

Vol . xviii

PROSTITUTION IN THE BRITISH ARMY IN INDIA  
QUESTIONING IN LONDON C. 1880s

Compiled by  
**Dharampal**

Ashram Pratishtan, Sevagram - 442102  
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## 1. LICENSING OF SIN IN INDIA - FACTS ABOUT THE LEGALIZATION OF IMPURITY BY BRITISH AUTHORITY.

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BM 8285.a75.(7.)

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PROFESSOR James Stuart, M.P., having moved for a Return of the C.D. Acts as existing in India, the Return has now been published, and we dare to say, that for astounding hypocrisy and unblushing provision for the lusts of the flesh, it has never been equalled either here or on the Continent. Well might its advocates keep it from the light of public opinion as long as they were able. The state of official society which can tolerate and set such laws in motion must indeed be rotten to the core. Unless the Christians of this land, speak out, and speak soon, we are on the eve of a tremendous retribution for enforcing such laws on a subject race. As surely as there is a living God, vengeance will follow such an outrage upon His most holy law. Throughout the Indian Acts the terms "*trade*" and "*business*"<sup>1</sup> are used in speaking of that life which the Bible says is "the way to hell" (Prov. vii. 27), and of those houses of which God says the "guests are in the depths of hell." (Prov. ix. 18)

The women are all provided with licenses<sup>2</sup> signed by the Commissioner of Police<sup>3</sup> and the medical examiners<sup>4</sup> which they are bound to produce when required, like cabmen and hawkers and detectives are here.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> (See page 3 of Return clause 4 (4 times)

p.4 (c 8)	p.17 (s.6 twice)	" (s. 27)
p.5 (c 9)	" (s.7)	p.22 (Appendix A)
p.6 (c 21)	" (s.10 twice)	" (Appendix B)
p.14(Schedule A twice)	p.18(s.15)	p. 35 (s.5)
p.16(s.3,4 times)		
" (s.16)	p.37 (s.26)	
" (s.4)	p.19(s.22)	p.41 (sched. C, s. 10)
p.17(s.5)	" (s.23)	

<sup>2</sup> See Page 3 of Return clause 4

" 17	section 8
" 17	section 10
" 36	section 14
" 36	section 17

<sup>3</sup> See page 17 of Return section 8

"	section 9
"	section 10

<sup>4</sup> See Page 17 of Return section 8

<sup>5</sup> See Page 4 of Return Clause 7

Page 12 "	Rule XII
19	" section 25
36	" section 21
41	" Schedule C, section 7

Under the Madras Rules these licenses are paid for at so much a month except when the women are in hospital<sup>6</sup> when the payment ceases till they have been "made fit" to return to their wretched life.

These licenses have marked on them the state of health, & c., so that it shall be used by no one else.<sup>7</sup> Mr. Frederic Wheeler of Rochester has one in his possession, almost worn to pieces through the constant carrying in the pocket of the original owner.

The unfortunate woman is the slave of our public servants in India, they having the power to move her residence from place to place,<sup>8</sup> arrest her without warrant under certain circumstances<sup>9</sup>, force her at any time against her will to submit to surgical outrage,<sup>10</sup> and imprison her in hospital.<sup>11</sup> Should she be ill-treated over and beyond the legal enormities authorised by these Acts, and should she have money enough to institute a prosecution, she cannot do so except through the instance of an officer appointed by the men who carry out this infernal legislation.<sup>12</sup>

Supposing the unlikely event, that he takes the case up, she must prosecute within three months and give notice to the official who has injured her one month at least before the case comes on, and then if he chooses to offer her money, sufficient in the opinion of the people who carry out the Acts, to make amends for the injury done to her, the case shall fall through<sup>13</sup>. Under Schedule D the examining surgeon has to state "on his honour" that he has carried out the examinations in the manner prescribed by the Rules.<sup>14</sup>

Notification No. 1769, chap I. s.2 (p.16 of Return) dated from Bombay Castle, reminds us of Dr. Blackwell's (p.4) epigram that "in the person of every outcast women, Jesus Christ crucified afresh". It enacts that a board shall be conspicuously fixed over every Government Examination House, stating the object of the place. This notice is to be in three languages - English, Marathi, and Gujarathi.

