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by Duncan McLaren.**

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FACTS RESPECTING 9.
THE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS.

SUBSTANCE OF A
S P E E C H

BY

DUNCAN M^CLAREN, ESQ., M.P.,

DELIVERED

AT A PUBLIC MEETING, IN THE MUSIC HALL, NEWCASTLE,
SEPTEMBER 27TH, 1870.—REVISED.

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING A SUMMARY OF THE GOVERNMENT TABLES; AND THE REPORT.

"One fact is worth a shipload of arguments."

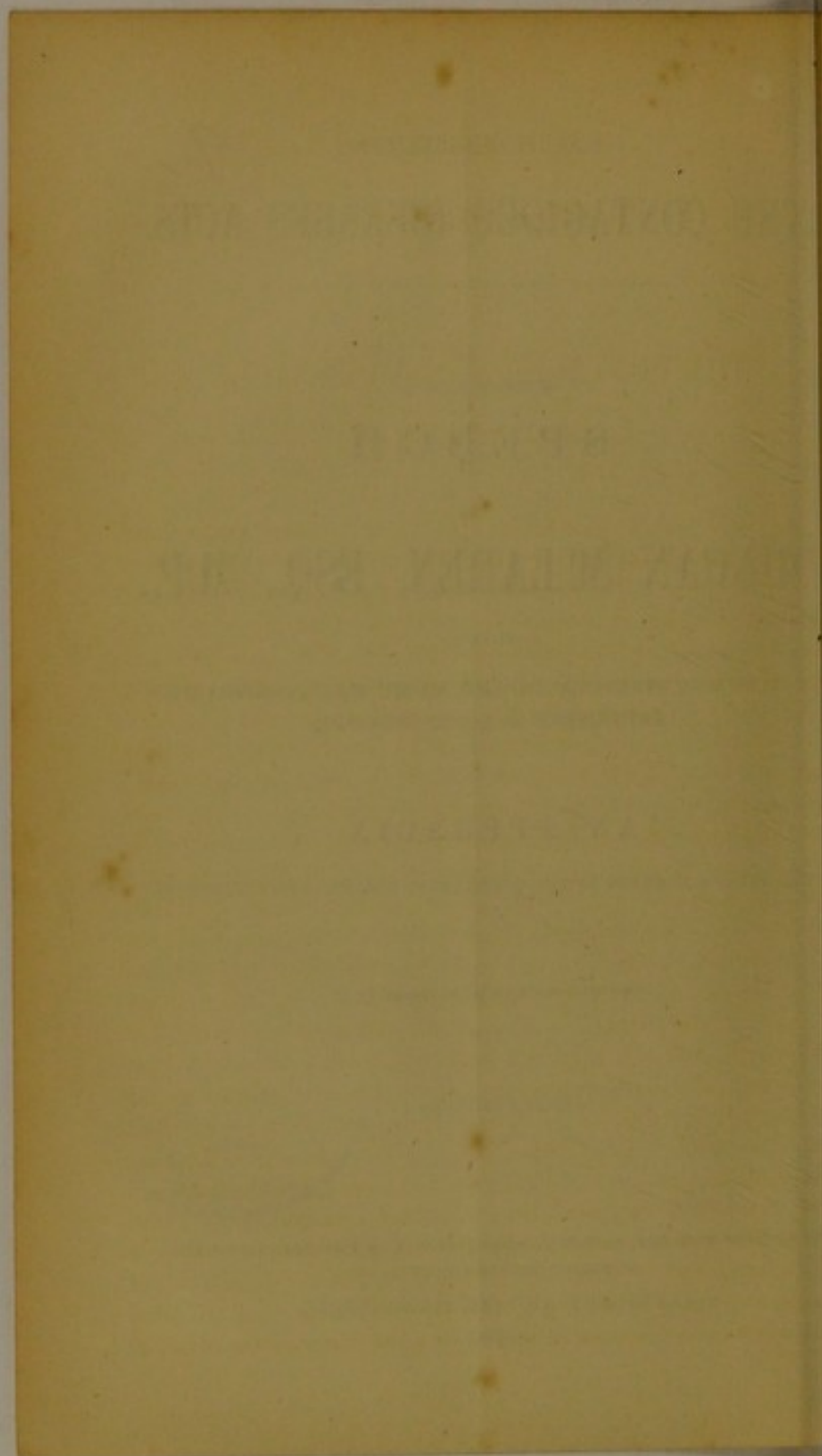
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PUBLISHED FOR THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE REPEAL OF THE
CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS, BY

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1870.





THE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS.

Mr. DUNCAN McLAREN, M.P., after some preliminary remarks, explaining that he had been induced to address them on this subject, at the request of the committee of the Ladies' National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, said:—The Contagious Diseases Act (27 and 28 Vict., cap. 85) was passed in 1864, and came into operation in 1865 in four districts, Portsmouth, Devonport, Sheerness, and Chatham. In 1866 it came into operation in Woolwich, in 1867 at Aldershot, in 1868 at Windsor and Shorncliffe, in 1869 at Colchester; and in other seven districts during the present year. In 1866 the boundaries of the original districts were authorised to be extended by an Act passed in that year (29th Vict., cap. 55), which enacted that any official order requiring a woman to submit to periodical examination should be enforceable not merely so long as she resided within the limits of the district (which was the case under the original Act), but also so long as she resided "within five miles of those limits." (Clause 32.) By another Act (32 and 33 Vict., cap. 96) this limit was further extended. It enacts that any woman of the class described, who "either is resident within the limits of any place to which this Act applies, or being resident within ten miles of those limits," may be brought under the operation of the Act; and by schedule (E) of the same Act the boundary is extended to fifteen miles, in the case of a woman being found within this enlarged limit, "within fourteen days of the laying of this information" against her. The original Act applied to eight towns or districts in England, the second to nine, and the third Act to fifteen. The area of several of these districts was enlarged

by including within them additional parishes which were not included in the Act of 1864. Thus, for example, the district of Chatham originally included only six parishes, and now includes ten. Shorncliffe originally included three parishes and now includes nine. Colchester, which originally included six parishes, now includes sixteen; and the district which includes both Plymouth and Devonport, and contiguous parishes, was enlarged under both Acts. By the Act of 1869 the borough of Dartmouth, and two parishes of Plymton, were included; but the aggregate population thus added, by these increased boundaries, is nowhere stated.

