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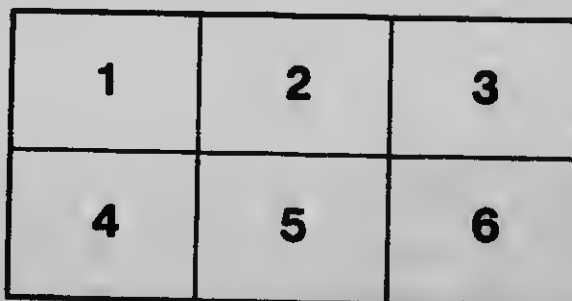
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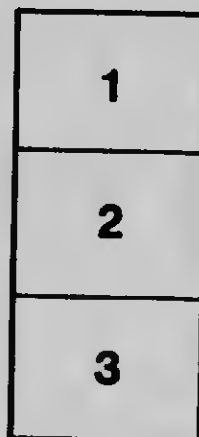
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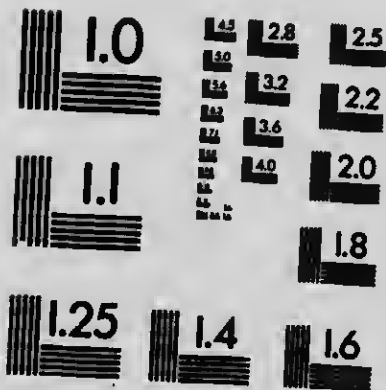
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Some Facts Regarding
**TOLERATION, REGULATION,
SEGREGATION and REPRESSION**
of
COMMERCIALIZED VICE

Compiled and Issued by the

**Committee
of Sixteen**

PUBLICATION No. 2

Montreal, February 21st, 1919

Some Facts Regarding
TOLERATION, REGULATION,
SEGREGATION and REPRESSION
of
COMMERCIALIZED VICE

□ □ □

Compiled and Issued by the

COMMITTEE
OF SIXTEEN



PUBLICATION No. 2

Montreal, February 21st, 1919

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TO THE CITIZENS OF MONTREAL

This report is rather long—an unavoidable result of the effort to draw upon the experiences of a large number of communities in their dealings with commercialized vice, in order to cover the ground fairly.

We have gathered much information together and have endeavored to eliminate all unnecessary material. As the matter so vitally concerns the community—so directly concerns every man and woman, every growing boy and girl in Montreal,—we trust that, even in the midst of many other pressing duties, you will take time to read this report.

COMMITTEE OF SIXTEEN.

This Report is intended to be kept for reference.

COMMITTEE OF SIXTEEN

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 Miss Eleanor Tatley.....President, Local Council of Women

The Members do not officially represent the Societies with which they are connected, but the sympathy and hearty co-operation of these Societies is expected.

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A copy of this report will be mailed to any local address upon
 receipt of a written request.

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A REMINDER

The first report of the Committee of Sixteen contained a subscription coupon to be used by those who desired to share in the work undertaken by the Committee, by subscribing towards its fund for current expenses. Twenty thousand dollars was asked for the year commencing November 1st, 1918. It was stated that several amounts of \$1,000 and \$500 were looked for in addition to a large number of smaller subscriptions. The response, though generous, has so far supplied only about a quarter of the amount required. No direct personal canvass has yet been made, as it is hoped that citizens will voluntarily and promptly provide the required funds, without its being necessary for the Committee members to take time from their regular work for the purpose of collecting money.

No doubt many who received the first report intended to subscribe something but delayed and then neglected to do so. If you are one of these will you not make use of the enclosed coupon and envelope.

Draw cheques to order of A. Falconer, Hon. Treas., and mail them to Committee of Sixteen, 213 Drummond Building, Montreal.

SECOND REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF SIXTEEN

INTRODUCTION

General Sources of Reference

The Committee of Sixteen in seeking sources for this report has studied the experience of various organizations in England and the United States formed for the suppression of vice, and has found them interestingly similar in aims and methods to its own. We have found other organizations of private individuals, like ourselves, which have been formed because they desired, first, to get accurate information as to local conditions; second, to study experience elsewhere; and third, to make a continuous effort to deal with the vice problem. Notable among these organizations is the Bureau of Social Hygiene of New York City, which was established by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in 1911, as an outcome of the white slave investigation in New York City, under the special so-called "Rockefeller Grand Jury in 1910."

The Bureau started with a study of vice conditions in New York conducted by George J. Kneeland, who had been Director of Investigation for the Vice Commission in Chicago, in 1911. Mr. Kneeland's book, "Commercialized Prostitution in New York City," shows the results of his careful study and is considered an invaluable text book for all students of the problems of prostitution.¹

¹ Mr. Kneeland's Chicago report, "The Social Evil in Chicago," is also a most valuable and comprehensive contribution on this subject.

Recognizing that a study of experience in regard to prostitution elsewhere was essential, the Bureau of Social Hygiene planned a survey of European methods and appointed Dr. Abraham Flexner, General Secretary of the Education Board of New York, to undertake this work. Not having done any previous work on the problem of prostitution, Dr. Flexner brought an entirely open mind to the study of this subject, which was considered one of the qualifications to insure a fair-minded presentation. He was given a free hand to make his study and submit his findings, and visited and made investigations in practically all the important cities of Europe. The results of two years of continuous study are found in his book, "Prostitution in Europe," which is widely recognized as the most authoritative reference book on this subject in the twentieth century, and will be quoted frequently in this Report.

It is interesting to note that as an adjunct to its work the Bureau established as one of its first steps a social hygiene laboratory at Bedford Hills in connection with the Women's Reformatory there. The laboratory was under the direction of Miss Katharine Bement Davis, then superintendent of the New York State Reformatory for Women, and who has since been appointed the first Woman Police Commissioner of New York. Its work was designed to get at first hand the social, moral, and physical effect of a life of vice on its victims. In the same way the Committee of Sixteen is endeavoring, through the study of scores of girls referred to it, to obtain an intimate knowledge of the underlying vice conditions of Montreal.

In an article describing the work of the Bureau of Social Hygiene, Mr. Jerome D. Green, Director of the American Social Hygiene Association, says of Dr. Flexner's book, which was written for the Bureau:—

"It is not too much to say that this volume
"constitutes the most valuable single contri-
"bution to the solution of the problem of prosti-
"tution in this country. This remarkable result
"was achieved, not by any dogmatic enuncia-
"tion of theories new and old, and least of all

“by the discovery of any panacea for the evils
“associated with prostitution; it was achieved
“by a simple, clear, straightforward, and im-
“partial presentation of the facts of European
“experience with regard to the prevalence of the
“evil, the various methods of dealing with it,
“and the results apparently attributable there-
“to. Since the appearance of Mr. Flexner’s
“book, it has become impossible for any in-
“telligent person in this country, professing a
“desire for a practical as distinguished from
“a sentimental or puritanical attitude toward
“the problem of prostitution, to refer to Euro-
“pean methods of regulation and toleration, or to
“their supposed result in limiting the extent of
“vice and disease, as offering the only key to the
“rational handling of the problem in this coun-
“try. Mr. Flexner has shown us that regula-
“tion does not regulate, that segregation does
“not segregate, and that systems of medical
“examination are not only a farce, more or
“less honestly administered, but are probably
“worse than useless.

“The one inescapable conclusion from a
“study of the facts which Mr. Flexner has put
“before us with the most scrupulous abstention
“from argument or dogmatic assertion, is that
“prostitution is a *modifiable phenomenon*, and
“that the question whether its total volume, and
“consequently the volume of all its attendant
“evils, shall be held to a minimum, depends
“upon whether there is a well sustained attitude
“of antagonism on the part of the community.
“The police are an important factor in the ex-
“pression of this antagonism, but the capacity
“of even the best police force in the world to do
“more than the community wants it to do, has
“limits that must not be ignored.”¹

¹ Social Hygiene, January 1917, pp. 5-6.

Dr. Flexner's book was followed by a third publication of the Bureau, "European Police Systems," by Raymond Fosdick, then Commissioner of Accounts of New York City, who has since become famous as Chairman of the United States War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities, whose department of law enforcement has made it possible for the citizens throughout the United States to bring about the wholesale repression of commercialized vice in American cities.

Another association, which was nation-wide in scope, was organized at about this time for the correlation of American experience, the publication of special literature, and the education of communities in problems of social hygiene. This organization, The American Social Hygiene Association, with offices in New York City, publishes a quarterly magazine, "Social Hygiene," which we shall frequently quote. This association co-operated in the work of the Committee for Civilian Co-operation in Combating Venereal Disease in the Council of National Defence, which has been responsible for the strong attack on venereal disease and prostitution made by the United States War Department in civilian communities.

A similar organization was formed in England: "The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene," being the "British Branch of the International Abolitionist Federation." This Federation is incorporated with the Ladies' National Association for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice and for the Promotion of Social Purity, both of these organizations having been founded by Josephine Butler. They were the direct outcome of the tremendous wave of opposition to the Contagious Diseases Acts, in England, which provided for a form of Regulation and which were passed in 1866, and repealed in 1886.¹ The publication of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene is "The Shield," which we shall frequently quote. One of the aims of the Association is to carry on "a permanent enquiry as to the moral,

¹ See page 34

economic, or other causes of this social sore (prostitution), as to its effects—and as to the means of remedying it.”¹

In “Social Hygiene” there is the following description of “The Shield”:—“The Shield was first issued as a weekly in 1870 Founded to oppose the ‘infamous Contagious Diseases Acts and to proclaim their futility, injustice, and immorality,’ it has consistently labored against all forms of official regulation of vice and for the eradication of prostitution.”²

The work of the Committee of Fourteen of New York and the Committee of Fifteen in Chicago, more nearly approximate our own in being city wide and not nation wide. The New York Committee places its emphasis on a study of conditions, especially in regard to law enforcement, its most notable publication having been issued in 1910: “The Social Evil in New York City, a Study of Law Enforcement.” The New York committee does not itself prosecute but presents facts, works for new legislation, and lays its emphasis on stimulating interest and co-operation between police, courts, and public spirited citizens.

The Chicago Committee of Fifteen, after the Chicago Vice Commission had made a comprehensive survey of local conditions, which was published under the title “The Social Evil in Chicago,” places its emphasis on prosecution. This Committee has been largely responsible for a great number of successful prosecutions which have resulted in cleaning up Chicago’s segregated districts. Numerous other vice commissions have been organized after the pattern of these two pioneers, but none has published so complete a study of the problem. Both the New York and Chicago reports have helped to define the nature of the problem of commercialized vice by concrete experience, and we regard these reports in the light of highly authoritative text books.

The organizations and publications here referred to constitute very largely our sources of reference. As

¹ Objects and Principles, International Abolitionist Federation.

² “Social Hygiene,” January 1917, p. 143.

conditions in the United States are so similar to our own, we have seen fit to draw largely from their experience, especially as great emphasis has been laid in recent years, in the United States, on scientific studies of actual conditions. The fact that most of these studies were made by organizations of private citizens like ourselves, and have been successful in bringing about a marked change in conditions, makes their experience of particular interest.

SOME FACTS REGARDING TOLERATION, REGULATION, SEGREGATION, AND REPRESSION OF COMMERCIALIZED VICE

TOLERATION

We shall discuss and define in turn the policies of Toleration, Regulation, Segregation, and Repression, and we shall begin by defining Toleration, and portraying the evil effects of this policy in our own city of Montreal. No better instance has been found to illustrate its far-reaching difficulties and vicious results.

Toleration, though for convenience called a "policy," might be described as a lack of policy, rather than as a policy in itself, so much does this attitude of toleration grow out of negligence and indifference. It results from an attitude of mind which fails to conceive of prostitution as more than the immorality of two willing individuals, and which neglects to take into account prostitution as involving physical and moral ruin to some, and ill-gotten profit to others.

Effects in Montreal

No matter how soon "Toleration" is done away with, in our city of Montreal, the evil effects of the period in which this policy was pursued will remain to be reckoned with for a long time. We have a problem of almost insuperable difficulty in combating Commercialized Vice here, which is due to that long

established attitude of toleration. We have in the first place a very large number of houses, many of which have been known and tolerated for years; we have an unestimated number of inmates, many of whom we have allowed to be regularly drawn into this life, without either protests or systematic effort at prevention; we have a public that is so familiarized with flagrant vice conditions as to be ready to believe that either it is necessary or else impossible to overcome; we know that there is a deeply rooted opinion on the part of the victims themselves that the main body of citizens of Montreal are not willing to bestir themselves long enough to bring about a change in conditions. We have a police department which has been exposed to the inevitable dangers of bribery and corruption by the creation of an illegally privileged class for them to deal with; and we have our courts handicapped by serious defects in law and practice.