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<sup>6</sup> See page 35 of Return section 13  
40 " section 3

<sup>7</sup> See Page 12 of Return Rule XI  
" 14 " Schedule B  
" 17 " section 5  
" 22 " Appendix A  
" 40 " schedule B

<sup>8</sup> See Page 6 of Return clause 20  
" 21 " section 37

<sup>9</sup> See Page 6 of Returns clause 16%

<sup>10</sup> See page 5 of return clause 14 " 20 " section 29

<sup>11</sup> See Page 21 of Return section 36 " 25 " section 3 " 26 " section 8

" 26 " section 9

" 36 " section 18

<sup>12</sup> See Page 7 of Return clause 22

<sup>13</sup> See Page 7 of Return clause 25

<sup>14</sup> See Page 15 of Return Schedule D

Many precautions are framed for the purpose of preventing the licenses being used by others.<sup>15</sup> Section 32 of this No. 1769 Notification is most sickening and revolting in its detailed physiological description of the examination enforced by these laws, and far transcends anything in English or foreign Act on this question; and yet in the same breath "delicacy" and the "feelings of the woman" are spoken of! We doubt if the Evil One has ever inspired a more astounding piece of hypocrisy than this.

The whole Return from beginning to end is full of clauses which can be twisted and turned for the purpose of the seducer and the debauchee and is a lamentable specimen of the "civilizing" effects of British rule. The system is in force at the present time in over seventy centres in India and Burmah, including some of the greatest cities (see pp. 7 and 42 of Return), and our public servants have unlimited power for extending it.<sup>16</sup> (For a list of the other British possessions where this abomination has been established at the dictation of the Imperial Government, see "Slavery under the British Flag," by Alfred S.Dyer, editor of *The Sentinel*)

(p.5) - India's curse & British Rule - Map of the Indian Empire, showing the seventy-two centres where the British Government has established the abomination of legalized impunity.

(p.6) The October, 1886, number of *The Sentinel* contained a striking map of the Madras C.D. Acts Hospital and its surroundings. Originally a Church Mission House, it was bought by the Government and devoted to this nefarious purpose. On one side is the Wesleyan Church on the other the Church of the Church Missionary Society. Just opposite is the Central School of the church Missionary Society, and in the near neighbourhood are the Tamil, Methodist Episcopal, London Missionary, Roman Catholic, Holy Emmanuel, and Arminian Churches, with the headquarters of the Salvation Army, besides several more Mission Schools and Colleges.

What conclusion can our 257,000,000 Indian fellow - citizens come to, but that healthy provision for sexual vice is part of Christ's teachings, and that brutal tyranny over the poor and down-trodden is a feature of Christianity. Let it be ever borne in mind that the vast majority of them can read no other Bible but the private and public acts of those that call themselves Christians.

It is natural to suppose that after the decisive abolition of this system in England at the beginning of last year, it would be at once repealed by those who have the power to do so in our possessions abroad. There could not be a greater mistake. So ingrained are the principles of this vile legislation in our public servants, that they have actually had the audacity to enforce the system in Burmah, and extend it in Egypt, *since* it was abolished in England. Do not let us deceive ourselves of this point. It will take a long pull, and a strong pull, and a pull all together to clear away this awful blot on the holy name of Christ. Every one calling himself or herself by

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<sup>15</sup> See page 12 of Return Rule XI

" 18 " section 17

" 19 " section 23

" 36 " section 15

" 36 " section 24

" 40 " Schedule C, sect . 4

<sup>16</sup> See page 3 of Return section 3

" 31 " section 25

" 31 " section 26)

the name of the Saviour, be they rich or (p.7) poor, has a heavy responsibility resting upon them till this is done.

Offers of co-operation and pecuniary aid to carry this Abolitionist movement to a successful issue, will be thankfully received by Mrs. Josephine E. Butler (Hon. Secretary, British and Continental Federation for the abolition of Government regulation of Vice), 9, The Close, Winchester; Mr. Wallace J. Gladwin, Editor of *The Indian Purity Trumpet*, Bombay ; or by

JOSEPH JOYCE,

Secretary of the Gospel Purity Association's Department for the Abolition of Regulated and Licensed Vice in India and other British Possessions, 31, Paternoster Square, London, EC.

## 2. THE BISHOP OF LICHFIELD'S QUESTION

The procedure referred to by the Bishop of Lichfield is nowhere formulated, but I believe the system followed is practically on these lines:-

A certain number of professional and born prostitutes are engaged at the instance of the Quarter-Master through the police to render their services to a regiment, and in this view quarters are allotted to them in the regimental bazaars as regimental followers.

There is a tariff at which they supply their wares, and they are subject to supervision and, I suppose, medical inspection. The women are, of course, volunteers, and of the same class as the rest of their caste, plying their trade in the great bazaar or town of the cantonment. The object aimed at is the health and discipline of the soldier. It is intended to keep him from the temptations of the native city, its women and its spirit shops, and to ensure, as far as may be, that his intercourse shall be attended, as little as may be, with venereal disease.

The women are not "fallen sisters," but a caste, a Mahomedan caste for the most part.

I believe the system is in force in all regiments, but I cannot say for certain. The above remarks apply only to British corps.

14.9.87

(Sd.) A.JOHNSON.