By the original Act no woman could be interfered with by the authorities unless the superintendent of police, or a medical practitioner, should go before a magistrate and lay a written information, according to the second schedule, to the effect that "he has good cause to believe" that the woman has a contagious disease within the meaning of the Contagious Diseases Prevention Act, 1864. In no other case could the police interfere with any woman. (Clause 11.) On this, the main object and design of the original Act, a most important change was made, entirely subversive of its principle, by the Act of 1866. By it all the former safeguards against outrage and oppression were removed. It was enacted that every woman suspected by the police of belonging to the class of prostitutes should be dealt with in the same manner as if they were believed to be diseased, although no suspicion of the existence of any disease had ever been entertained. Another important safeguard provided by the first Act was abolished by the succeeding Acts. By the first Act there were no medical government officials appointed to examine women. Only one medical government official was authorised, and his duties were limited to the inspection of hospitals supported by the public generally, to ascertain whether they were fit for the reception of patients of this class, and, if so, to certify them accordingly. The magistrate who heard the case, on the information laid before him by the superintendent of police, was then required to send the woman, not to a government medical officer to be examined, but to the certified hospital for the district, to be examined by its ordinary medical officers, and detained, or set free, according to their report. It will be seen that by this Act government supervision and control hardly existed at all; and that the Act was restricted entirely to cases of disease sup-

posed to be well known. On this account it was approved of, on sanitary grounds, by many who utterly condemn the existing Acts.

From what has been stated, it will be obvious that by the last two Acts these women have, in effect, been taken under the care of the government, and subjected to its supervision and control, through the Admiralty and War Offices. These offices are authorised to lay down certain leading principles for regulating what may now be called "the New Government Department for the supervision of prostitutes, at certain naval and military stations." Parliament has now authorised the appointment of a large and costly staff of officers for this new department, consisting of one medical inspector of hospitals, and one assistant inspector; together with one surgeon and one assistant surgeon in each of the fifteen towns or districts under the Act. The medical staff may thus consist of two medical inspectors of hospitals, and of thirty surgeons and assistant surgeons, all to be paid out of the public taxes. How many of them are actually appointed is not known, nor is the amount of their pay known. Two months before Parliament rose a return was moved for, in the House of Commons, by the hon. member for Cambridge, Mr. Fowler, to bring out this and other financial information; but it has not yet been published. Attached to this new government department there is a body of police selected for this special purpose, who receive, for eleven of these districts, £4,422 per annum; but the number employed is not stated. In accordance with the powers conferred on these medical government officials they have ordered all the women supposed to belong to the class described to be brought before them once every fortnight, for inspection and "Medical Examination," without any regard being had to the supposed absence or presence of disease; and all this is done, avowedly, to ascertain whether they are fit to associate with the men of the army and navy; and if not found fit, to make them so. Thus the government have assumed more power over these women than they possess over the reserve branches of the army and navy, whom they partially pay; for they could not order the army or naval reserve men to assemble once every fortnight for inspection, in order to ascertain whether they were in a fit state of discipline to serve their country efficiently.

By the changes which I have described in the principles and

operation of the Acts since 1864, and by the extension of the outer circles to five, ten, and fifteen miles, beyond the enlarged districts, the influence and power of the police have been enormously increased; and according to the inferences fairly deducible from the government tables, and to statements emanating from parties connected with the districts, this power appears to have been used most oppressively, and this against a class of women cut off from all public sympathy, and without friends to defend them against any tyrannical proceedings. It is matter for public congratulation that, in such circumstances, a number of ladies have had the moral courage to come forward publicly to defend right against might, and with the determined purpose of getting these obnoxious Acts repealed.

All the women of the class described were enumerated and registered by the police at the commencement of the Act; and the names of all the "new comers" into each district were also added to the register, as soon as the police had sufficient proof of their arrival. An account was likewise kept of all who left each district for any reason, during each year, and of all who died; but those who thus left or died are not deducted at the end of the year from the total number on the tables, as they ought to have been; nor do the statistics of each succeeding year begin, as they ought to have done, with the actual number of women then resident in each district. Until the issue of the present Parliamentary return no official statistics showing the complete working of the Act were laid before the public; but the alleged favourable results, as shown by this return, had been stated to selected persons by official authorities; and were referred to in Parliament and elsewhere, in order to prove the supposed advantages derived from these Acts,—more especially to the women who came under their operation. The return which has now been issued was moved for in the House of Commons before the prorogation, but was not issued till after the House rose; and, therefore, could not be discussed in Parliament. It is on this return that my remarks will be founded.

The return is in two parts. The chief part consists of statistical tables respecting each district, the figures of which I shall assume to be correct, in so far as the information they contain goes, although the tables are very confused and defective, from the

want of additional columns to show the general results after deducting those women who had left or died, and adding the new comers,—which would have shown the actual number of residents at the beginning and end of each year; but this want I have supplied in my tables and calculations. The other portion of the return consists of a report professing to be a condensation of, and commentary on, the results shown by the tables. This part of the document is most deceptive, and, I venture to think, not creditable to the Department of the Admiralty, under whose authority it appears to have been prepared and issued. The leading statements, in place of honestly giving the true results of the tables, contain gross misrepresentations and exaggerations,—professing to prove the beneficial operation of the Acts, even in those cases where the very opposite results followed. A few of these misrepresentations may now be referred to, which I will undertake to prove, from the tables themselves, to be utterly unfounded on fact.

