learn from those statistics the uselessness of the proposed measures. We are willing that the matter should be fairly fought

out on the material ground only, for on this ground we have nothing to fear, appealing as we do to the incontestable logic of facts. We have nevertheless thought it right and needful to remind you, fellow countrymen, of the weighty moral considerations which are involved in the present question.

In conclusion, let it not be supposed that it has cost us little to break through the rule of silence imposed by society upon women, when such matters are to be treated; nor that it has been at a small cost to ourselves that we have gone into the matter in all its details. We will say as little as possible of our own mental sufferings, but we would say to other women "Let none enter this chamber of horrors except to aid the fallen and to set the captive free." Charity, and anger against wrong are however at times motives more powerful than the desire to conform to conventional rules, and to avoid all risk of offending the fastidious. A lady expresses the feelings of many of us in writing thus:—"God knows, it is no blasphemy to say it, there are many Gethsemanes on earth to sad and suffering souls. I think sometimes we drink of that cup, and are baptized into that baptism, and if we believe in good at all, we must believe that Infinite love is suffering and pitying with us." While enduring censure, as we must, for daring to speak, and while suffering much secret anguish of soul, we are yet sustained by the conviction that we have fulfilled a solemn and painful duty.

AN ENGLISH MOTHER.

POSTSCRIPT.

* The following is an extract from a letter received since the above appeal was written. It is from the author of a book which is well worthy of study, "*La Femme pauvre au XIX^{ME} siècle*."* These words, written by a person in experience and research not inferior to Parent Duchâtelet himself, ought to convey a serious impression to English legislators as to the necessity at least of prolonged deliberation, and of far more extensive enquiry than has yet been made into the moral and political as

well as physical effects of that legislation in foreign countries, which some persons advocate for England.

"Paris, November 7th, 1869.

"Prostitution ought undoubtedly to be governed and repressed: If your Parliament would forbid and punish provocations in the public ways, keep a watch against places of ill-fame, and proceed with rigour against the persons who frequent them, it would act wisely: but let it beware of imitating official France, who is the prostitute of nations! (Mais qu'il se garde d'imiter la France officielle, qui est la prostituée des nations!) Belgium, Austria, and even Italy have fallen as low as ourselves by reason of having become our imitators. This law has so infamous a character as the protector of the disorders of men, that the contempt which exists among us for the executive authority can only be attributed to the disgust which every honest man feels for every individual police functionary. In your cities the social evil arises from a general insufficiency of the means of subsistence among women, from the exemption of seducers from legal penalties, from *la recherche imparfaite de la paternité*, and other causes. Attack then resolutely the evil in its beginnings, and take care always to see in men and women who corrupt society companions who ought to be equally punished. Morality, logic, the preservation of society admit of no other apprehension of the matter. You have the inexpressible happiness of having a moral government, responsible functionaries, and a Queen who is the model of every virtue of public and private life. Supplicate that honourable and single-hearted woman to take in hand the cause of human dignity, of conscience and of virtue; and obtain from the wisdom of your Parliament a solemn affirmation of the authority of reason over subversive passions. Truly if you cannot withdraw women from the batons of those policemen, who herd them like droves of cattle in the interests of debauchery, you may abandon all hope for the general elevation of your women of England. But allow me to hope better things from the good sense of the English. Accept my sympathy in your courageous efforts.

Yours, &c., J. V. Daubié."

Alexandre Dumas, (fils) writing on the same subject, winds up a sketch of the decline of his country during the years of this official regulation of morals, with the following mournful and indignant words:—"Maladroits! When a nation, Christian, catholic even; when a people which invokes continually its revolution of '89, which proclaims its desire for justice, liberty, equality, not only for itself but for others, is so hypocritical, so cowardly, and so stultified as to permit that millions of girls, young, healthy, beautiful, of whom they could make intelligent fellow-workers, faithful companions and fruitful mothers, should be used for nothing but to be made into degraded, dangerous, and barren prostitutes; such a nation deserves that prostitution should devour it completely; and this it is which is now coming upon us! ALEX. DUMAS."