A growing public opinion in Montreal seems fairly well agreed that Toleration as a policy is no longer to be countenanced. But the public does not realize that only a concerted and continuous action will bring about its overthrow and that no system of police raids and fines alone will avail. Public opinion in our city is beginning to take the matter into consideration and to put commercialized prostitution on the level of crime rather than of vice. The policy of Repression which the Committee of Sixteen advocates includes in its full scope not only constant enforcement of the law against commercialized prostitution as a crime, but constructive measures for prevention and reformation as well.

Exploitation of Vice a Crime

Doctor Flexner, in a chapter on "Prostitution and the Law," sketches the evolution of opinion in Europe in regard to prostitution:—

"The situation as respects public opinion
"alters decidedly, however, the moment the
"act (of prostitution) involves others beside the
"two participants. As soon as order, decency,
"the contamination of minors, or the interest of

"an exploiter is involved, a totally different
 "question arises. But when the streets
 "are used to carry on negotiations and thereby
 "others are drawn into the maelstrom; when
 "third parties,—be they pimps, bordell keepers,
 "vendors of liquor and entertainment, or others,—
 "endeavor to develop prostitution for their own
 "profit; when disease is communicated, not
 "infrequently to innocent persons; in all such
 "cases a third party is concerned; and a
 "public that was more or less indifferent as to
 "what took place between two mature in-
 "dividuals has become increasingly clear as to
 "its interest and duty. The state pro-
 "hibits the manufacture of prostitutes by
 "heavily penalizing the white slave traffic; it
 "attacks the pimp system on the score of its
 "inhumanity and because it seeks to widen
 "artificially the scope of the prostitute's opera-
 "tions; the bordell, the liquor shop, the low
 "cabaret are in the same category. Wherever
 "a case can be made out against a third party,
 "the law tends to become increasingly explicit
 "and severe, for the reason that, even though
 "prostitution itself be only a vice, its exploita-
 "tion for the benefit of others violates every
 "conception of humanity and needlessly extends
 "the range of demoralization and disease."¹

Toleration Contrary to Canadian Law

In a pamphlet entitled "The Social Evil": (Tolera-
 tion Condemned), by Sir Henry Taschereau, we have the
 legal situation in Canada defined in respect to prosti-
 tution:

"In France, in Germany, and generally in
 "the countries where regulation exists, al-
 "though it is admitted that prostitution, in

¹ Prostitution in Europe, pp. 118-119.

² A report to the City Council of Montreal, Feb. 18th, 1905, pp. 15-16.

"natural law as well as in common law, is an
"evil, there is no qualified offence in the mere
"fact of prostitution, and this has enabled those
"who are in favour of governmental inscription
"and tolerance, to found and maintain their
"system.

"England and the United States, after re-
"pudiating this system, have enacted laws which
"contain about the same provision as those of
"our Code. Prostitution is considered a crimi-
"nal offence and is punished.

"It is, then, quite certain that in Canada,
"as in the other countries above referred to, the
"theories of official regulation and administra-
"tive tolerance which may be discussed, and
"even admitted in other countries, are positively
"discountenanced by our legislation; are, so to
"speak, placed under the ban by our law and
"can be advocated only by the enemies of the
"law itself in their efforts to have it amended.
"So long as that law remains what it is, the
"provincial, civic and municipal authorities
"have only to submit to it and apply it in all
"respects."

REGULATION

Regulation is, in the broadest sense, an attempt to mitigate the evils of prostitution while at the same time tolerating its existence. Regulation operates in Europe with its emphasis on public health. Under systems of regulation it has been attempted either to confine prostitution to licensed brothels, whose inmates are examined by public officials, or to examine such prostitutes at intervals as can be registered or inscribed. In England, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, and Norway, a policy in direct opposition to Regulation has developed. This alternative policy is called "Abolition," meaning the abolition of Regulation or the "abolition of prostitution specially regarded as a legally tolerated institution."

Public opinion in England and the United States being generally opposed to "regulated" vice or compulsory examination of prostitutes as an interference with personal liberty, a tendency has arisen to place the emphasis on "public order" rather than on public health in attempting to mitigate the evils of prostitution. This attitude, in the United States, led largely to the attempt to segregate prostitution rather than to regulate it by medical examination.

Brothels

A form of so-called Regulation is the next proposition as a substitute for Toleration which we have heard discussed for Montreal; that is, the toleration under police supervision of so-called "brothels," whose inmates could be regularly examined for venereal disease. That there is an expectation that this policy will be adopted in Montreal is evidenced by rumours that certain "madams" are vying with one another to re-decorate and renovate their establishments in order to bid for the favor of the police authorities, who they think will have the selection of the houses which will be officially regulated. The argument put forth in support of these regulated brothels is that prostitution is an inevitable evil which must be recognized and therefore made as safe as possible, and experience of European cities is cited as an example to be followed.

European Opinion Increasingly Hostile

In Europe these houses of prostitution are called "brothels" or "bordells." Dr. Flexner devotes a chapter to this phase of regulation, and says in part:—

"To the licensing or toleration of outright
"houses of prostitution public opinion in Europe
"has become increasingly hostile; at the present
"time, it is permitted in France, Belgium,
"Austria-Hungary, and Italy; it is forbidden in
"the German Empire, Holland, Switzerland,

Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Great Britain.
"In France and Austria, no further concessions
"will under any circumstances be granted;
"whenever, and for whatever reason, a bordell
"closes, the institution is by so much nearer to
"extinction."¹

In discussing the causes responsible for the decay of the brothel, Dr. Flexner says:—

"The bordell prospered as long as its management was uncontrolled; its decay set in the moment public sentiment required the slightest deference to the dictates of humanity. For, in the first place, the bordell can be tenanted only through the exertions of the trafficker. A few hopeless wretches, whose independent career is over, may of their own accord seek its food and shelter; but these are precisely the women whom the management accepts only under pressure of necessity. Young and attractive inmates are desired,—innocent, or, at least, beginners. Prior to their suppression in Zurich, 60% of the inmates of its 18 bordells had not completed their seventeenth year."²

White Slave Traffic in Brothels

Mr. George J. Kneeland points out the relation between white slave traffic and houses of prostitution, as follows:—

"Houses of prostitution cannot exist except through trafficking in women. Prostitutes who live scattered through the city may earn money for their pimps; but traffic in scattered prostitutes is practically impossible. As soon as houses are set up, an opportunity for trade is created. The proprietors give specific orders

¹ Prostitution in Europe, p. 166.

² Ibid., p. 182.

"to the procurer—for young girls, for innocent girls, for blondes, for brunettes, for slender women, for stout women. And the procurer fills the order, resorting to every possible device in order to do so,—to deceit, misrepresentation, intoxication, 'doping,' or what not. The white slave traffic is thus not only a hideous reality, but a reality almost wholly dependent on the existence of houses of prostitution."

Brothels Futile From Standpoint of Order

In discussing the claim that the brothel by providing a resort for immoral women and their customers removes scandal and suggestion from the public highway, Dr. Flexner says:—

"As a matter of fact, coincidentally with the gradual extinction of the bordell, general street conditions have improved throughout Europe; and the few towns whose streets are strikingly free from prostitution are without exception towns in which neither regulation nor the bordell exists. The bordell is not the controlling factor; police, courts, public opinion decide; and police, courts, and public opinion are likely to be most vigorously in favor of clean streets in communities that do not recognize prostitution as a legitimate livelihood."

Brothels Advertise Vice

"I have throughout this chapter considered the bordell mainly as a factor in the programme of regulation. It is from the standpoint of order evidently futile. But from another standpoint it is worse than futile. The bordell gives to sexual vice its most prominent advertisement. By working on the curiosity of

¹ Commercialized Prostitution in New York City, p. 99.

² Prostitution in Europe, p. 194.

"the young and of strangers—its main patrons,
"by the way—it substantially increases demand;
"by requiring constant service of its inmates,
"it virtually increases supply. It is therefore
"absolutely at war with sound public policy
"which aims to reduce both—certainly to avoid
"their gratuitous increase. Finally, the bordell
"is the most flagrant instance of exploitation for
"the benefit of third parties, which modern
"feeling and legislation are emphatically deter-
"mined to prevent."¹

False Sense of Security

In speaking of the false sense of security resulting from regulation from a sanitary point of view, Dr. Flexner quotes from the book of Prof. Blaschko, a German authority, "Hygiene der Prostitution":—

"The public is fooled. The laity is led to
"believe that it is possible to distinguish diseased
"from healthy prostitutes. As all the diseased
"ones are sent to the hospital, relations with
"controlled prostitutes are free from danger.
"This is the popular conclusion'."

Dr. Flexner goes on to say:—

"The police are now at pains to disavow
"the natural consequence of their own policy.
"The Paris regulations state in bold type that
"the card delivered to inscribed women must
"not be regarded as an incentive to debauch';
"and the public is commonly warned that the
"medical examination is not to be interpreted
"as a guarantee of safety.

"Regulation may therefore be regarded as
"calculated to increase the volume of irregular
"intercourse: what does it accomplish by way
"of rendering such intercourse harmless?"²

¹ Prostitution in Europe, p. 202.

² Ibid., p. 222.

In answering this question, in a chapter headed "Regulation and Disease," medical inspection in brothels is discussed with enlightening statistics, showing that a larger per cent of brothel inmates are found to be diseased than scattered prostitutes. Dr. Flexner then says:—

"There is therefore no basis in experience
"for a verdict favorable to bordells the
"ground that they conduce to a form of medical
"inspection that tends to diminish disease. The
"fact is that the recklessness developed
"in bordells consequent on alcoholic indulgence
"operates to prevent rather than to encourage
"precautionary measures. The women never
"cease to be dangerous; and as they transact
"an amount of business impossible outside, the
"actual amount of infection is enormously
"increased."¹

Further testimony in regard to a false sense of security is given in "The Shield," which quotes extracts from evidence given before a New South Wales Committee on Prevalence of Venereal Diseases. It quotes R. T. Paton, Director General of Public Health, of New South Wales, as saying:—

"There is one rather serious argument
"against examination. A doctor, quite a com-
"petent man, may examine a woman and find
"no evidence of disease on her person, and yet
"she may be capable of conveying infection to
"men. And there is the possibility that a man,
"with a false sense of security knowing that a
"woman has been examined by a doctor, may
"indulge more freely in promiscuous sexual
"intercourse, and that may tend to spread the
"disease. To obtain satisfactory results it would
"practically be necessary to examine a prostitute
"every day. The great objection to medical
"examination of prostitutes is that it would give
"people a false sense of security."²

¹ Prostitution in Europe, p. 261.

² The Shield, July 1918. For description of The Shield, see p. 12.

Protests Against "Maisons Tolerées"

At the annual meeting of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, in England, held on March 1st, 1918, Caxton Hall, London, the subject discussed was "The Maisons Tolerées," as the French brothels are called. The meeting was made the occasion for presenting a strong protest against the establishment of a brothel at Cayeux for the use of soldiers.

Let us quote from the address of Dr. Wilson, editor of "The Shield," at this meeting as reported in "The Shield" . . .

"Our protest is against the establishment, or re-establishment, of the evil system of making a compact with vice, which was known in England, and, as we hope, swept away for ever thirty or forty years ago. We object to that, first, because our conscience condemns it as establishing the double moral standard. Secondly, our reason condemns it as the utterly wrong way to deal with vice. Thirdly, experience condemns it. . . . The whole civilized world has discovered the fundamental fallacy and failure of this system. Denmark, Norway, Italy have abandoned it; the United States will have nothing to do with it; as to France, France was its birthplace and France is unwilling to let the system go, but they have had a commission corresponding to our Royal Commissions, which has given most unequivocal condemnation of the system, and the whole intellectual opinion of France is against it, as well as all the strongest medical opinion in France. As for the French politicians, no one has spoken more strongly than M. Clemenceau. Twelve years ago he was in office as Minister of the Interior and therefore charged with the administration of this system. In one of his most eloquent speeches, he referred to 'the appalling procession of

"misery, of girls of 15 or 16 and thereabouts, who pass under the control of the police. I can only record,' he says, 'our absolute failure to carry out that charge, although in attempting to carry it out my Department has recourse to practices which are contrary to the laws and to the very principles of all humane government.'