First, it is stated that 7,766 women were on the register, and that this number has been now reduced to 3,016. This statement was also made in Parliament, and founded on, in argument, long before the return was published; and the figures were avowedly obtained from official sources, and made a great impression on many members. I shall prove from the tables that, as compared with the numbers at the commencement of the Act, no diminution whatever has taken place in the number of women resident within the districts; but that, on the contrary, there is a greater number of these women now residing within them—taking the districts as a whole—than there was at the commencement of the Act. Second, The report says, “I am desirous of calling particular attention to the effect produced in Plymouth. There has been, *from year to year*, at this station, a steady and increasing diminution in the number of brothels, *as likewise of prostitutes frequenting the same*,” which number, it goes on to say, has decreased “from 1,770 to 645.” This statement was likewise made in Parliament and elsewhere, and, with the arguments based upon it, produced a strong impression in favour of the Act. I am prepared to prove, from the tables themselves, that since the commencement of the Act, no diminution whatever has taken place in the number of these women resident within the district, and that, on the contrary, the number resident therein

had considerably increased. Third, The report states with reference to 300 women alleged to have left Plymouth at the commencement of these operations (but of which extent of emigration the tables offer no proof), that their places "are not filled by new comers." I am prepared to prove, from the tables themselves, that the very opposite of this was the truth; that there was a very large and constant traffic in "new comers," introduced into this particular district, as well as into others. Fourth, The report says the "decrease of disease is likewise remarkable. I may mention Chatham; the disease in 1868 was 70 per cent; in 1869, 18 per cent; in 1870, 6 per cent." I am prepared to prove from the tables themselves that the very opposite of this is the truth; that in Chatham the disease had enormously increased.

There are many other misrepresentations in this document, but it would take up too much time to notice them all, and therefore I shall confine myself to the four cases already mentioned, beginning with the alleged reduction in the number of these women from 7,760 to 3,016; but I will first give you, in a tabular form, the real facts respecting the nine towns and districts first brought under the operation of the Acts:—

	At beginning of the year.	Year ending 31st December,						March.
		1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.	1869.	1870.	
Portsmouth	361	361	453	506	645	722	695	
Devonport and Plymouth	203	62	216	390	829	661	645	
Sheerness	73	55	67	54	50	54	52	
Chatham	216	204	279	265	238	287	325	
Totals of 4 oldest districts till 1870.	853	682	1015	1,215	1,762	1,724	1,717	
Woolwich	113	0	113	213	233	208	191	
Aldershot	278	0	0	227	292	315	328	
Windsor	91	0	0	0	68	60	52	
Shorncliffe	119	0	0	0	72	129	122	
Colchester	158	0	0	0	0	90	81	
Totals of 9 oldest districts till 1870.		682	1,128	1,635	2,427	2,526	2,491	

It will be observed that the first column contains the number on the register at the commencement of the first year in which the Act was brought into operation within each district; the second and other columns show the numbers on the register on the last day of December in each year, excepting the last column, which shows the numbers on the 26th March of the present year, being the latest date to which the Government tables are brought

down. These figures speak for themselves, and require no comment; but it may be pointed out that in the first-mentioned four districts in which the Act came into operation in January 1865, after every possible effort had been made to carry it into operation within them, and the expenditure of an enormous amount of money, taken from the pockets of the taxpayers,* and put, largely, into the pockets of interested parties, matters, so far from improving, became much worse. In place of the alleged diminution in the proportion of 7,766 to 3,016, there was an actual increase within

* It is difficult to get at the whole expenditure incurred for carrying out these Acts. A return was ordered by the House of Commons which would have shown "how the money goes," but it has not yet been published. The Navy estimates for last year show that the House of Commons granted £20,000 to that department for the purpose; but no other particulars than the following are given. "For the purpose of carrying out the Contagious Diseases Act of 1866; for contributions for Lock Wards at the Out-Ports; and for establishing and maintaining Lock Beds at Naval Stations in the Colonies, £20,000." (p. 114.)

The Army estimates are more specific, but not given in minute detail. There is granted for "hospital expenses, travelling, and medicine, £9,328." There is voted for "provisions, £4,365; fuel and light, £805; washing, £236; police, £4,422; buildings, £459; and for carrying out similar measures in the Colonies, £3,000."

These Estimates (p. 82) show that £22,595 has been voted for this service, making, with the Naval vote, £42,595 for the current year. The Army Estimates state the specific sums required for each district in England except those at the "Out Ports," which come under the Admiralty supervision and expenditure. The army supervised districts are eleven in number. The expenditure on their account appears to be £16,535. The total number of women—including all the healthy as well as all the diseased—registered by the police as residing within these districts, on 26th March, 1870, which may be taken as a fair average number for the year, was 1,443. As an approximate estimate, (until the return ordered by the House of Commons, giving minutely accurate information, is published), it may be assumed, from these figures, that this New Government Department expends nearly £11. 10s. annually on account of each of the women subject to their supervision; while the Privy Council Department expends only about 10s. annually on account of each child subject to their supervision, for educational purposes; and the cost of the police, included in the £11. 10s., appears to be above three pounds, on account of each of the 1,443 women subject to their surveillance, for these eleven districts.

The above expenditure of £16,535 is thus constituted (p. 82):—Woolwich, £1,002; Chatham, Maidstone, and Gravesend, £3,566; Aldershot, £2,883; Windsor, £305; Colchester, £1,200; Shorncliffe, £1,236; Winchester, £285; Dover and Canterbury, £1,228; for the patients from these districts maintained in the London Lock Hospital and Asylum, £3,830, and Reformatories, £300; and for the inspector under the Act, £900. The admiralty pay large additional sums to other local hospitals out of their grant of £20,000. Government largesses to general hospitals and other institutions formerly supported by voluntary contributions, must tend utterly to corrupt and demoralise their management, by teaching the managers and former subscribers to look to government support in place of their own pockets; and must, in this way, likewise, tend to enlist a spurious local sympathy and support in favour of these Acts.

the period referred to, in the following proportions,—from 1865 to 1870, both inclusive,—853, 682, 1015, 1215, 1762, 1724, and 1717. What effect the increased population of some districts, caused by an increase in their area, might have had on these figures,—if the question had been one of arithmetical proportion,—I am unable to determine, from the absence of all information on this point in the government tables; but, fortunately, the discussion cannot turn on the question of proportion; for the report challenges public attention to the alleged fact that there has been a large absolute decrease in the total number of these women within the districts, irrespective of any question about increased boundaries, or increased population. The other seven districts having been brought under the Act duty only for about two months, ending in March last, no comparison can be made respecting their condition. At the date mentioned there were 525 women remaining registered within them, and this number added to the 2,491 shown in my table as registered in the other nine districts, makes a total of 3,016, which agrees with the government enumeration table. (page 3.)