### **3. THE DUFFERIN PAPERS - CORRESPONDENCE ON THE CD ACT BETWEEN THE EARL OF DUFFERIN AND OTHERS**

#### **3.1. AITCHISON TO DUFFERIN, 3.1.1888:**

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Ref: IOL MSS EUR F130

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We can not profess in one despatch to give parliament information, and in a confidential despatch tell the Secretary of State the information is not true, ...I agree that it is both undignified and unnecessary to attack the anti-CDists. I am afraid we shall have to throw the Act over as regards the general public, but it is absolutely necessary to maintain it, or regulations on the same lines, for cantonments and the country round them.



### 3.2. FROM THE EARL OF DUFFERIN TO LT.GEN. CHESNEY, JAN 5TH 1888

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Ref: IOL MSS EUR F130-45A DUFFERIN PAPERS

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From

THE EARL OF DUFFERIN, K.P.

To,

LIEUT. GENERAL G. CHESNEY, C.B., C.S.I,  
Military Member of the Viceroy's Council.

CALCUTTA;

January 5th 1888

MY DEAR CHESNEY,

*Prostitutes.*

I do not like the drafts, nor is it right to profess in one despatch to give Parliament information, and then in a confidential letter to tell the Secretary of State that the information is not true. One despatch I think should be enough, simply giving the information asked for, explaining, as regards Madras, that the orders apparently regulating prostitution are only paper orders, and, beyond the little affair at Kamptee, have nothing corresponding to them. We should also, I think, admit that the arrangements which the orders appear to countenance are indefensible, and add that they will be accordingly revised. Then we might go on to say that the policy of the C.D.Act and the measures necessary to check disease, especially among soldiers, are under separate consideration, and our opinion will be given when we receive replies that have been called for from the Local Governments. I do not know that it will be necessary to introduce the last sentence. We might, if you preferred it, acquaint the Secretary of State demi-officially with what we are doing. Above all things do not let us run amuck at the agitators. It is undignified, and can do no earthly good.

Ever yours,  
(Sd.) DUFFERIN.

P.S.- If you could come and see me five minutes before Council to-morrow, I should like to speak to you about the file relating to the Native Volunteer question.

### 3.3. FROM SIR A. BLACKWOOD, G.P.O., DATED 21.2.1888 TO VICEROY DUFFERIN

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IOL: MSS EUR F- 130 30 A & B

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Some colonies have either followed, or are following suit. But in India alas! the horrible system flourishes, and reigns, and that in a flagrant ... unblushing way that was impossible at home. You must know all about it, and have doubtless had memorials, appeals, &c . But I am well aware that it is very difficult for the official mind (and as a now old official I know how almost impossible it is to divest oneself of that attribute influenced as it is on such subjects by the reports of Army Surgeons, Police authorities and others, who conscientiously ( I trust) believe they are doing the right thing) to look on the question in any other way than through their spectacles.

The point of view from which the subject is regarded by the official mind is that of supposed *utility* or *expediency*. By others it is looked upon as a most important question of *morality*, affecting our national character as a Christian nation, and fraught with the gravest possible consequences to both our own soldiers and the Natives of India.

Now I want to ask you with all the urgency I can employ to consider the question from this point of view. I will not go into the question of the supposed usefulness, and consequent expediency of the system, except so far as to say two things;- First, the idea of its usefulness has been completely exploded by the returns obtained, analysed and exposed by Stansfeld and others. Secondly, if a case of apparent usefulness could be made out, no benefit to the health of our troops, or of succeeding generations can justify measures, the very essential character of which, (no matter what their *professed* object) is *immorality*, a "making provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof." No supposed physical benefit can ever justify the inculcation of and provision for moral evil. Neither can that which is morally wrong ever in the long run be physically beneficial.

It was on these grounds that the system of the C. D. Acts ( which as W. Fowler said were Acts to " provide clean women for profligate soldiers") grievously offended the moral sense of the community, that at last, after years of labour to expose them in their true and ghastly character, they have been totally repealed, men of all schools and politics aiding in their overthrow. Some of them being among those who helped to pass them. The same agitation is now steadily rising against the far worse Indian system; and you may be assured those who are carrying it on are of the stamp which will not rest till it is swept out of existence - abolished root and branch.

I have, as I say , worked at it constantly myself, being denounced by Cavendish - Bentinck and others in the House for it; but I never yet found one man, M.P. or other, who, when he looked at the horrid thing solely in the light of morality and truth, did not eventually reprobate it as utterly abominable.

You probably do not see the publications which regard the question from the strictly Christian point, and therefore I ask you to read one or two which I now send. There may be

expressions in them you do not like (nor I either); but they represent the views which are steadily, indeed rapidly, growing and deepening here, and which by God's help, will prevail till the foul disgrace to our Christian name in India is for ever blotted out.