.....
"The medical testimony as to the failure of regulated houses is as complete as possible. The leading French specialist, Dr. Fournier, said: 'We have had the perfection of this system, as perfect as it can be made, for nearly a century; and what is the result? The result is that syphilis abounds and super-abounds among us to-day.' He spoke of Paris; and Paris has been, to a large extent, the place where people have gone to study syphilis. The experience of the British army is that after the Contagious Diseases Acts were repealed the percentage of disease fell steadily and continuously during the next thirty years. We believe it is falling still in the army; and it is conclusively proved that the Acts in England did nothing to benefit the health of the army. And then we hear that it is better to have 'clean women' in these houses, as the Under Secretary for War said the other night. Dr. Blaschko, who was one of the chief European authorities on this subject, had been faced with this problem in the German army; and what he said was this. He thought, if there could be very careful tests, taking hours each time, of all the women concerned, perhaps syphilis might be prevented; but as far as the other disease, gonorrhœa, is concerned, not even a daily examination of the most careful description can give any security at all."

¹ The Shield, July 1918, pp. 54-55.

In the report of the proceedings of this important meeting, "The Shield" also quotes Miss Maude Royden as saying:—

"Here is a description given by a French doctor, who was himself an official connected with the administration of this system. He is a man who is employed under the system, and who defended it, and this is what he says: 'The obligation to this medical examination is prodigiously degrading, debasing and terrible. The system regularises and legitimises the sorrowful industry of the prostitute. It is, in fact, the sinister stroke by which a woman is cut off from society; after which she ceases to belong to herself and becomes the chattel or thing of the administration.' Another writes: 'The inscription of the woman's name is a purely administrative act. Nevertheless does it inflict on the woman a patent of infamy and degradation, and exercises a disastrous and fatal influence on her after-life.' Another says: 'The girl of the brothel is the type par excellence of the public woman. She is the modern slave, who has become the tool of the brothel keeper and the property of the public.'"¹

In a pamphlet entitled "Regulated Vice and the Traffic in Women," published by the English Moral and Social Hygiene Association, W. J. Payling Wright, B.A., presents a forceful account of the operation of various policies which he has studied in many different countries. Mr. Wright presents to the English public a discussion of the various policies which are now being considered in Montreal. He begins with regulation, saying:—

"What, then, is Regulationism, if we may coin an equivalent for the French *Règlementarisme*? 'Regulationism' is the policy of making a compact with evil—of licensing and

¹ The Shield, July 1918, p. 57.

"regulating prostitution in the hope of obviating
"some of its most inconvenient features. The
"Regulationist maintains that since prostitution
"cannot be altogether suppressed it ought to be
"permitted only under certain conditions im-
"posed by public authorities in the interest of
"public health or of public order. In Europe,
"the public health has been the main object;
"Regulationism' has sought to protect it by
"ensuring that all women practicing prostitution
"shall be free from disease. In America, public
"order has been the first consideration, and
"Regulationism' has attempted to restrict
"prostitution to particular areas in the city. In
"either case it is assumed that vice is a neces-
"sity and that its evils can be minimised by
"suitable regulations."

In a paragraph headed "Regulation implies Sanc-
tion," Mr. Wright says:—

"Naturally, the upholders of this policy
"are eager to explain that Regulation does not
"involve approval or even toleration. But their
"contention fails them. Conditional prohibition
"is practical permission, provided that the con-
"ditions are observed."

Further Arguments Against Brothels

In summing up his argument against Regulationism,
Mr. Wright says:—

"Regulationism sanctions immorality in
"the tempted man, saps the power of resistance
"in the tempted woman and girl, and generates
"in the public and in the official mind a moral
"temperament which regards prostitution and
"those who exploit it as normal, natural, and
"lawful constituents of a well-ordered com-
"munity."

"This moral temperament generated by
"Regulationism—this tendency to regard vice
"as evil only when it is unlicensed—is in-
"tensified where prostitutes are 'barracked' in
"brothels, 'cribs' and 'segregated areas.' The
"disorderly house is regarded as an established
"and wholesome institution. The proprietor
"has vested interests; his rights must be re-
"spected. The inmates are his property and
"stock-in-trade, on which he has expended
"wealth. 'We cannot injure establishments
"legally authorized and in which so much
"capital is invested.' 'In order to procure
"women they (the proprietors) have often to
"make great sacrifices of money.' These are
"the utterances of Belgian officials, quoted in
"an English Parliamentary paper (145 of 1881,
"pp. 228 and 150). Such perversion of language
"argues similar perversion of thought. If
"procuration is a 'sacrifice,' rescue must be
"sacreligious robbery, and zeal against the
"Traffic in Women becomes a psychological
"impossibility.

"This bias in some measure explains what
"at first sight may seem a paradox, that
"where prostitution is 'regulated,' the traf-
"fickers find their best markets and readiest
"purchasers. The licensed brothel-keeper is
"ex-officio a procurer, and the police are ex-
"officio his accomplices, condoning procuration
"and the exploitation of vice—offences which are
"prohibited by all the penal codes of Christen-
"dom."

Mr. Wright goes on to say:—

" When licensed brothels, 'Red
"Light Districts,' and 'commercialized vice' are
"involved, the temptation becomes overwhelm-
"ing and the demoralization complete. The
"obvious conclusion is that whenever an officer

"of police is required—as Regulation requires
"him—to deviate from the beaten track of law
"and morality, he is mentally and morally
"bewildered; he loses his way and sinks in the
"mire of a false position. In such circum-
"stances implicit trust in him as an agent
"for suppressing the traffic would be egregious
"folly.

"'Regulationism' does more than foster a
"public opinion and an official mentality that
"favours the White Slave Traffic. It protects
"the market and provides the buyers.

"Licensed brothel-keeping—like other
"forms of commerce—is competitive. Brothels
"compete with one another and with 'clan-
"destine' prostitution, i.e., with the large mass
"of outside prostitution which succeeds in
"evading the regulations. Their success de-
"pends on their attractiveness, and their attrac-
"tiveness depends on their ability to secure a con-
"stant stream of fresh victims (*chair fraîche*).
"Consequently the keepers are always on the
"lookout for new inmates. In 1855, that great
"authority, Parent-Duchatelet, wrote of the
"typical keeper: 'The mistress of a brothel is
"always on the track of young girls.' (*Une*
"*dame de maison est à la piste des jeunes*
"*filles*)."

Registration of Prostitutes

Before closing the discussion of Regulation we must discuss the form of Regulation which calls for a system of Registration or Inscription of prostitutes for medical examination, although so far as is known this has never been seriously considered in Montreal. In some European cities prostitutes are inscribed either compulsorily or voluntarily,—compulsorily after arrest and conviction, and voluntarily if over 21 years of age. Inscribed prostitutes are required to report regularly for medical

examination, which is performed under police control, and if found diseased they are confined to hospitals and reformatories for treatment.

Registration Always Incomplete

Dr. Flexner says in regard to the system of inscription:—

"The most striking fact in connection with the operation of all systems of regulation is the small inscription list. There are, it is true, variations: but the largest list, that of Paris, probably includes hardly more than one prostitute in eight, from which maximum the lists in other cities decline rapidly to utter insignificance." As compared with the total volume of prostitution, the enrolment is at the best unimportant, and at the worst, altogether negligible. Paris, as I have said, registers perhaps one in eight. If, as is estimated, there are 30,000 prostitutes in Vienna, the maximum inscription is barely 5%. As opposed to a registration of 225 in Rome, the police records show 5,000 women under observation at one time or another. In the year 1909, 140 women were inscribed at Munich; during the same year, the police were keeping track of 2,076 clandestine prostitutes: the enrolment was thus less than 7% of those actually known,—and they were only part of the whole; in 1911 (in Munich), with 173 women inscribed, 2,574 clandestines were under police observation, the former about 7% of the latter."

Forcible Inscription Condemns Women for Life

The question of the result of forcible inscription on condemning the prostitute to a continuance of her profession is discussed by Doctor Flexner:—

¹ Prostitution in Europe, pp. 142-3.

² Ibid., pp. 145-46.

"Our discussion of the nature of prostitution indicated that it is frequently only a phase through which thousands of women pass; their individual interest and the interests of society require that every facility for exit and oblivion should be furnished. Regulation does precisely the reverse: it brands the scarlet letter upon the woman's forehead . . .

"Should she break, or be accused of breaking, the stipulations to which she is now compulsorily subordinated, she must accept the penalties imposed by the bureau chief without protest. Utter helplessness is her lot; and that too amid conditions that conspire to bring about not improvement but further degradation. For the accessories to Paris regulation, the depot at police headquarters, the hospital and prison at St. Lazare are sheer survivals into our day of the barbarous dungeons of the middle ages. Whoso enters them may be said with truth to leave all hope behind."

Voluntary Inscription a Failure

The failure of voluntary inscription is described by Dr. Flexner:—

"On the other hand, as I have said, if inscription is voluntary, the whole thing goes to pieces. The size of the enrolment at Bremen, Stuttgart and Munich, where the girl decides for herself, is absurdly small. The inducements offered are very substantial, for if a woman complies with the regulations the police guarantee her the unhampered prosecution of her business. Yet even so, a vestige of surviving decency intervenes to keep far the greater number from voluntarily branding

¹ Prostitution in Europe, pp. 149 and 151.

"themselves. In Paris, out of 1,574 enrolments,
"in 1901, only 52 were voluntary; out of 737,
"in 1908, only 36 were voluntary."¹

Street Conditions Not Improved

Regulation by means of inscription for medical examination and police supervision is advocated by some as a means of obtaining orderly streets. Of this, Dr. Flexner says:—

"In respect to street order, regulation (by
"inscription) is, therefore, in my judgment, a
"hindrance, not a help, for it is at war with its
"own avowed object. Regulation is asked for
"that the women may be kept under control,—
"else, it is argued, they will over-run the streets.
"Once under control, they must be permitted to
"walk the streets; and if they, responsible to
"the police, are permitted, how can others, not
"so obligated, be prevented? Con-
"sequently no regulated city possesses streets as
"free from scandal as the streets of Amsterdam,
"Zurich, and Liverpool,—all non-regulated
"cities"

No Sanitary Efficacy

Having thus indicated Dr. Flexner's findings in regard to the effects of regulation by registration on public order, let us turn to his arguments in regard to the sanitary efficacy of this system. In the first place, there is no successful standard which can be cited in respect to the actual importance of medical inspection. Dr. Flexner says:—

"The diversity previously commented upon
"in connection with regulation prevails also in
"respect to its sanitary details. Between the
"worst and the best organized systems on the
"medical side, there is perhaps an even greater

¹ Prostitution in Europe, pp. 155-56.

² Ibid., p. 161.

"discrepancy than between the worst and the
"best systems on the side of police methods.
"Thus far experience has worked out no ac-
"cepted sanitary model."¹

Dr. Flexner gives a detailed portrayal of the methods of examination of inscribed prostitutes in several cities, none of which did he find commendable, owing to the hurried examination, lack of facilities, low standards of sanitary precautions and lack of care in dismissing cases after a short period of hospital treatment, stating:—

"The utter baselessness of any confidence
"placed by the patron on the fact of medical
"inspection is thus obvious: inspected women
"may not only be diseased at the moment they
"are sent to the streets and bordells to do
"business as sound,—but, as we shall also see,
"if found diseased, they are, as a rule, even
"after treatment allowed to return to their
"avocation while still highly dangerous. But
"aside from such variations, the clinical method
"is utterly incompetent to detect any con-
"siderable portion of infectious disease."

In a footnote appended here, Dr. Flexner says:—

"Though this book deals only with pro-
"stitution in Europe, I venture for the purpose
"of conclusively establishing the uselessness of
"the clinical method to refer to the researches
"of Dr. Archibald McNeil of New York City.
"Of 647 girls examined, 20.56% had clinical
"manifestations of disease; of 466 of these same
"girls, microscopic and other tests showed
"89.3% to be venereally infected. See Knee-
"land, 'Commercialized Prostitution in New
"York City'."¹

¹ Prostitution in Europe, p. 206.

² Ibid., pp. 230-31.