In some districts—Portsmouth for example—no increase of boundaries has taken place, for its limits are, in all the Acts, defined in the same words. Now, it will be seen from the table read to you that in place of a decrease in the number of women in Portsmouth there has been a great increase, in the following proportions:—361, 361, 453, 506, 645, 722, 695; and the number of cases sent to the Lock Hospital Wards has also increased enormously. Beginning with 1865, and ending December, 1869, the numbers are as follows:—368, 326, 477, 722, 842. The number of outrages on women certified by the examining surgeons to have been “found free from disease,” during the same years, was 147, 136, 361, 1165, 8195; and for the first quarter of the present year, the number was 2538, or at the rate of 10152 medical examination outrages per annum! Aldershot district, where so much good is said to have been done, has not been altered in area. It consists of the same 23 parishes named in all the three Acts; and, in place of a diminution, there has been a considerable increase. Thus, the number of women was, for the years in which the Acts have been in operation there, 278, 227, 292, 315, 328; the number of cases of outrage on women certified to be “found free from disease,” was 78, 1485, 5060; and for the first quarter of the present year at the rate of 6,008 per

annum. The numbers sent to the Lock Hospital Wards was 329, 832, 754, for the three complete years. In the face of facts like these, one cannot but wonder at the effrontery of producing this government document, as a proof of the great improvements effected by these Acts, and especially as regards the alleged decrease of disease.

It will, no doubt, be asked by what kind of arithmetical juggle did the government statistics pretend to make out that there were at first 7,766 of these women,—afterwards reduced to 3,016,—in place of the true numbers which I have stated? The mode in which the number 7,766 is stated in the report, taken in connection with the context, can leave no room for doubt that every ordinary reader, who did not also carefully peruse the statistical tables (and I fear that not one in a hundred would do so), would conclude that these 7,766 persons were all alive, and resident within the districts at the time when the Acts were first brought into operation within them. Now, the arithmetical juggle consists in this, that these figures include all the women who were within them for any period, however short, during the first, and every succeeding year. This class of women is said, by police authorities, to change their abodes very frequently, and this allegation is amply proved by the tables respecting these districts, which show that there is a rapid change; and, according to other reliable local police returns, almost an entire renewal of the class takes place, in every considerable town, within a few years, from the various causes stated in the headings of the government statistical tables. Now this report gathers together all those women who ever resided within the districts, at any time during the last five years; and thrusts them backwards, as it were, to the year when the Acts first came into operation within them. It even includes 625 women registered in the seven new towns, brought within the Acts only in January and March, 1870, to swell up the alleged original number to 7,766, as if they had all been residents and registered in 1865, at the commencement of the Act. The report thus leads the public to believe that there were 7,766 of these women to begin with, who, by the benevolent working of the Act, had now been reduced to 3,016. They even take credit for the diminution caused by the deaths which occurred during the whole period. Although the tables specify

all the removals and their alleged causes, there is no column of results, giving effect to these reductions.

Now, suppose this mode of keeping accounts were adopted in other cases, what would be thought of the accountants? Take Paris for example, as it has been described for many years. It is said, on apparently good authority, that there were, on an average, not fewer than 30,000 of this class of women in that great city, and that the changes were so great that, at the end of every six years, there was practically almost an entirely new population of the class referred to. Whether this be correct or not, the allegation will serve to illustrate my argument. Suppose a Paris statistician begins his account with 30,000, and adds 5,000 yearly, without deducting any of those who had died or left, he finds, at the end of six years, that he has 60,000 on his register to deal with; and suppose some new legislative enactment is passed, of a more stringent kind than formerly existed, and after it has been tried for a short time and a new enumeration taken, it is found that there remains only 30,000. "See," says the Paris statistician, "the good which has been done by the new Act; there were 60,000 women registered in our books, and there are now only 30,000!" Now this is exactly what has been done in our government report. Or take the town of Liverpool with respect to its whole population. The last census showed about 400,000 inhabitants, if I recollect rightly, and the next census, if correctly taken, would probably show about 500,000. But suppose the plan of the government statistics were adopted, and that all the English, Irish, Germans, and Scotch who entered that town, with a view to emigration, during the ten years, were registered and added to the births and former population, and that no yearly deductions were made for deaths and emigration, the population thus shown would, no doubt, exceed three-quarters of a million. Now, suppose severe typhus fever, or cholera, were to break out before the result of the census was ascertained, and that at its conclusion, the population was found to be only half a million, what would be thought of the Liverpool statistician who should assert that this alleged decrease of a quarter of a million was due to these deadly epidemics? Yet this, in principle, is substantially what is done by this government report.

Let us next take the allegations that in Plymouth, or rather

in the Devonport district, the number of these women has been reduced "from year to year," till from 1,770 they have become only 645; and (3) that the places of those who left were not supplied by "new comers." Now, the facts are these:—In place of 1,770, there were only 203 of these women in Devonport when the Act came into operation in 1865; and in place of the "steady and increasing diminution" alleged to have taken place, the number has largely increased, in the proportion shown in my tables. I have been asked by what process I arrived at the final numbers thus shown. My answer is, by the same process by which you arrive at the balance remaining in the hands of your banker at the end of the year. You first begin by taking the number of pounds registered in the bank's books as yours, at the end of the preceding year; you then ascertain how many pounds additional have since been registered to your credit. Having added these, you then deduct all the pounds which you have taken away during the year, and the difference is the sum registered in the bank's books at the end of the year, as belonging to you. This is exactly what I have done respecting the number of women registered in each district. I will take Devonport as an example, and it will also dispose of the allegation that there were no "new comers" in place of those who left. The number registered at the beginning of the year, 1865, was 203, left 141; remained on register at the close of 1865 only 62. Next year there were 333 "new comers," left 179; remained on register, 216. Next year there were 299 "new comers," left 125; remained on register 390. Next year (1868) there were 1113 "new comers," left 674; remained on register, 829. The succeeding year there were 360 "new comers," left 528; remained on register, 661. In the present year, up to 26th March, there were 86 "new comers," left 102, and remained on register, 645, which last number agrees with the government enumeration table. (page 4.)