* By J. V. Daubié. Published by Ernest Thorin, 7, Rue de Medicis, Paris.

'JOURNAL' PRINTING OFFICE, NOTTINGHAM.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

ISSUED BY THE ASSOCIATION:—

- Report on the State Disinfection of Prostitutes, (Contagious Diseases Act,) showing the expense, impolicy, and general inutility of its proposed extension to the Civil Population. By JOHN SIMON, Fellow of the Royal Society and College of Surgeons; Surgeon to St. Thomas' Hospital; Lecturer on Pathology, and Medical Officer to the Privy Council. Reprinted from the Blue Book containing the Eleventh Annual Report (1868) of the Medical Officer to the Lords of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council. Price Sixpence.
- A Memorial and Protest against the Extension of the Act, from the Fellows, Members, and Licentiates of the Royal College of Physicians, Surgeons, and Practitioners of Medicine and Surgery, resident in Nottingham and Neighbourhood, to the Most Honourable the Commons, in Parliament assembled.
- An Address, delivered before the Social Science Congress, on the Contagious Diseases Act, showing its cruel tyranny to fallen women, its dangers to the liberty of the subject, and inutility so far as the repression of disease is concerned, by CHARLES BELL TAYLOR, M.D. Edin., F.R.C.S.E., Fell. Med. Soc. London, late President Parisian Med. Soc. Published by permission of the Council. Price Threepence.
- A Protest against the Act for Licensing Prostitution, called the contagious Diseases Act, based on observation of its actual working. By the Right Rev. Doctor ALFORD, Lord Bishop of Hong Kong, being an extract from the Bishop's Charge to the Clergy, delivered in the Cathedral Church of St. John, Victoria, Hong Kong. Price One Shilling and Sixpence per hundred.
- Protest, by the Rev. W. Arthur, M.A., Secretary to the Wesleyan Missionary Society. Price 1s. 6d. per 100.
- The Rev. Dr. Gutrie, (of Edinburgh,) on the Contagious Diseases Act. A Warning Voice to Religious Pastors, Teachers, and Guardians of Public Morals. Price 1s. 6d. per 100.
- Testimony Against the Contagious Diseases Act, by the Rev. W. H. Rule, D.D., Wesleyan Minister, for many years Corresponding Chaplain to the Wesleyans in the Army. Price 1s. 6d. per 100.
- A Letter denouncing the Cruelty and Injustice of the New Law. By the Rev. THOMAS MARKBY, M.A., Trinity Hall, Cambridge.
- An Appeal to the People of England, on the Recognition and Superintendence of Prostitution by Governments. By an English Mother. Price Sixpence.
- Observations on the Contagious Diseases Act (Women), showing how the new law debases women, debauches men, destroys the liberty of the subject, and tends to the increase of disease, being a reply to Mr. Wm. Paul Swain's paper on the working of the Act at Devonport. By CHARLES BELL TAYLOR, M.D., F.R.C.S.E., Surgeon to the Nottingham and Midland Eye Infirmary. Price Threepence.
- A Second Letter to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, First Lord of the Treasury, upon the Contagious Diseases Act, protesting against its application to Civil Society—on the grounds of its injustice, illegality, cruelty, and uselessness. By THOS. WORTH, Surgeon, Nottingham.
- "A Refutation of the Fundamental Principle of the Contagious Diseases Act." Extracted by permission from a Pamphlet, entitled "The Cure of the Great Social Evil." By Professor F. W. NEWMAN, Clifton, Bristol. Price Threepence, to be had of the Secretary. The entire Pamphlet to be had of Trubener and Co., London. Price One Shilling.
- A Pamphlet entitled "The Remedy Worse than the Disease," showing the immoral tendency of the Act, issued by the "Rescue Society," and published by W. Teeg, Pancras Lane, Cheapside. One Shilling.
- The above, and Forms of Petition to Parliament against the Act, may be had of the Secretary, F. Banks, Mansfield Road, Nottingham, and all Booksellers.