Volume of Prostitution May Be Enlarged

In summing up, Dr. Flexner says:—

"I have thus far dealt with registered prostitution alone: in reference to it, I believe we are justified in asserting that the numbers treated have nowhere been relatively large and that the methods of conducting the examinations and their actual working greatly reduce, even the apparent efficacy of the system. In Stockholm it has been calculated that three-fourths of the disease current escapes detection. It is therefore an incontrovertible fact that only a small part of the disease in existence among inscribed women has been isolated and that these diseased women have been discharged before they are very much safer: in consequence of which, men consorting with medically inspected prostitutes are the victims of misplaced confidence. If, then, regulation, on account of the general attitude it encourages and on account of the feeling of security it must logically create, has at all enlarged the volume of irregular intercourse, it has operated to increase, not to decrease, the volume of venereal disease."¹

Regulation Losing Ground

Dr. Flexner then points out that regulation has lost ground:—

"For the reasons just summarized, regulation has lost and is still rapidly losing ground. As recently as a quarter of a century ago it was in vogue throughout the Continent of Europe; in the seventies it enjoyed a brief currency in Great Britain as well. It is decaying in France where, of 695 communes having over 5,000 inhabitants, it has entirely disappeared

¹ Prostitution in Europe, p. 240.

"from 250 and practically from many others.
 "In Germany, of 162 cities, 48 have dispensed
 "with it, while it is moribund in others. In
 "Switzerland it survives only in Geneva; it has
 "been wholly abandoned in Denmark, Norway
 "and Great Britain. A special commission has
 "recommended its total abolition in France;
 "and a similar body in Sweden, far from unani-
 "mous at the start, has unanimously come to
 "the same conclusion."¹

Contagious Diseases Acts

A form of regulation was tried in England under the
 so-called "Contagious Diseases Acts," passed in 1866
 and 1869, and later repealed after tremendous agitation
 in 1886. In "The World's Social Evil," by Wm. Bur-
 gess, a history of the operation and repeal of these laws
 is given. Mr. Burgess says:—

"The acts, which were now known as the
 "'Contagious Diseases Acts, 1866-69,' were in
 "operation in 18 military stations and naval
 "ports in the southern part of England and
 "Ireland.

"Each district in which the Acts were
 "operative was equipped, at public expense, with
 "hospital wards for the medical examination and
 "treatment of women and girls; and special
 "police detectives, dressed in plain clothes,
 "under the direction of the military and naval
 "authorities, were appointed. The sole busi-
 "ness of the police detectives was to bring all
 "women, or girls, whom they suspected, or who
 "were living in circumstances of temptation,
 "into the net, to be regularly, officially and
 "systematically inspected by medical men . . . "

¹ Prostitution in Europe, p. 266.

Acts Condemned and Repealed

"When the first of these Acts was passed, "in 1864, the 'British Medical Journal' characterized it as the grossest violation of the "liberty of the subject that had ever been proposed to a British Parliament—an act which "reduced women to the condition of mere animals".¹

Mr. Burgess then discusses the condemnation of these Acts by various people as being

"a violation of a fundamental principle of the "Constitution";

as having

"only one accused in a double act";

and that

"it ignored a most important principle of "British law, viz.: that an accused person is "regarded as innocent until proven guilty."²

These laws were finally repealed after a most sensational campaign in which Lord Shaftesbury, John Stuart Mill, Mrs. Josephine Butler, Harriet Martineau, and other prominent people took part.

"Meantime the agitation had so fully entered into politics that at the general election "of that same year (1885), 257 candidates were "elected who were definitely pledged to vote for "repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts."³

Thus ended England's attempt at Regulation.

Less Disease Since Repeal

We find an interesting comment on the results of the repeal of these Acts in "Social Hygiene," January 1917, in an article by Mr. Van Walsem, inspector of the

¹ The World's Social Evil, pp. 83-85.

² Ibid., p. 85.

³ Ibid., p. 115.

government office for the suppression of the traffic of women in the Dutch East Indies. Mr. Van Walsem makes a comparison between England and France in connection with the subject of regulation. He takes the statistics published by the Registrar General in England and shows:—

From

“deaths at all ages as caused by venereal diseases per one million (1,000,000) living at that age”

that in

“a period of twenty years after the Contagious Diseases Act was abolished, that is between 1886 and 1907,”

there was a fall

“from 92 to 58, i.e., 37%.”

In

“deaths from (hereditary) venereal diseases of children under one year old per 100,000 living at that age”

a fall

“from 116 to 71, i.e., 39%”;

and among

“candidates for recruitment, refused on account of syphilis, per 10,000 offering for enlistment”

a drop

“from 82 to 18, i.e., 78%.”

Mr. Van Walsem goes on to say:—

“in other words the disease has steadily diminished without regulation.”

Problem in France Unsolved

“On the other hand in France with its elaborate system the disease had apparently increased. At the International Congress of

"Medicine, held in London, in 1913, a paper was
"presented by Prof. Ernest Gaucher and Prof.
"Gougerot, both of Paris, on 'The Dangers of
"Syphilis and the Question of State Control'.

"Prof. Gaucher's words are important, for he
"holds the principal chair of syphilography in
"Paris. The following sentences are worth
"noting: 'The greatness and the difficulty of the
"question is obvious. Hardly any of the pro-
"blems have been solved, at least in France.
"Regulation which exists in France and other
"States aims at fulfilling this program. Un-
"fortunately the practical difficulty is far from
"the theoretical ideal. The majority of syphilo-
"graphers and philanthropists. . . . oppose it
"resolutely.'

"The French Extra Parliamentary Com-
"mission and the International Congress, at
"Brussels, arrived at conclusions unfavorable
"to administrative regulations and to the
"police des moeurs'."¹

Regulation Condemned by Chicago Committee

Before closing the discussion of Regulation, we shall find much of interest in a pamphlet, "Control of Vice Conditions in European Cities," published by order of the City Council of the City of Chicago, in December 1914, where we have a report of observations made by two Chicago aldermen, who were sent abroad to make observations on the control of prostitution in certain European cities. In this report to the Mayor of Chicago, which was published for the information of the citizens, they say:—

"When the vice problem of Chicago was be-
"ing discussed before the Council Health Com-
"mittee last Spring, the European system of
"Regulation' was much vaunted, frequently by

¹ "Social Hygiene," January 1917, vol. III., No. 1, pp. 130-1.

"intelligent business and professional men. The contention was that Chicago's present method of repression or suppression was wrong in principle and practice and that regulation with strict police and medical supervision was the intelligent solution of the problem, and that the entire subject was handled in a satisfactory manner abroad.

"We may say at this point that our observations in Europe strengthen our belief that the recognition of prostitution by the authorities as a necessary evil is wrong and that regulation and supervision are not the proper remedies to apply. Further, we may suggest that the people who extol the European system of controlling the social evil as a rule are not familiar with the conditions as they truly exist. Referring to conditions in Chicago, we feel that we are now on the right track in meeting this great problem. Since our visit to Europe we are more than ever convinced that our present policy (repression) is a most decided step in the progress of order and decency and that to again return to our old time system of segregation (?), even with most approved police or sanitary regulation would be most deplorable and decidedly retrogressive."

SEGREGATION

Another form of regulation of vice which has been discussed as a possibility for Montreal, is that of segregation. Segregation may be briefly defined as the policy of attempting to confine houses of prostitution to one or more localities within which official action will not be taken against such houses or their proprietors and inmates, provided prescribed regulations are observed. Let us again quote from Mr. Wright in his chapter on Segregation in the pamphlet formerly alluded to:

Definition of Segregation

"Segregation is the aggregation or concentration of debauchery in one or more streets or quarters of a city. It is enforced—or rather the attempt has often been made to enforce it—by municipal ordinances or police regulations, usually by prescribing certain limits outside of which prostitution is forbidden. It may or may not accompany other methods of Regulation. Paris for instance has no Segregation. Brussels has abandoned it. It survives in Hamburg, Bremen, and certain other German cities. Most large cities in the United States have experimented with it—not entirely to their satisfaction—though it still persists in many (in 1911). In America these areas are known as 'Red Light Districts,' from the circumstance that in them red lamps are affixed to brothels as a sign of their character. . . . The fact that in every large centre of population there is a certain proportion of people with immoral propensities cannot be denied. There is also a proportion addicted to strong drink, but what legislator in his senses would 'segregate' drunkenness, i.e., allow drink, its sale and consumption to run riot in certain streets, provided that there was sobriety elsewhere?"¹

Telephone Makes Segregation Ineffective

Mr. Wright brings out a further point against the theory of segregation, which is borne out by our own experience in Montreal: that the telephone makes it absolutely impossible to keep all houses of prostitution within bounds. Mr. Wright says:—

"Segregation does not segregate in America.
"In the United States the telephone has, for one

¹ "Regulated Vice and the Traffic in Women," pp. 16-19.

“thing, been too much for the police, as will be
“seen from the following passage taken from the
“fourth annual report of the Police Commissioner
“—Stephen J. O'Meara—of Boston.

“The most important instrumentality in the
“change which for good or for evil has taken
“place in the business of vice is the telephone,
“with the modern system of operation which
“throws its use open not only to subscribers but
“to the whole public. The ‘telephone house,’
“as it has come to be known—and in most cases
“it is but an apartment—is practically an ex-
“change, in which the tenant, without keeping
“women in the place, fills orders, so to speak;
“and even when the police become suspicious
“and arrive with a liquor search warrant, which
“is their only legal and practicable means of
“securing entrance, they usually find nothing
“incriminating on the premises. A person
“carrying on the business in this way receives
“messages by telephone from men, and has at her
“call numbers of women and girls who use the
“telephone at stated times to learn whether
“or not they are wanted.”¹

Segregation Failed in Chicago

Mr. Wright, who wrote in 1911 before the cities mentioned had done away with their segregated districts, quotes extensively from experience in Chicago, Baltimore, and Des Moines, as follows:—

“Chicago is famous for its ‘Red Light
“Districts,’ which are among the great sights of
“the city. The Chicago Vice Commission says
“in its elaborate report on ‘The Social Evil of
“Chicago’ (1911) (p. 145):—‘The evil of pro-
“stitution finds its most acute expression in
“Chicago in the following ways: In recognised

¹ Regulated Vice and the Traffic in Women, pp. 20-21.

"houses in so-called restricted districts, in semi-
"recognised flats in residential districts; in as-
"signation hotels in restricted, residential and
"business districts; in rear rooms of saloons, in
"assignment rooms over saloons in restricted,
"residential and business districts and on the
"street in restricted, residential and business
"districts.' In short, segregation has been a
"failure in Chicago. Prostitution has pervaded
"the city.¹

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"The City of Des Moines (Iowa), has
"abandoned segregation. Of this city a Com-
"mittee appointed to study immoral conditions
"in Baltimore, reported thus: 'The Assistant
"Chief of Police (of Des Moines), an officer of
"high character—makes the following state-
"ment:—"It is not generally known to persons
"outside of the police department that in the
"days of the 'Red Light' district, when it was
"commonly believed that lewd women were
"segregated, not more than 15 per cent of the
"traffic was really carried on in the district.
"Everywhere in the city were disorderly houses.
"It was impossible to control them. The best
"evidence of the decrease in business is the fact
"that complaints from the residence districts
"have decreased at least 85 per cent".'

"Similar evidence could be multiplied. But
"enough has been given to prove that just as
"Regulation cannot regulate, Segregation can-
"not segregate."²

"Speaking of Minneapolis, the Vice Commis-
"sion's Report for that city says:—

"The residents of the Sixth Ward (a segregated
"district), found it difficult for the most respect-
"able women to appear even in the street cars

¹ Regulated Vice and the Traffic in Women, p. 21.

² Ibid., p. 22.

"near this district at night without being sub-
mitted to insult by rowdies and men half-
intoxicated. In the district itself one of the
most notorious houses was adjacent to a large
block or apartment building in which about
150 families in very moderate circumstances
dwelt; within half a block of one of these
resorts was the only vacant lot in the neigh-
borhood upon which children could play, and
frequently from 75 to 100 children would be
playing upon that lot."

Segregation Advertises Vice

In stating that Segregation serves to advertise vice, Mr. Wright says:—

"The area thus devoted to vice often gains to
itself notoriety as one of the show places or sights
of the city.

"Not only the deliberately immoral, but
the inquisitive, the thoughtless and the idle
seek it out. It serves as an advertisement of
vice."

.....
"What the Chicago Vice Commission has
so well said of its own segregated area is
true of others:—'The chief advertising, how-
ever, is the district itself. The lighted street,
the sound of music, the shrill cries and sug-
gestive songs of the inmates and entertainers,
all of these features tend to bring the business
to the attention of the public and to spread
the news to other towns and cities.'"