I now come to the alleged decrease of disease amongst these women; and especially as exemplified in the case of Chatham. This report, or commentary, says:—"The decrease of disease amongst the women is likewise remarkable. I may mention Chatham. The disease in 1868 was 70 per cent; in 1869, 18 per cent; in 1870, 6 per cent." Now, turning to the tables, we find an account of the number of diseased women sent to the Lock

Hospital on the certificate of the examining surgeons of Chatham. In 1865 the hospital accommodation is said to have been insufficient; but, beginning with 1866, the number of cases sent to the Lock Hospital was 277, in 1867 it was 463, in 1868 it was 686, and in 1869 it was 697. Now, the number of women actually resident in the district was nearly equal in each year. At the end of December in each year the numbers of residents were respectively 279, 265, 238, 287. Thus during these years the number of cases had increased from 277 to 697, in place of the alleged decrease of disease from 70 per cent to 6 per cent! That these Acts have not been generally effective in checking disease is further proved from the results shown by the government tables,—that the total number of women sent to the Lock Hospitals was, in 1867, only 1,977; in 1868, it had increased to 4,363; and, in 1869, it was 4,767. It should be particularly noticed that in nearly every town or district there is an increase in 1869 over 1868; and no new district except Colchester was included, in the table in 1869, and it sent only 142 patients in 1869.

The most disgusting and disgraceful part of these statistics is, I fear, too true, namely, that women were "Medically Examined" 49,389 times during the operation of these Acts and "found free from disease;" and 14,260 examinations took place in which a different result was found. In these 49,389 cases the poor women have, therefore, been put to the torture on suspicion, and acquitted by the executioners of the law, of the crime laid to their charge. Nothing more repugnant to reason or justice was ever done in the times of religious persecution, when torture was legalised, as a means of discovering heretical opinions; and in few, if any, countries in Europe were there ever 49,389 applications of torture within the same number of years.

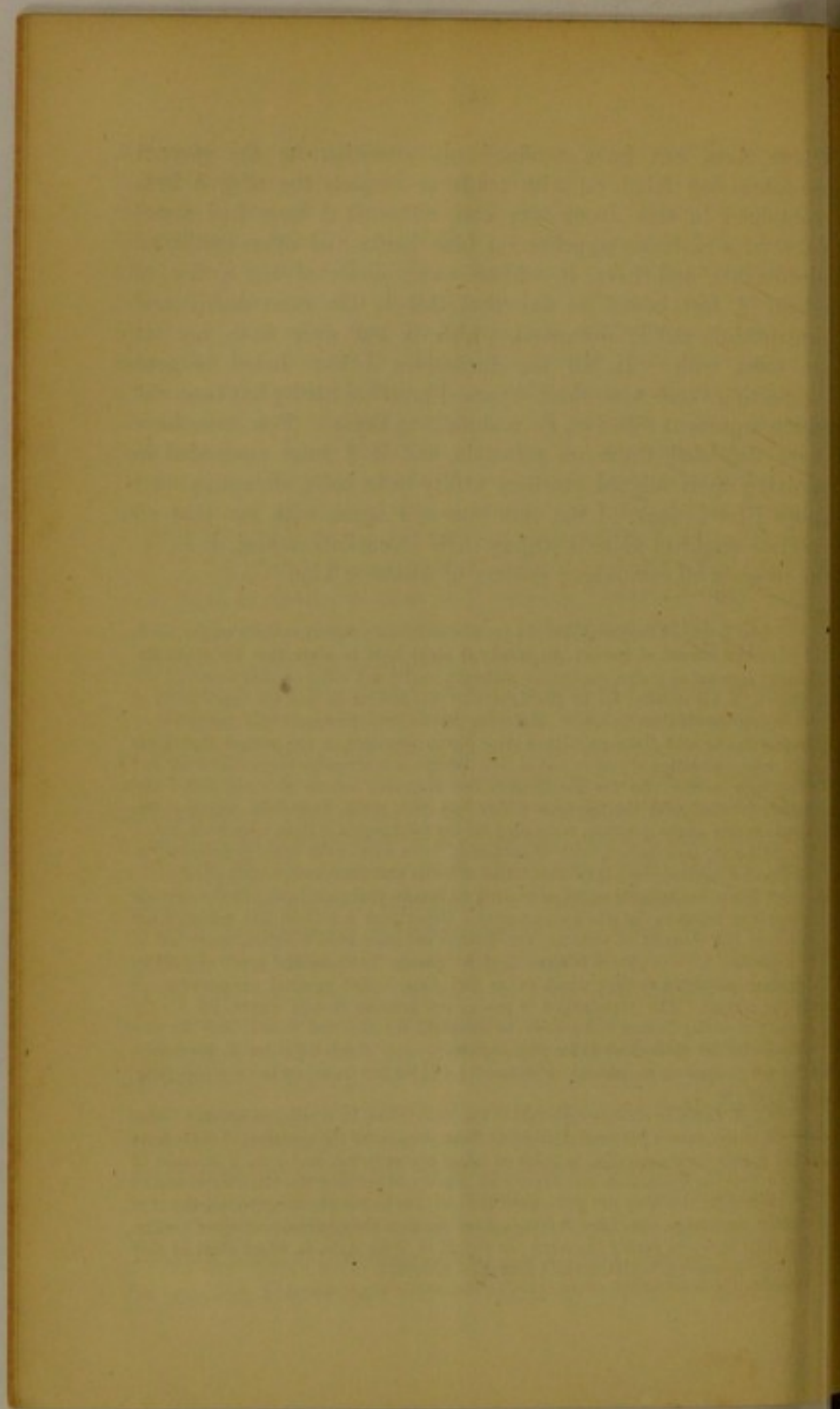
I do not inquire who was individually responsible for the misstatements in this Report, nor into the motives, or objects, of the suggesters, or compilers. The document was ordered by the House of Commons, and has been furnished on the responsibility of government. It is only as a Parliamentary public document, sent to me, in common with all other members of Parliament, with a view to public interests, that I have discussed it, and proved its utter untruthfulness, in the cases pointed out. In my remarks I have not gone into the principles or policy of

these Acts, but have confined my attention for the present to combating falsehood with truth, as respects the alleged facts contained in this document; and, although I have had somewhat of a ravenous appetite for blue books and other statistical documents, and have, in various ways, dissected not a few of them, I feel bound to say that this is the most unfair, and untruthful, public document which it has ever been my lot to meet with. In all the discussions I have heard or read respecting these Acts, their supposed practical utility has been the main argument relied on for maintaining them. Few men have ever defended them on principle, and if I have succeeded in proving their alleged practical utility to be mere deception, as I hope I have done,* I am sure you will agree with me that all parties ought to unite in urging their immediate repeal, in so far as respects all compulsory powers, of whatever kind.

* Lest it may be supposed that the speaker rests this question entirely on the results of a careful statistical inquiry, he thinks it right here to state that his views are directly opposed to such a conclusion, although he did not enter on that aspect of the question in his speech; for in the debate of last session he had an opportunity of expressing the opinions he holds. Referring to the numerous petitions presented to the House, he said "the petitioners took up the question on the ground that those Acts were a violation of justice and of civil liberty—a contrivance to oppress weak and defenceless women, for the gratification and supposed benefit of men; and being already satisfied with the inquiries which had been made, they held mainly to the moral aspects of the question, and called for the total repeal of these iniquitous Acts." Mr. M'Laren then quoted, with approbation, from a memorial recently presented to the Home Secretary, by a large deputation of ladies and gentlemen, to this effect:—

"We unhesitatingly adopt an ancient sentiment, that an injustice to the meanest citizen is an insult to the whole community. Grant that a woman who trades in her person is the meanest of citizens, yet she does not cease to be a citizen, much less to be a woman. . . . To us it seems that the phrase 'instrumental rape,' applied by a leading physician to that which is, by the Acts, called medical examination, is strictly correct. The examination is made, not because disease exists, nor for the purpose of curing disease, but merely to ascertain whether the woman may be pronounced by the authorities fit for prostitution. . . . Such violation of the person is, in our judgment, an intrinsic wickedness; and we feel called on to avow this judgment plainly."

Mr. M'Laren in continuation said it had been stated by a previous speaker "that disease in some cases had been diminished 50 per cent under the operation of these Acts. Even if this were conceded, in place of being controverted, and even if it could be shown that the diminution was 90 per cent, this would not alter the views expressed by the petitioners, for they did not regard the question as one of sanitary statistics or of medical knowledge, but of moral justice; and therefore they desired no further inquiry, and nothing would satisfy them but the repeal of these Acts, in which views he most cordially concurred."—(HANSARD'S DEBATES, p. 1,342.)



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APPENDIX I.

THE following table contains a summary of the most important portions of the Government tables, arranged in such a form as to be easily understood, all the figures being either copied or deduced from the Parliamentary Paper (No. 426), of last session :—

1. The *first* column of results shows the number of women registered at the commencement of each year.

2. The *second* column shows the number of "new comers" placed on the register, who have fallen, or come into the districts from other places, during each year.

3. The *third* column shows the number removed from the District Registers, including deaths, during each year.

4. The *fourth* column shows the number of women who remained on the register at the end of each year.

5. The *fifth* column shows the number of cases in which women were subjected to outrage, by authority of "Queen, Lords, and Commons," by being forced to submit to a "Medical Examination," by the requirements of the Acts of Parliament, *on the suspicion* that they might possibly be diseased, although disease was not alleged; and who were certified by the Government examining surgeons to have been "found free from disease."

6. The *sixth* column shows the number of cases of women sent to the Government Lock Hospital Wards, "on certificate of visiting surgeons." This column is important as showing the yearly increase in the number of cases of disease within each district, of a nature requiring confinement within Lock Hospital Wards, by authority of the Government surgeons.

Districts.*	Year.	1. Number of Women at the commencement of each year.	2. Number of "new comers" added each year.†	3. Number of Women who Remained or Died each year.‡	4. Total number who remained on Register in Dec. of each year.	5. Number of Outrages on Wo- men "free from disease" each year.	6. Number of Cases sent to Lock Hospital Wards each year.
PORTSMOUTH ...	1865	—	—	—	361	159	386
	1866	361	179	87	453	136	326
	1867	453	236	183	506	361	477
	1868	506	395	256	645	1165	722
	1869	645	494	417	722	8195	842
	1870 till 26 March.	722	61	88	695	2538	213
DEVONPORT including PLYMOUTH	1865	203	—	141	62	—	202
	1866	62	333	179	216	11	345
	1867	216	299	125	390	26	352
	1868	390	1113†	674	829	1380	1388
	1869	829	360	528	661	7228	1432
	1870 till 26 March.	661	86	102	645	2444	316
SHEERNESS	1865	73	—	18	55	32	66
	1866	55	65	53	67	178	107
	1867	67	45	58	54	275	58
	1868	54	30	34	50	279	59
	1869	50	39	35	54	314	93
	1870 till 26 March.	54	4	6	52	81	17
CHATHAM	1865	216	—	12	204	65	147
	1866	204	108	33	279	162	277
	1867	279	54	68	265	262	463
	1868	265	76	103	238	973	686
	1869	238	176	127	287	3717	697
	1870 till 26 March.	287	62	24	325	1378	90
WOOLWICH	1866	—	—	—	113	71	48
	1867	113	233	133	213	360	298
1865 till 26 March.		610	200	100	200	200	200
1866 till 26 March.		400	60	10	400	100	100
1867 till 26 March.		310	—	47	732	1000	1000
1868 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1869 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1870 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1871 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1872 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1873 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1874 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1875 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1876 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1877 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1878 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1879 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1880 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1881 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1882 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1883 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1884 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1885 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1886 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1887 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1888 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1889 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1890 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1891 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1892 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1893 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1894 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1895 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1896 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1897 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1898 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1899 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100
1900 till 26 March.		100	100	100	100	100	100