Mr. Wright quotes Dr. Donald R. Hooper, Secretary of the Maryland Society of Social Hygiene, as saying:—

¹ Regulated Vice and the Traffic in Women, p. 24.

“Our youths are not so ignorant of conditions in the city as many parents fondly suppose. . . . Drinking is encouraged, and monetary considerations compel the women to urge the boy to go beyond the limit his sober judgment would set upon his acts. This applies particularly to boys of better classes, those who have money to spend. The other great class of boys and men who have little money to spend must patronise prostitutes of the lower strata, or what is probably more commonly the case, must depend for their satisfaction upon the seduction of girls who, for the sake of entertainment and companionship, ultimately pay the price of their virtue. This class of boys and men justify their action on the ground that extra-marital sexual indulgence is not wrong, since the community not only tolerates public houses for those who are able to pay, but purposes to insure safety from robbery, exposure, and blackmail by the most efficient police supervision.”

“Other boys, however, are sent into temptation. Newsboys, delivery boys, messenger boys are compelled to frequent ‘Red Light’ districts in the ordinary course of their occupation.

“Add to this that children are born and bred in such districts, familiarised from infancy in the worst possible way with the knowledge of evil.

“ . . . Without endorsing all that has been written as to huge vested interests in vice in American cities, and without contending that Segregation is the only factor in the creation of such interests, enough has been said to justify the obvious inference that in ‘Red Light’ districts many persons, making their profit out of vice and out of the consumption of liquor that accompanies it, are

"directly concerned in promoting and perpetuating immorality.

"We have already pointed out that Regulation in all its forms encourages the White Slave Traffic by providing a safe market for the victims; moreover, that it demoralises the police, blunts their moral faculties, and exposes them to the most potent forms of temptation. In these respects Segregation is perhaps the worst and most dangerous form of Regulation. In a district given up to vice, what influence is there to strengthen the police against the temptations that surround them? In such a district where can a trapped girl turn for succor or rescue?

Vice Commissions Opposed to Segregation

"In the course of this paper reference has often been made to the reports of 'Vice Commissions' and other Committees appointed by large cities in the United States for the purpose of investigating the Social Evil. It is noteworthy that these Commissions did not approach the question with minds prejudiced against the policy of Segregation. On the contrary, to cite one example, the great majority of the members of the Minneapolis Commission were at the outset in favor of some system of regulation or segregation, but in the end came unanimously to the opposite opinion. Similarly, Professor Seligman informs us that when the 'Committee of Fifteen,'* which was appointed for the City of New York and of which he himself was a member, came together, knowing very little about it—just about as much or as little as does the ordinary man or woman—the great majority were in favor of regulation 'on the principle that it could do

* Later called the "Committee of Fourteen."

"no harm and might do some good.' After prolonged study the Committee came unanimously to the conclusion that Regulation was inadvisable and inadmissible; and reported that prostitution 'must not be segregated in separate quarters of the city'.

"Canadian experience points in the same direction. For about a year and a half, ending January 1st, 1911, the City of Winnipeg, by official action, attempted to segregate its disorderly houses. This, of course, it had no legal right to do, and the grave abuses, the flaunting of vice, the demoralizing influence on childhood and youth, the exhibition of obscenity and bestiality, led to such an outbreak of public criticism as called for official investigation under Royal Commission, with the result that Winnipeg has abandoned its policy of segregation."¹

Let us quote Dr. Flexner on the subject of segregation:—

" Segregation in the sense of an attempt to confine the prostitutes of a city or even the majority of them to a single locality, or even to a few definite localities is not undertaken in any European city from Budapest to Glasgow. Waiving all objections and assuming plenary and summary police power such as exists, it is obviously easier to inscribe them than to confine them. If, as is the case, they cannot be caught and inscribed, how are they to be caught and segregated? European cities, having universally failed in the attempt to inscribe prostitution, necessarily refrain from any endeavour to segregate any considerable part of it.

" Segregation is therefore impracticable; more than this, any attempt to bring it about

¹ Regulated Vice and the Traffic in Women, pp. 26-29.

"is also recognized to be inadvisable. In the
"first place, the impossibility of thoroughness
"creates an obvious opportunity for police
"corruption; a woman who objects to being
"segregated may for an adequate consideration
"induce the police to overlook her; and as hun-
"dreds are bound to be overlooked anyway, the
"chances of detecting fraud are slender. Again,
"a segregated quarter would give to vice the
"greatest possible prominence. Finally, it
"would expose to moral contagion those who
"are already most imperilled and whom every
"consideration of interest and decency should
"inipel society to protect—the children of the
"poor. For the segregated quarter will inevit-
"ably be located where rents are low and where
"the neighbors have least influence."

Japanese Oppose Segregation

In Social Hygiene, there is quoted a letter from Japan, on the continued agitation there against Segregation; it was sent out by a Committee of Foreign Residents of Osaka, in opposition to the establishment of a new segregated district in that city. Editorial comment says:—

"A hopeful feature of this opposition, whether or not the immediate point at issue is won, is in the fact that it is not confined to foreign residents to whom the Japanese system of segregation might well be expected to be abhorrent, but that it first sprang up among the Japanese and was later given Christian and foreign support."

The letter says in part:—

"It is evident that the crucial moment of the battle is now approaching. The activities of the next few weeks will determine the happi-

¹ Prostitution in Europe, pp. 175-176.

"ness or misery of thousands of Japanese young
"women, as well as the prospect for purity in
"this, the second city of the Empire. Further-
"more this fight concerns the whole country
"and the whole cause of anti-prostitution every-
"where. The issue of the battle here
"is bound to affect tremendously the solution
"of the social evil problem throughout Japan,
"and even outside of Japan, so that we feel
"justified in responding to the request of the
"General Committee to present this wide
"appeal."

REPRESSION

And what is the new policy that is replacing the old? It is that of repression or suppression of Commercialized Vice, and has been adopted as a policy largely because the public has been supplied with facts in regard to the evils of Commercialized Vice. From white slave investigations, international white slave legislation, private and public vice commissions and nation-wide organizations for the study of world experience, we have had an increasing amount of knowledge on every side. An informed public opinion has served to bring about this last development in regard to suppression elsewhere, and it is hoped that public opinion in Montreal will respond to the information to be regularly placed before it by this Committee, and will in turn take up earnestly a campaign for the Repression of Commercialized Vice.

Vice Surveys

A summary of this policy is given in "Social Hygiene," in a comprehensive article called "The Passing of the Red Light District—Vice Investigation and Results." It is compiled by Joseph Mayer, of the Bureau of Social Hygiene. The article begins:—

"Social Hygiene," January 1917, vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 135-36.

History of Movement in U.S.

"Ten years ago segregation was the accepted policy of vice control. Certain stock reasons were given, murmurings of which are still heard here and there. Practically every large city in the United States had its district. In fact, New York and Chicago had several. To question segregation was to be branded either a fool or a fanatic.

"Since that day a remarkable change has taken place. Approximately two hundred cities, including virtually every one over 100,000 population, have closed their districts. Not the trace of one (much less several) is to be found in New York or Chicago. The notorious 'Barbary Coast' of San Francisco and arrogant 'Storyville' of New Orleans are no more. It is a question of but a short time before every awakened community in the United States follows suit.

"This is a significant change. Nor is it one brought on by military necessity. The few remaining strongholds of vice were being shaken to their very foundations even before the United States entered the war. The War Department has simply taken the new order at the flood tide and is making the most of it. The red light district is passing, never to return.

"One naturally asks: 'Why the change?' There are a number of contributing causes, but several stand out unmistakably. The predecessors of the American Social Hygiene Association had for some time been preparing the way. Local societies were organized and American communities were urged to make a serious study of vice conditions. With the co-ordination of these activities in the American Social Hygiene Association, a concerted program of action

“along educational, medical, and law enforcement lines was definitely launched and carried into effect. Another cause was the discovery of the organism and the treatment for syphilis, which showed the futility of medical inspection and changed the attitude of the medical profession. Still a third major cause was the extensive studies made by the Bureau of Social Hygiene of conditions first in New York City and then in Europe. To European experience American advocates of segregation and regulation were constantly pointing. The results of the Bureau’s researches were both startling and clarifying. They proved beyond dispute that abroad,—where police action is summary and autocratic and not subject to politics and popular control as here in the United States,—regulation was an absolute failure, and was being abandoned. As for segregation,—it had long since been discarded.

“As a result of and in connection with these activities and studies, city after city in the United States instituted vice investigations; two score in less than a decade. Most of the men appointed on these investigating bodies held the then still-accepted theory of segregation, but without exception they finished their labours with an absolute reversal of conviction. The disclosures left no alternative. As the facts became known, public opinion began to consolidate until to-day the revolution is complete.

“What were the disclosures that caused such a metamorphosis? Simply these: It had become patent that segregation did nothing that was claimed for it. On the contrary, conditions flagrant and intolerable had come in its wake. Segregation had really never segregated. Regulation and medical inspection proved to be failures, and the district

"the most virulent source of venereal infection.
"The district enabled vice to organize on a vast
"scale and greatly augment its traffic. The
"resultant advertisement made vice more easy
"of access and provided a source of sexual
"brutalization and degeneracy. Segregation
"corrupted the police force, stimulated illegal
"sale of liquor, increased crime and debauchery,
"and fostered sexual perversion.

"Surely a great enough indictment to give
"any one pause ! Similar indictments were ren-
"dered in city after city until the most stubborn
"exponents of the established theory were
"silenced.

"Of course every change arouses apprehen-
"sion, even though the need is quite apparent.
"But the details of a new policy were being
"worked out, and the minor shades of apprehen-
"sion were soon laid beside the major phantom
"of segregation as the new order began to take
"shape. Every city undertaking an investiga-
"tion worthy of the name abolished its district.
"Nor has any gone back to it. 'Once smashed,
"this line of evil strength is never reorganised'."

The following cities carried out definite investiga-
tions up to 1916, and as a result were unanimous in
closing their districts. A number of other cities have
since held investigations, but the results are not yet
ascertainable. This list is given in Mr. Mayer's article.

Atlanta
Baltimore
Bay City
Bridgeport
Chicago
Cleveland
Denver
Elmira

Louisville
Minneapolis
Newark
New York
Philadelphia
Pittsburg
Portland, Maine
Portland, Oregon

¹ Social Hygiene, vol. IV., No. 2, April 1918, pp. 197-199.

Grand Rapids
Hartford
Honolulu
Kansas City, Mo.
Lancaster
Lexington
Little Rock

Richmond, Va.
St. Louis
Shreveport
Springfield
Syracuse
Toronto

Mr. Mayer comments on this as follows:—

“The most important result of the closing
“of districts is the changed status of com-
“mercialized vice. In an ‘open town’ vice is
“either tolerated, regulated, or even legalised.
“In other words, it is looked upon as in some
“way necessary. Under such circumstances,
“vice is in the ambiguous position of being both
“illegal and quasi-legal at the same time, so that
“any approach to a consistent policy is im-
“possible, and a corrupted police force is
“inevitable. The abolition of the district clears
“the way for a constructive program, definitely
“puts the ban of social disapproval upon sexual
“commerce, brands it as illegitimate and forces
“it to stand in the same light as other offences
“against the law, and crystallizes public senti-
“ment to back up persistent law enforcement
“and repression.”¹

Repression in New York City

The experience of a policy of repression in New York City will be of interest to Montreal. The Bureau of Social Hygiene published in November, 1916, a report on conditions in New York, at that date, in comparison with 1912 and 1915. In the introduction to the Report, it is said:—

“The contrast is in the highest degree strik-
“ing and encouraging. Vice still exists; but its

¹ Social Hygiene, vol. IV., No. 2, April, 1918, p. 200.

"amount has been greatly reduced, and the
"damage caused has been immensely lessened.
"In 1912, prostitution was open, organized,
"aggressive, and prosperous; in 1916, it is furtive,
"disorganized, precarious, unsuccessful. This
"improvement is shown in the statistics that
"follow; but, as a matter of fact, the real im-
"provement is far greater than the statistics
"show. A single example will make this point
"clear. There were 142 parlor houses in 1912;
"the present statement gives 22. On the face
"of the figures, the parlor houses have been cut
"down to one-seventh of what they were four
"years ago. But this understates the achieve-
"ments. For the 142 houses in 1912 harbored
"over 1,600 inmates; they were notorious
"resorts, engaged in the active and open pro-
"secution of their shameless business. The 22
"houses now reported contain less than fifty
"inmates. They are hard to find, still harder
"to enter; they lead a brief, uncertain, day-
"to-day existence; before these pages leave the
"press, every one of them will probably have
"been snuffed out by the police. The same
"holds true of vicious saloons, of vicious tene-
"ments, of street-walking, and of pimps. Thus,
"though commercialized vice continues in New
"York, it has been dealt a body blow.