	1868	1869	1870 till 26 March.	1868	1869	1870 till 26 March.	1868	1869	1870 till 26 March.	1868	1869	1870 till 26 March.
WINDSOR	1868	1869	1870 till 26 March.	91	—	51	23	59	11	68	427	135
				60	3	—	47	86	15	72	381	101
SHORNCLIFFE ...	1868	1869	1870 till 26 March.	119	—	143	86	15	122	129	782	208
				72	8	—	68	23	90	191	21	21
COLCHESTER	1868	1869	1870 till 26 March.	158	—	14	862	395	81	142	27	27
				90	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

* There are other seven districts included in the return, in which, from the Acts having been in operation only from January to March of the present year, no satisfactory comparisons can be made respecting them. These districts, with the number of women in them, at 28th of March, are as follows:—Greenwich, 149; Winchester, 68; Dover, 112; Canterbury, 53; Deal, 32; Maidstone, 54; and Gravesend, 57. The total number is 525, which, with 2,491 in the nine older districts, makes up the 3,016 stated in the government tables. The number at the commencement of the quarter, in these seven districts, was 639. The number of cases of women "free from disease" who were outraged in these seven new districts, in less than three months, was 1,446; and the number of cases sent to the Lock Hospital Wards was 328.

† During the first year in which the Act came into operation in each district there is always a blank at the column for "new comers," because the police were engaged for the first time, during the year, in taking up the names of the women, and placing them on the register. In this sense they might all be called "new comers," because they were for the first time placed on the register, during the first year of the Act.

‡ This remarkable increase of 1113 women placed on the register, in 1868, is not explained, which it ought to have been, in the tables. A great amount of faith would be required to believe these figures respecting 1868; for the first enlargement of boundaries took place in 1866, and the second only in 1869, which included Dartmouth with a population exceeding 4000, together with two rural parishes; and yet we are asked to believe that the number of women was much greater before than after this increased population was added to the district! The allegation that 674 women left the district in the same year, including those who died, and those who, it was alleged, had changed their former course of life, is equally difficult to account for or believe, on the moral and social reform theory advanced in the report, in defence of these Acts. Assuming, however, that an increase of 1,113 women did take place, it will conclusively prove the local belief to be correct,—that a large number of the women said, in the tables, to have been restored to their friends, or to have ceased to follow their previous mode of life in former years, merely changed their residences to points beyond the boundary line, as fixed by the first Act; that they had been scattered, but not reformed. This is also proved by the highest local authority on such matters—Mr. Frederick Wreford, Chief Superintendent of Police for Plymouth, who says, in a published letter dated 22nd February, 1870: "I have no doubt many have left owing to the surveillance of the police, but very few have altered their mode of life. I may add that there are always strangers arriving to fill their places." Of course the names of all those who had previously been registered within the original limits, and who had afterwards moved out of it, would be placed on the register a second time, when found within the extended district, and would thus contribute to swell up the fictitious number of 7,796 imaginary residents. It must be equally evident that when 674 women left the district during the same year, and 528 in the following year, this great emigration cannot have occurred from the social and moral reason alleged, but must have taken place mainly for the reason hinted at by the local superintendent—"owing to the surveillance of the police;" and to avoid the exposure and sufferings which necessarily flowed from that surveillance.

§ In the government tables this column is sub-divided into five branches, thus—(1) "Left the District;" (2) "Married;" (3) "Entered Homes;" (4) "Restored to Friends;" and (5) "Died." These separate heads have been condensed into one in this table, for simplicity of arrangement.

APPENDIX II

"Contagious Diseases Acts."

"RETURN to an Address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 18 July, 1870, for "Copy of Report of the Chief Commissioner of Police to the Board of Admiralty, on the "operation of the CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS in the PLYMOUTH AND DEVONPORT DISTRICT."

[The *italics* are not in the original. They are intended to point more easily the parts founded on in the speech.]

REPORT.

4, Whitehall Place, 22 April, 1870.

I herewith submit Returns relative to the operation of the Contagious Diseases Acts.

No. 1. Return of the Number of Common Women coming within the provisions of the Contagious Diseases Acts from the period when the Act was first put in Operation until the present time.

No. 2. Return showing the Decrease in the Number of Brothels and Common Prostitutes during each Year.

No. 3. Return showing the Number of Men in Garrison, and of those in Hospital from Contagious Disease, with the percentage of Men Diseased during each Year.

These Returns show that 7,766 women *have been placed on the*

Register, and that the following numbers have been removed therefrom, and for the causes stated :

Left the district	-	-	-	-	-	2,558
Married	-	-	-	-	-	385
Entered homes-	-	-	-	-	-	451
Restored to friends	-	-	-	-	-	1,249
Died	-	-	-	-	-	107

Total	-	-	4,750
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Leaving 3,016 still on the register.

The Returns also show a decrease by one-half of the number of men in hospital for contagious disease.

In order to show the beneficial operation of the Act, I am desirous of calling particular attention to the effects produced at Plymouth. There has been, *from year to year*, at this station a steady and increasing diminution in the number of brothels, as likewise of prostitutes frequenting the same: the brothels have decreased from 356 to 131, *and the number of prostitutes from 1,170 to 645.*

When the Act of 1864 was first put in operation, *over 300 of the youngest prostitutes left the neighbourhood.* These were mostly country girls from the mining districts, of which there were then large numbers practising prostitution at Plymouth and its neighbourhood; *and as many as 12 and sometimes 18 herding together in one house*, in the utmost filth, wretchedness, and disease, and in such a condition of privation that clothing had often to be obtained for them by the police before they could go with decency through the streets to the hospital.