"The credit for this achievement must be
"more or less widely apportioned. Civic or-
"ganizations, such as the Committee of Four-
"teen, deserve to be prominently mentioned:
"the District Attorney's office and the Criminal
"Courts have recently by successive convictions
"performed an admirable service. But the chief
"credit belongs to the Mayor* and to the Com-
"missioner of Police. For three years an able,
"upright, clear-headed and high-minded Police
"Commissioner has pursued a sound and con-
"sistent policy, with all the backing, moral and

* John Purroy Mitchel.

"official, that the Mayor could bring to his support. The results are obvious; the police force has steadily improved in morals and efficiency; a new standard of public decency has been set and maintained.

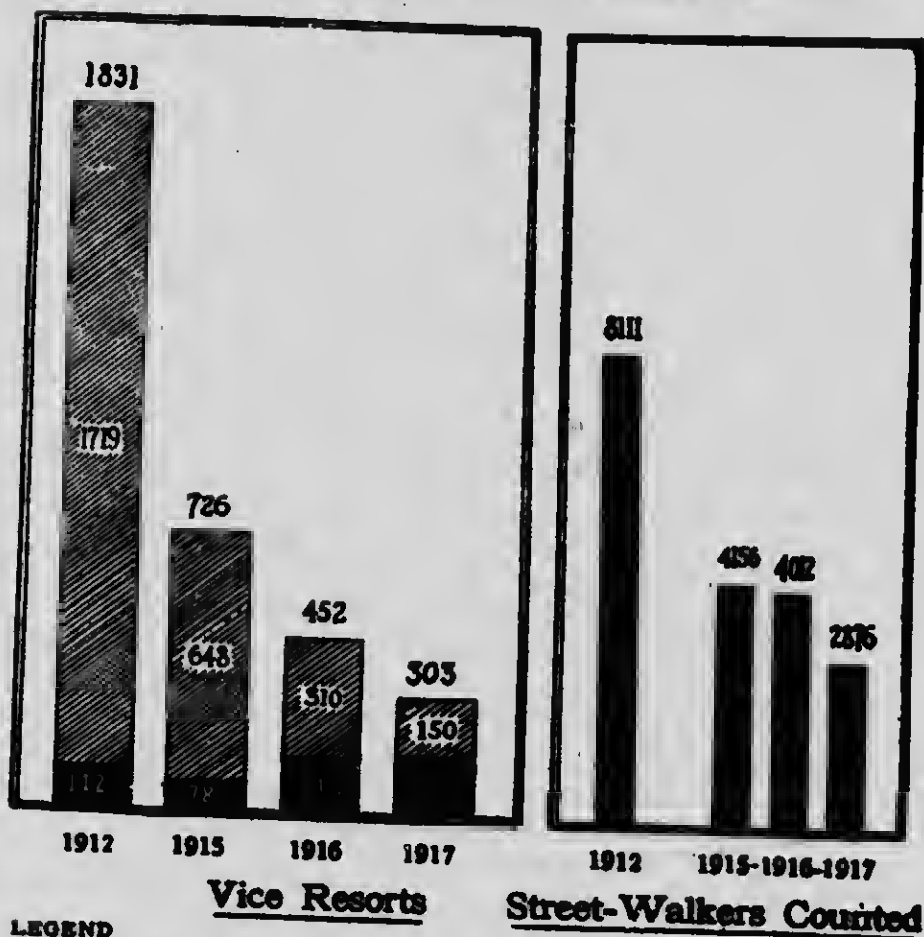
"Prostitution has been proved to be a 'modifiable phenomenon.' Whether the city has more of it or less of it depends very largely upon the policy which the municipal government pursues in dealing with it."¹

The Social Hygiene Bulletin, of January, 1918, says in comment upon this report that John D. Rockefeller, Jr., recently made public the following statement with special reference to work done by the police of Mayor Mitchel's administration:

"During the last four years a vigorous process of repression has gone on. The police have carried on an unceasing warfare—suppressing arresting and prosecuting, wherever evidence of the violation of law could be obtained. In consequence, year by year since 1912, commercialized prostitution has diminished both in volume and in intensity. Where it was once abundant, open, aggressive, and shameless, it is now reduced in amount, stealthy, unaggressive, and afraid. The 'parlour house,' the most flagrant and destructive of all forms of prostitution, has been completely suppressed in New York City. Instead of the 2,000 resorts which carried on an aggressive business in immorality five years ago, there are now about 300, of which almost all are living surreptitiously and ineffectively. Such prostitution as now exists in this city is almost wholly an individual affair. As a commercialized and organized business, it has been practically wiped out."

¹ Pamphlet, "Commercialized Prostitution in New York City," Nov. 1, 1916, pp. 1-2.

DIAGRAM SHOWING HOW A POLICY OF REPRESSION HAS AFFECTED THE VOLUME OF PROSTITUTION IN NEW YORK CITY



Note that as prostitution has been repressed from year to year, there has been a slight increase in the number of rooming-houses used for purposes of prostitution, but that the total volume of prostitution has greatly decreased. Contrary to the expectations of many, the number of street walkers has decreased and not increased.

Figures upon which above diagrams are based have been taken from a pamphlet entitled "Commercialized Prostitution in New York City," published by the Bureau of Social Hygiene, 61 Broadway, New York City. Diagrams are published by Council of National Defence, Washington, D.C.

Results of Repression Elsewhere in U.S.

The American Social Hygiene Association gives us the following reports on the effects of repression in several American cities where a follow-up investigation has been made to ascertain results.

From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Federation of Churches:

"In December, 1914, the Buffalo Federation of Churches began an investigation, which resulted in the sworn affidavits of private detectives against about a dozen of the most notorious houses in the so-called 'Tenderloin.'

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"A little more than a year has elapsed since this work was begun by the Federation. 105 actions have been instituted. In 6 of these the motion for an injunction has been denied. 77 permanent injunctions have been granted. The rest of the cases are pending.

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"A tour of the tenderloin today reveals a situation which by comparison with that of a year ago is well-nigh incredible. The old-time houses are silent and give hardly a sign of being occupied. Thirty of them are actually standing vacant. In a score of cases tenants have been evicted by the owners; many houses are offered for sale, and a dozen have been converted into stores.

"Police reports show that 35 proprietors, and probably 500 women, have left Buffalo, and 50 of the men who have lived upon the proceeds of the trade have likewise disappeared. Soliciting from windows is practically unknown, and even upon the streets it is comparatively rare."

From the Lexington (Ky.) Vice Report we find the following statements received from cities which had closed their segregated districts. From the Mayor's Office, Des Moines, Iowa, on May 11th, 1915, there is a letter which states:

"When the new commission plan became
"effective in this city, we had a so-called segre-
"gated district, or rather two or three districts.
"A policy of strict suppression of this vice was at
"once ordered by the Mayor and Superintendent
"of Public Safety. This policy has been followed
"since that time (April 1, 1908) and very few
"citizens would favor returning to the old plan.

"There is still some prostitution in Des
"Moines, just as there are some sales of liquor
"since the saloons are closed, but the evil has
"been reduced to a very small fraction of what
"it was when we had the fine system and when a
"certain protection was given unfortunate
"women who lived within the districts. At
"that time there were more prostitutes scat-
"tered throughout the residence districts than
"there are now. A careful survey of the con-
"ditions in the city was made a while ago by one
"of our most experienced officers who served
"under both regimes. His report showed about
"one-fourth as many prostitutes in the city as
"there were when we had the red light dis-
"trict.

"The number of arrests for prosecution
"is but a fraction of what it was before 1908,
"and when prostitution was driven out the
"attending evils went also."

The Mayor of Hamilton, Ohio, states in May, 1915, the results of the order closing the red light district which went into effect May, 1914:

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"The population of Hamilton is approxi-
"mately 40,000. We have abolished the segre-
"gated district and all commercialized vice.

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"It was argued that the abolition of com-
"mercialized vice would create a condition
"whereby the young women of the city would
"be unsafe on the streets. Such is not the case.
"There has been no case of rape or anything of
"the kind called to our attention.

"The order closing the vice district went
"into effect May 1, 1914. From conversation
"with physicians I am informed that sexual
"disease in the City of Hamilton has been
"minimized and not increased as asserted
"by opponents of the abolition program."

The City of Lancaster, Pa., published a Second Re-
port on Vice Conditions a year after adopting the policy
of repression:

"The estimated weekly number of 4,000 to
"5,000 customers, or frequenters of these
"resorts has, we believe, been reduced to
"one or two hundred.

"Fourteen madams have moved to other
"quarters in the city, and have in most cases
"practically ceased business; eighteen more
"have left the city. About 75 per cent of the
"girls who were inmates of houses have also
"left the city, some to go to their homes,
"some to enter legitimate business, and some
"(the larger part) to quarters, known and
"unknown, in other cities and towns.

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"Lancaster is no longer a 'wide-open' city,
"nor its tolerated immorality such a flagrant
"menace to the youth of the city as it was
"only a little over a year ago, but the whole vice
"situation has been put upon an entirely new
"basis: The laws are to be obeyed; commercial-

"ized vice in our midst is no longer to be tolerated; the chief of police and his men are to be supported in doing their work faithfully in this respect, and in carrying out their oath of office; and the new mayor, Hon. H. L. Trout, has given the Vice Committee assurance of his co-operation in the work, and of his determination to pursue and enforce the same policy of suppression. All this is a vast change for the better'. We breathe a new moral atmosphere! Even the post office reports a marked and significant decrease in clandestine correspondence through the general delivery and private boxes. And those who say that vice conditions in the City of Lancaster are as bad as formerly, simply do not know the facts, or purposely misrepresent them. We believe that the city is immeasurably cleaner, morally, than it was a year ago."

A further report comes from Lancaster, Pa., in February, 1917:

"Reverend Clifford G. Twombly, D.D., Chairman of the Commission, under whose direction the work was done, says in 'The Churchman,' February 3, 1917:
"At the opening of the last Quarter Sessions Criminal Court in Lancaster on September 11, 1916, the presiding judge in his charge and instructions to the Grand Jury took occasion to say that it had been five months since the session of the Criminal Court had been held in Lancaster County and that 'in this time there had been a notable lack of serious crimes in the county, and we are to be congratulated on this fact.'
"There has also been a marked decrease recently in the fornication and bastardy cases. Is there any connection between this state of affairs and the closing of the disorderly houses

"which are the breeding places of vice and
"crime? It seems to us that there is, though
"at the time of the vice crusade it was con-
"stantly and confidently predicted that the
"result would be just the opposite and that the
"closing of such resorts would mean a large in-
"crease of vice and crime. The chief of police
"also is credited in the 'Lancaster Intelligencer'
"of October 9, 1916, with speaking as follows:—
"For a number of years this city has been
"slowly but certainly undergoing a purifying
"treatment. It has been cleared of dives and
"of their frequenters, and those who have striven
"to bring home the hopes of the social workers
"have overwhelmingly won against almost
"inconceivable odds."

In an article by David Lawrence, Washington correspondent of the New York Evening Post, which was published by the American Social Hygiene Association, we learn the effects of vice repression in Washington, D.C.:

"Law enforcement has been splendidly effi-
"cient. Instead of increasing commercialized
"vice in sections of the city previously un-
"touched, the abolition of the restricted dis-
"trict has tended to diminish vice throughout
"the whole city. Physicians and clinics have
"fewer patients. Visitors in the city find it
"almost impossible to locate prostitutes.

"The inauguration of 1917 was so different
"from any of the preceding inaugural celebra-
"tions with respect to vice conditions that
"thousands of men who either had heard of
"Washington's clean-up or learned of it after
"their arrival departed soon to Baltimore, Phila-
"delphia, and other cities. No crowds ling-
"ered after the parade—and those who did
"furnished by their futile search a striking
"proof of the thoroughness of the anti-vice
"crusade."

In discussing the objection that methods of suppression would merely bring about an increase of clandestine prostitution and of disorderliness on the streets, Dr. Flexner says:—

“Have conditions in the towns above named* been affected for the worse by the sudden and recent change from regulation to abolition? I did not find a single police officer who answered that question in the affirmative. The division chief at Copenhagen stated to me: ‘Regulation was entirely dispensed with in 1906; in the interval the police have learned how to procure all the information and to take all the steps for which at one time a morals police and regulation were supposed to be necessary.’ When the new law abrogating police control was proposed, objection was made on the ground that, in the absence of police power to confine prostitutes to specific localities, they would infest the whole city. ‘It has not happened; prostitution is more scattered and thus more readily handled, but it does not invade all sections. The suppression of summary police punishments has done no harm; the ordinary courts with their usual processes have proved adequate to maintain order and decency. Conditions are at least as good as under the old system; some streets have been entirely freed; the main streets are no worse; clandestine prostitution has not been aggravated; indeed up to now nothing has happened to cause us to regret’.”

Injunction and Abatement Law

In showing the workings of a policy of repression, the article by Mr. Mayer which has been previously referred to, states:—

* Copenhagen, Christiania, The Hague, Rotterdam, Zurich, Geneva.—
“Prostitution in Europe,” pp. 328-29.

* Ibid., p. 330.

"Practically every state and territory (48
"in all) now has a criminal law, nearly every one
"enacted in the past ten years, prohibiting the
"keeping of a disorderly house as such. In
"addition, numerous cities have enacted special
"prohibitory statutes. Again, during the same
"time 31 states (including the district of Colum-
"bia) have enacted an Injunction and Abate-
"ment Law through which any citizen can bring
"an action in equity—swift and sure—to close
"up as a public nuisance any place used for
"purposes of 'lewdness, assignation, or pro-
"stitution.' This law has been very effectively
"used and since it strikes at owners (as well
"as keepers) has made these more careful to
"prevent the use of their property for immoral
"purposes. In fact, the mere passage of such a
"law has in a number of instances resulted in the
"wholesale closing of recognized houses. Fur-
"thermore, the study of prostitution in Europe
"brought home to people in this country that the
"disorderly house as such had already prac-
"tically died out there. Under pressure of
"enlightened public opinion and the enforce-
"ment of the legal measures mentioned, hun-
"dreds upon hundreds of recognized houses have
"been closed in recent years in the United States.
"To-day there are very few in existence. It
"may safely be said that the regular disorderly
"house is passing close on the heels of the dis-
"trict.

Law Enforcement

"Along with these unprecedented gains has
"come, in scores of cities, the suppression of
"disorderly saloons and hotels; the prohibition
"of back and connecting rooms and booths in
"saloons; the licensing, supervision and regula-
"tion of hotels, rooming and lodging houses,
"dance halls, and motion picture theatres; the

"enactment and strict enforcement of ordinances
"against solicitation on the streets and in public
"places. The fining system is being abolished
"and severer penalties with prison sentences are
"imposed. The patron, too, is beginning to feel
"the pressure of aroused public opinion."

Owners of Property Prosecuted

The increased tendency to get at owners of property used by commercialized vice interests is discussed in an article called "Commercialized Prostitution and Use of Property," by Geo. J. Kneeland. In this connection we learn something of the enormous profits reaped by the landlord. Mr. Kneeland says:—

"This guilty partnership between citizens
"of standing and vice promoters evidently has
"its chief incentive in the increased rentals of
"premises utilized for purposes of prostitution.
"Ample evidence that exorbitant and illegitimate
"interest is yielded on the capital invested
"has been adduced by many vice investigations.
"A madam of a prosperous resort held a 10-year
"lease on a house, owned by a citizen of repute,
"at an annual rental of \$8,000, or \$666 per
"month. The rental value of this house for
"legitimate purposes was estimated to be less
"than \$1,500 per annum, or \$125 per month.
"Thus the illegitimate profit to the owner may
"be said to be \$541 per month."

In summing up, Mr. Kneeland says:—

"The real estate agents and the brokers
"who lease and rent property for immoral
"purposes, with or without the knowledge of the
"owners, are equally partners with vice and
"equally guilty.

¹ "Social Hygiene," vol. 4, No. 2, April 1918, pp. 203-204.
² "Social Hygiene," vol. 2, No. 4, October, 1916, p. 563.

"The most effective law now in force
"against owners of such property, is the in-
"junction and abatement law. The methods
"which may be used to arouse public opinion
"so that this law can be enforced are:—

"1. A field investigation conducted with
"the utmost secrecy to ascertain the exact
"facts.

"2. The publication of the facts and, under
"certain restrictions, of the names of owners
"of houses of prostitution and other buildings
"where prostitutes ply their trade.

"3. The definite prosecution of guilty
"owners in the courts.

"4. The organization of a permanent
"committee, composed of private citizens,
"whose purposes shall be to further investigate
"conditions, co-operate with the police and
"the courts, and conserve and promote public
"opinion so that the gains made against com-
"mercialized vice may not be lost."

In "Social Hygiene," we find a discussion of the
Injunction and Abatement Law in Indianapolis:

"The Indiana Injunction and Abatement
"Law has been utilized to great advantage
"during the fifteen months since its enactment
"in reducing commercialized vice in Indiana-
"polis. During that time twenty-four suits
"have been brought against the keepers of
"houses of prostitution, all of which resulted
"successfully. These women were put under
"an injunction which is binding on them as
"long as they live in the State of Indiana; they
"include practically all of the notorious women
"who have long and successfully, from the
"financial standpoint, conducted their business
"of prostitution in Indianapolis.

¹ "Social Hygiene," vol. 2, No. 4, October 1916, p. 572.

"In addition to these twenty-four cases, more than sixty houses of prostitution have been vacated, after notice and threat of enforcing the law, and without the need of bringing suit. Scarcely a week passes that some such houses are not thus vacated.

"But the influence of the law has extended to many more houses and people than are included in the above eighty cases of houses of prostitution that have been stopped doing business during the past year. Many have abandoned the business or refused to enter it or continue it through fear of this law. Therefore it is impossible to estimate exactly how extensive has been the influence of this law in Indianapolis.

"The feature of the law which makes it effective is that it reached the property owner and in most of the twenty-four suits instituted the property owner was a party to the suit. Property owners and real estate agents are extremely sensitive about publicity of the bad reputation of their houses. For that reason mere notice to the owner in most cases has been sufficient."

Sale of Liquor in Disorderly Houses

Another measure of repression which has come into prominence in the recommendation of various vice commissions is the enforcement of laws prohibiting the sale of liquor in disorderly houses. This relation between prostitution and alcohol is discussed by Walter Clarke, Secretary of the American Social Hygiene Association, in "Social Hygiene," who says:—

"The effect of closing out liquor from houses of prostitution has been carefully

¹ "Social Hygiene," vol. 111., No. 1, January 1917, pp. 137-138.

² "Social Hygiene," vol. 111., No. 1, January 1917, p. 86; article "Prostitution and Alcohol."

"noted in various cities. As an adjunct to the
"business, it is so important, both as a source
"of income and as a stimulant to the business of
"prostitution itself, that when liquor is excluded
"from the houses of prostitution, the business
"decreases about one-half. The Chief of Police
"of Cincinnati stated in a personal conference
"with the writer that the removal of liquor from
"the houses of prostitution in Cincinnati was
"followed by the closing of half of the houses.
"Those remaining are having great difficulty,
"due to the decrease of their business. A madam
"testified before the Wisconsin Vice Commission
"in 1914 that, when liquor was closed out of her
"house in Superior, her custom decreased 50%.
"Other cases confirm these statements."

Education on Venereal Disease

The last word in the attack on commercialized vice is "Venereal Disease." The U.S. authorities discovered that out of six cases of venereal infection in the army five had been brought into the camps by new recruits from the communities. The American War Department had used every effort to close the "districts" immediately surrounding the camps, but when the appalling civilian condition became apparent, every effort was used to stamp out commercialized vice in every locality, far and near. In a letter sent by the Secretary of War to the Mayors of the Cities and the Sheriffs of the Counties in the neighborhood of all Military Training Camps, on August 10th, 1917, the Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, says:—

"The War Department will not tolerate
"the existence of any restricted district within
"an effective radius of the camp. Experience
"has proved that such districts in the vicinity
"of army camps, no matter how conducted, are
"inevitably attended by unhappy consequences.
"The only practical policy which presents itself

"in relation to this problem is the policy of
"absolute repression, and I am confident that in
"taking this course the War Department has
"placed itself in line with the best thought and
"practice which modern police experience has
"developed. This policy involves, of course,
"constant vigilance on the part of the police,
"not only in eliminating regular houses of pro-
"stitution, but in checking the more or less
"clandestine class that walks the streets and
"is apt to frequent lodging houses and hotels."

War Showed Civilian Conditions

This campaign has been carried out by the United States War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities with its divisions on law enforcement, venereal disease, education, and recreation. To quote from a pamphlet issued by the United States Public Health Service, "War on Venereal Disease to Continue":—

"From first to last the Government main-
"tained the position accepted by the best medical
"authority, viz.:—that continence is entirely
"compatible with health, and that irregular
"sex intercourse with prostitutes is the most
"prolific cause of venereal disease."

The work of the commission bore fruit not only in a wide cleaning up of the cities in the United States but also reacted on the condition of the soldier himself.

Continence Compatible With Health

In an article by Raymond Fosdick, in the "New Republic" of November 30th, 1918, we read of the programme of the U.S. War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities for combating prostitution and venereal diseases. Mr. Fosdick says:—

"It was founded on the proved principle
 "that sexual continence was not only possible
 "for soldiers, but was also highly desirable from
 "the standpoint of physical efficiency, morals
 "and morale. Its chief features were education
 "of the men; repression of disorderly resorts;
 "provision of healthful, interesting and con-
 "structive recreation; prophylaxis, or early
 "treatment, for men who had exposed themselves;
 "punishment for those exposed who failed to take
 "prophylaxis; and, finally, expert treatment for
 "those who either came into the army already
 "infected or broke through all the barriers set
 "up by the military authorities."

Cost of Prostitution in Disease

In discussing the enormous indirect cost of pro-
 stitution through venereal disease in civilian circles,
 Mr. George J. Kneeland says in "Commercialized
 Prostitution in New York":¹—

"It needs no argument to show that the cost
 "of prostitution is enormously augmented by
 "disease. . . . But the reckoning would still
 "be incomplete, even if we knew the actual vol-
 "ume of syphilis, gonorrhoea and chancre; for
 "there would remain to be included the remote
 "effects, not less certainly due to venereal af-
 "fection, and even more fateful and costly than
 "the immediate manifestations,—paralysis, ster-
 "ility, miscarriage, deformity, degeneracy, in-
 "sanity,—curses that stretch 'even unto the
 "third and fourth generations.' From the effort
 "to translate such losses into dollars and cents,
 "the boldest calculator may well shrink; yet
 "they are a part,—a certain, inevitable part,—
 "of the cost of prostitution."

Through the prominence of venereal diseases as a
 problem the war has shown the nations of the world not

¹ p. 136.

only their prevalence and seriousness but it showed how and where to attack and conquer them. In a pamphlet entitled "War on Venereal Disease to Continue,"¹ we read under the heading "Venereal Disease a Peace Problem":—

"The examination of draftees showed that
"five men came into the army with venereal
"disease to every one who contracted it after he
"was in the army, and the one who contracted
"it in the army, probably, was infected in a civil
"community near camp, over which civil
"authorities had control.

"Venereal disease, then, is not to be at-
"tacked as a war epidemic, but as a civilian
"problem and a peace problem."

Venereal Disease Legislation

As a result of this agitation much new public health legislation has been passed in English speaking countries with emphasis on prostitution and venereal disease. Venereal disease legislation has been passed in Ontario, Saskatchewan, and in fourteen states of the United States. Such legislation deals very definitely with the prostitute as a carrier of disease, and public education along these lines will inevitably do much to sap the strength of commercialized vice interests. Prostitution and venereal disease are inevitable companions, and whatever attacks one attacks the other. The Committee of Sixteen includes a programme on venereal disease as part of its work because a strong campaign of education in regard to this peril will strike at the very roots of commercialized vice.

Repression for Montreal

In conclusion, the Committee of Sixteen wish to point out that the policy of Repression which we advocate includes, in its full scope, constructive, reformatory and

¹ Published by United States Public Health Service.

preventive measures, as well as those of law enforcement. Repression of commercialized vice, to have its best effects, should be accompanied by means for care of its victims as well as of prosecution of their exploiters. A probation system in the courts to supplant the present fining system (See Appendix A), for the investigation and supervision of individual cases; an indeterminate sentence in connection with a parole department for the supervision of such girls as have received court commitment and have earned the privilege of an early discharge; provision for the mental and physical examination of convicted offenders, male and female; hospitals for the diseased; a reformatory on the cottage system for the segregation of different classes of offenders,—provisions on some such lines should be made if the policy of Repression is to be applied to the fullest possible extent. These and other measures advocated elsewhere (See Appendix B) will be studied and reported on by this Committee as a part of its work.