As a proof that the places of those giving up prostitution *are not filled by new comers*, whole streets in which many, and in some cases most, of the houses were brothels, and the principal part of the inhabitants prostitutes, before and some time after the first Contagious Diseases Act came into operation, have now but one or two prostitutes living in them.

For example, Castle-street, Plymouth, and Castle Dyke-lane adjoining, which formerly contained 132 prostitutes, have at the present time *two* prostitutes only living in them.

The following particulars, extracted from the register at

Plymouth, show the beneficial effect of the Act up to the 26th March, 1870 :—

Entered homes	-	-	-	-	-	203
Restored to friends	-	-	-	-	-	693
Married	-	-	-	-	-	161
Left the district, and in many cases believed to have returned to their friends	-	-	-	-	-	658

And in addition to the above, more than 500 young girls, found in houses of ill-fame, have left the district and returned to their friends on being spoken to by the police, before being brought under the provisions of the Acts.

The same results are observable at other stations only in a less marked degree; for instance, at Woolwich :—

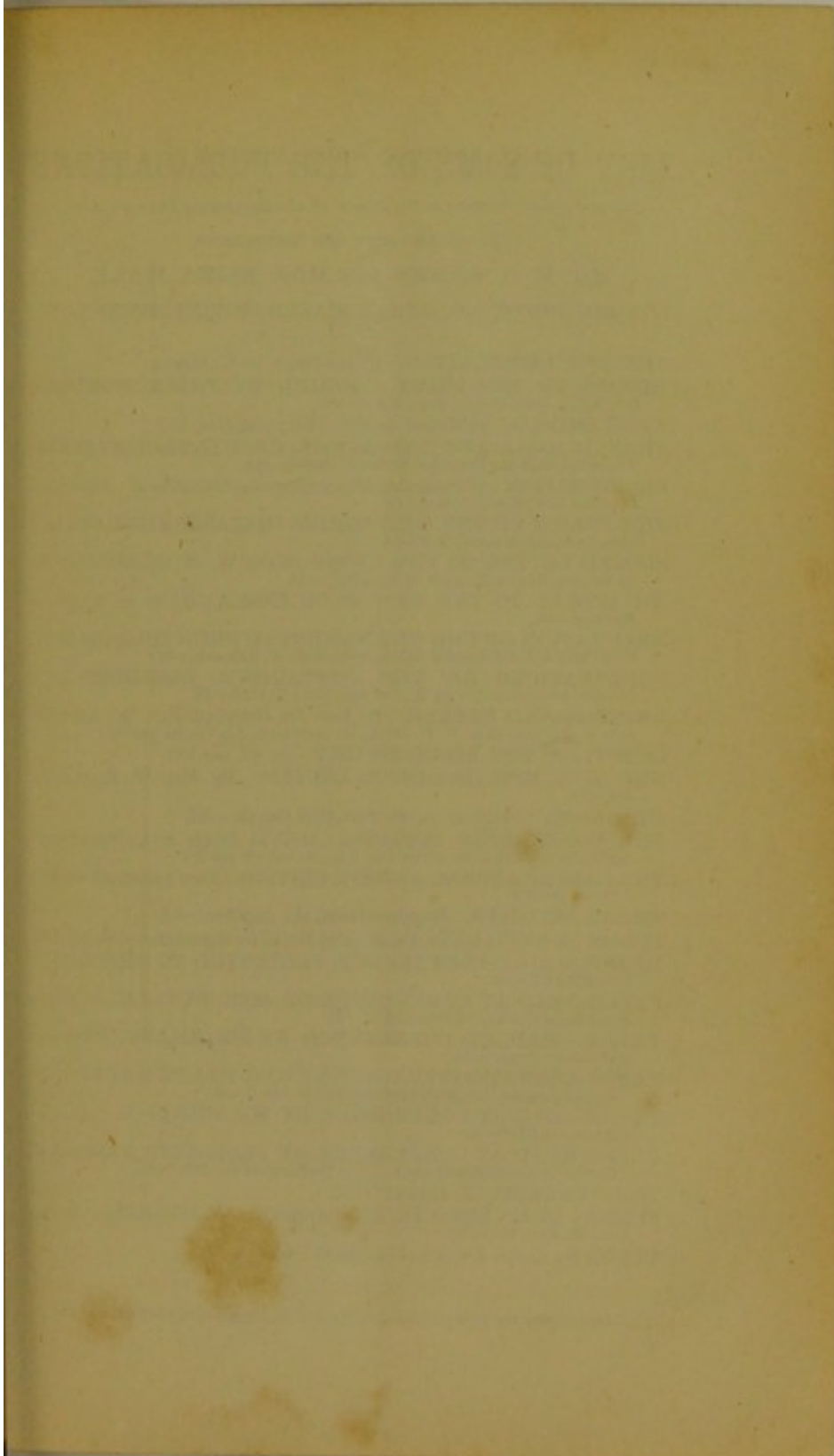
Entered homes	-	-	-	-	-	68
Restored to friends	-	-	-	-	-	102
Married	-	-	-	-	-	45
Left the district	-	-	-	-	-	287

Whilst the decrease of disease amongst the women is likewise remarkable. I may mention Chatham; the disease in—

1868 was	-	-	-	-	-	70 per cent.
1869 „	-	-	-	-	-	18 „
1870 „	-	-	-	-	-	6 „

Clandestine prostitution, particularly amongst married women and servant girls, has much diminished; this, in all probability, proceeds from the fear of being brought under the operation of the Act.

The improvement that has taken place in the persons, clothing, and homes of the common women, as regards cleanliness and order, is most marked. Many of the women formerly looked bloated from drink, whilst others were greatly emaciated, and looked haggard through disease. Their language and habits are greatly altered—swearing, drunkenness, and indecency of behaviour have become quite exceptional; *the women now look fresh and healthy*, and are most respectful in their manner; in fact, these poor creatures feel that they are not altogether outcasts from society, but that there are people who still take an interest in their moral and physical welfare.”



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