APPENDIX A

Measures for Repression

The following is a transcript of a summary of recommendations of Vice Commissions concerning the fining of persons convicted of prostitution, which is on file in the library of the American Social Hygiene Association, New York City.

1. REPORT OF THE SOCIAL SURVEY COMMISSION, TORONTO, CANADA, 1915:—

"That the system of fining prostitutes and bawdy-house keepers should be discontinued, for the following reasons:—First, it is ineffective. It does not stop the traffic, nor, we believe, seriously check it. Secondly, it does not sufficiently recognize the serious character of the offence. Thirdly, a system of fines, in connection with a lucrative traffic, has too strong a resemblance to a licensing system, and makes the public treasury a sharer in the proceeds of a disgraceful business. Fourthly, it does nothing toward the reclamation of the offenders."

2. REPORT OF THE PORTLAND, OREGON, VICE COMMISSION, 1913:—

"An examination of the city ordinances relative to prostitution, especially when supplemented by a study of their practical workings in the police court, will bring the most optimistic observer to the conclusion that the ordinances of the City of Portland indirectly encourage the business of prostitution."

"The legal status of a prostitute is that of a vagrant,—a tramp, a hobo. The common sense of mankind is outraged at the idea of trying to levy a fine against the tramp because he is such, for to assume that a tramp has money is to assume that he is not a tramp. The female tramp—the prostitute—gets money by selling her body, and so by a curious perversion of reason she is fined money for being a vagrant, when it is recognized she can only obtain that money to pay a fine by selling herself more times than it ordinarily would be necessary for her to do in order to live as a tramp. That is to say, the law, when enforced, compels the prostitute to be more of a public nuisance than she otherwise would be, in order to pay a fine which the law prescribes to prevent her from continuing her life of vagrancy and prostitution.

"From this fact, taken in connection with the story which a study of the Court docket tells, it is beyond question that the fining system provided for in the city ordinances renders any control or improvement in the matter of commercialized prostitution impossible. The full significance of this can only be realized when a study is made of the various business interests that have money invested in property, both real and personal, which is in constant use and demand in the business of prostitution. The owners of real estate get bigger rent; the furniture stores sell larger quantities of furniture; the real estate men do a larger business; investors of capital get a higher interest; wholesale liquor dealers sell greater quantities of liquor, and retail liquor dealers—especially the proprietors of grills—do an increased business. The business of prostitution, which is practically licensed by the City of Portland through the operation of its laws, does all these things, to say nothing of the wholesale dissemination of disease among its citizens. And in the meantime the prostitute—professional or otherwise—who, after all is said and done, is a woman, is being

knocked about with the butt of stupid law, in many cases a nuisance to herself; in all cases a menace to the community, and in no case with a chance for improvement."

3. REPORT OF THE VICE COMMISSION OF MINNEAPOLIS, 1911:—

"An indirect license system was inaugurated in the early 80's by means of regular monthly fines, the keepers coming into the Municipal Court on the order of the police, without the formality of arrest, at a special session held on a certain day of each month, and pleading guilty to a charge, brought under the city ordinance, of keeping a house of ill-fame. At first a uniform fine of \$50 was imposed on keepers, with costs; then \$60; then \$65; with intermittent fines for inmates at the rate of \$5 or \$10 each. In 1897, the fine was raised to \$100 (the maximum that can be imposed by the Court) for the proprietor; and fining of the inmates, except when prosecuted for special cause, was discontinued. During the last Ames Administration, in 1901, the police department undertook to have the fine reduced to \$50. On the Court's refusal to do this, the desired end was accomplished by bringing the women in only once in two months.

"In 1900, when the \$100 rate was in vogue, the revenue of the city from this source was \$41,600. The average in 1897-1900 was about \$37,000. In 1901, under the fifty per cent reduction of Mayor Ames, it fell to \$29,100. This represents an average of about 48 houses for the year. As the bringing of the women into Court was entirely at police initiative, it is easy to see the temptation to be less than thorough. As a matter of fact, a conservative estimate of the whole number of generally recognized houses of prostitution and assignation, including those operating under the guise of candy stores, placed them at 150.

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"The fining system was abolished because it was believed to be unjustifiable as a revenue measure, ineffective as a method of regulation and generally demoralizing in its inevitable tendencies. . . .

4. THE REPORT AND RECOMMENDATION OF THE BRIDGE-PORT VICE COMMISSION, 1916:—

"We recommend that prostitutes who are arrested be treated with legal and moral consistency, and with a proper regard for public health, and safety and authority. We consider it a serious reflection on law and order when in most instances the cases against prostitutes are nolleed in Court, or the prisoners are let off with a nominal fine. Such treatment has the effect of an indirect and irregular license of what is a serious crime."

5. THE ABOLITION OF THE RED LIGHT DISTRICTS IN BALTIMORE,—A Report published by the Society for the Suppression of Vice in Baltimore City, Baltimore, Md., 1916:—

"The custom then in vogue was that once a year all the disorderly house keepers were indicted as violators of the law. Upon confession of guilt, they were fined from \$5.00 to \$75.00, and allowed to go on with their illegal traffic unmolested for another year. As a natural result the receipt for the fine was accepted as a license to do business. This occasion, often a subject for levity in the Court House, was commonly known as 'Ladies' Day.'"

6. THE FIRST REPORT OF THE CITIZENS' COMMITTEE OF PORTLAND, MAINE, 1914:—

"The committee desires to point out that any system which involves merely the imposition of fines is wholly ineffective, and, therefore, recommends that sentences of imprisonment be given to the keepers of houses of ill fame, unless special circumstances exist warranting a suspension of sentence."

7. **REPORT OF THE CITY COUNCIL COMMITTEE ON CRIME, OF CHICAGO, 1915:—**

"It is also of special importance to note that more than one-third (34.2 per cent) of all the women arrested for misdemeanors were charged with the specific offences of street soliciting or being inmates of houses of ill-fame. According to the Illinois Statutes women cannot be sentenced for these offences, they can only be fined. All of those interested in the proper care and treatment of women of this group unite in condemning the system of fining. The Chicago Vice Commission recommended the abolition of fines for this offence, and it is safe to say that little can be done for the women of this group until the present method of treatment is radically changed."

8. **REPORT OF THE VICE COMMISSION OF CHICAGO, 1911:—**

"**ABOLISH FINING SYSTEM.** Two very practical things can be done. The first is to abolish the fining system now in vogue against the semi-professional and professional prostitutes. This system leads to many abuses and is in no way reformatory. If the girl does not have the money to pay her fine or secure bail, she must borrow, often from men, and this generally adds a link in the chain which binds her to an immoral life. If she has money the fine or cost of the bail bond will probably make her penniless. In either case she must return to the street, the house or the saloon, and plunge into reckless excesses in order to earn the money."

9. **COMMERCIALIZED PROSTITUTION IN ST. LOUIS,—A Report published by a Committee of One Hundred for the Suppression of Commercialized Vice, in St. Louis, 1916.**

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"The punishment prescribed by the ordinances for those found guilty of prostitution is to pay a fine. In case the fine is not paid the person is sent to the Work House for one-third as many days as the amount of the fine and the costs. Few of the fines assessed against those convicted of prostitution were for a sum greater than ten dollars (\$10). The costs were usually three dollars (\$3). The four or five days that a very few of these women served in the Work House was entirely too short a time to be of any benefit to them. Sentencing a few of these women to pay small fines increased their activities as prostitutes, and the city became in effect a partner of the pimp in sharing their earnings."

APPENDIX B

The following is a list of recommendations made by the Vice Commission in American cities up to 1916, compiled by Mr. Joseph Mayer in the article previously quoted.*

Repressive Measures¹

REPRESSION AND LAW ENFORCEMENT—

Repress evil and enforce laws.

DISTRICTS AND BROTHELS—

Abolish district.

Close houses.

Prosecute owners and proprietors.

Enact Injunction and Abatement Law.

HOTELS AND ROOMING HOUSES—

License hotels; inspect, regulate, require bona fide registration: revoke license or penalize for violation.

Enact Tin Plate ordinance.

License and control rooming and lodging houses and revoke license for violation.

SALOONS AND CAFES—

Prohibit connecting rooms, private booths, screens, curtains, etc., and revoke license for violation.

Restrict number of saloon licenses.

* See p. 47.

¹ "Social Hygiene," vol. 4, No. 2, April 1918, pp. 201-203.

DANCE HALLS—

License and supervise dance halls.
Have woman officer or supervisor at dances.
Prohibit sale of liquor or saloon connection through
passes, etc.

MOTION PICTURES AND AMUSEMENT PLACES—

Censor, supervise and license motion picture theatres,
and provide more adequate lighting and policing.
Supervise places of amusement; suppress indecent
vaudeville, picture slot machines, nickelodeons,
etc.

PARKS AND PUBLIC PLACES—

Suppress solicitation on the streets and in public
places (railroad stations, parks, etc.).
Supervise, light, and police parks more adequately.

PATRONS AND PROSTITUTES—

Prosecute patrons or publicly expose.
Abolish fining system and penalize severely.
Prohibit moving about of old prostitutes and re-
cruiting of new.

WHITE SLAVERY AND AGE OF CONSENT—

Enact state white slave law.
Raise age of consent.

COURTS AND POLICE—

Establish morals or night court and extend pro-
bation system.
Appoint police women or extend powers.

COMMISSION—

Establish Morals Commission or Bureau.

Preventive Measures

●CORRECTIONS AND CUSTODIAL CARE—

Provide for rescue and reform.

Establish reformatory for women or home of refuge, with hospital and industrial training facilities.

Provide for feeble-minded women and girls and separate delinquents from semi-delinquents.

CHILDREN—

Keep children off streets at night and suppress rowdyism.

Exclude messenger boys (or minors) from night service and resorts.

RECREATION AND COMFORT—

Open up social centres in public schools (and churches).

Develop playgrounds and athletic facilities; establish comfort stations and baths.

Extend amusement and recreation facilities; appoint Commission.

HOUSING AND WORKING CONDITIONS—

Prevent overcrowding and unsanitary conditions in homes.

Secure minimum or adequate wage for women and girls.

Require social or welfare secretaries in factories and stores, and better provision for comfort (rest rooms, etc.), and sanitation.

Supervise employment agencies.

MEDICAL MEASURES—

- Make venereal disease reportable.**
- Establish or enlarge free clinic and testing facilities.**
- Prohibit advertisements and sale of fake cures.**
- Require medical marriage certificate.**
- Institute compulsory treatment of eyes of new born.**
- Disseminate knowledge of venereal perils.**
- Empower boards of health to close houses under contagious disease ban.**

EDUCATION—

- Provide sex education:—**
 - in public schools to pupils;**
 - in training schools to teachers;**
 - to parents, stressing responsibility.**
- Emphasize single standard and chastity.**
- Extend vocational education.**

**THE FOLLOWING AUTHORITIES ARE SUGGESTED TO
OUR READERS FOR FURTHER REFERENCE**

- Bureau of Social Hygiene.....61 Broadway, New York City
- Burgess, William.....The World's Social Evil, Sand
Bro., Chicago
- Chicago, The Vice Commission.....The Social Evil in Chicago
Published by City Council
- Committee of Fifteen of Chicago...807 Otis Building, 10 South
La Salle St., Chicago — Annual
Reports
- Committee of Fourteen of New York. 27 E. 22nd Street, New York City
—Social Evil in New York City.
A Study of Law Enforcement,
and Annual Reports
- Flexner, Abraham.....Prostitution in Europe, Century
Co., New York
- Fosdick, Raymond.....European Police Systems, New
York
- Kneeland, Geo. J.....Commercialized Prostitution in
New York City, Century Co.,
New York
- Miner, Maude E.....Slavery of Prostitution, The Mac-
millan Co., New York
- Shield, The.....Association for Moral & Social
Hygiene, 19 Tothill St., London,
S.W., England. Quarterly—
price five shillings
- Social Hygiene.....American Social Hygiene Associa-
tion, 105 West 40th Street,
New York City
Quarterly Magazine.... \$2.00
Bulletin..... 0.50
Membership Fee..... 5.00