Let me, if I can, put very briefly the considerations which influence one individually in the matter, and ask you to weigh them carefully as I am sure you will-

1. It is utterly indefensible for a Christian Government to provide its servants with means, opportunities, and *inducements* to break a distinct law of God.
2. It is inflicting the greatest possible injury on such servants of the State, professedly Christians whom it provides with Chaplains, Bibles, & c., inasmuch as it actually teaches them to practise vice.
3. The system perpetrates a gross outrage on women, degrading them to the level of brutes, extinguishing any remnants of feminine feeling they may have retained (and some such feeling remains even in the lowest) and handing them over body and soul to the lusts of men. No matter how low a woman has sunk, and it is often most often, that it has been by male profligacy, nothing can justify her being thus treated as a mere beast. I ask those who seek to justify it, whether they would do so, if the unfortunate women were *their own wife or daughter*.
4. It exhibits to the heathen Indian population the disgraceful spectacle of a Government which deliberately and flagrantly violates, and teaches its servants to violate, the laws which it professes to regard as Divine - a thing hitherto unknown even among the heathen.
5. The Government by its action does its utmost to frustrate and bring into contempt the laborious, self-denying efforts of hundreds of its best and noblest subjects, who are seeking to Christianize India.

I might add, had I time, many subsidiary arguments, but these are the principal ones; and I earnestly contend that no supposed protection of our troops from the consequences of their own vice- from which they can, it is evident, protect themselves by leading moral lives; - no supposed protection of posterity from hereditary disease - disease acquired by the unbridled lusts of their fathers - can ever justify the first Christian nation in the world in maintaining so wicked a system in defiance of the distinct commands by the moral law of God.

Now I do beseech you to weigh these things. as Viceroy of India whatever may be laid upon the shoulders of your constitutional advisers there does rest upon you a tremendous individual responsibility in this matter, from which it is impossible to escape. To your opinion there must inevitably attach enormous weight. If you cannot repeal the system yourself, you can and no doubt must, give utterance to your own convictions both to the Secretary of State and to public bodies in India.

#### 4. ALFRED S. DYER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY, 28.2.1888

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IOL:MSS/EUR/F130-46B

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FROM

ALFRED S. DYER, Esq.,  
46, Wellesley Street, Calcutta.

To

SIR DONALD MACKENZIE WALLACE, K.C.I.E.,  
Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

CALCUTTA;  
*February 28th, 1888.*

SIR,

You will remember that I called upon you yesterday with a letter of introduction from Sir Charles Aitchison, and asked you to facilitate my having an interview with the Viceroy.

In response to my remark as to the importance of the subject upon which I wished to speak to him, you said in effect that many persons wished to see him upon subjects which were important in their own estimation, but that it was impossible for him to occupy his time with all these; and you declined to ask him to grant me an interview.

When, as it seemed to me, you appeared to place the subject of licensed licentiousness among the list of unimportant crotchets which were beneath the attention of the Viceroy, you had probably forgotten that this matter has received the attention of the Imperial Government, and that the immoral system in question has been abolished within the limits of the British Isles, in obedience to a vote of the House of Commons, and more recently in several Crown Colonies.

I beg, again, to represent to you that over three months since I came from England with the express purpose of investigating the operations of the said system among the 250,000,000 of my fellow subjects in India, that the intervening time has been occupied in that investigation, and the aspect of the subject which I wish to bring in person before the Viceroy, is not one which he will be informed upon, through a Department in the ordinary course, the method in which you observed this matter should come before him.

I fear a Department is not likely to point out to the Viceroy, or the Members of his Council, the awful responsibility which they are incurring in the sight of God, the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, in violating His law, and in maintaining licensed impurity in a land inhabited by one-sixth of the human race. If God will judge whoremongers and adulterers, is it to be supposed that He will absolve their aiders and abettors?

Under the circumstances I feel that it is right that the Viceroy himself should have the option of granting or refusing me an interview, and in order thereto I must respectfully ask that you will lay this letter before him.

It is only just to him that he should be reminded and adequately informed of the enormities that are committed under his authority, and of the degradation and brutality induced by a system for which he must be held primarily responsible.

I am respectfully yours,  
(Sd.) ALFRED S. DYER.

P.S. - As I am remaining in Calcutta now chiefly in order that I may discharge my duty to the Viceroy, I will venture to ask the favour of an immediate reply.

A.S.D

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**5. DUFFERIN TO SIR A. BLACKWOOD, 26 .3.1888**

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Ref: IOL MSS EUR F130

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Determined to suspend the CD Acts.

**6. EARL OF DUFFERIN TO GEN. SIR. FREDRICK ROBERTS, C-IN-C IN INDIA,  
MAY 30TH 1888**

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IOL:MSS EUR F130 45

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FROM

THE EARL OF DUFFERIN , K.P.

TO

GENERAL SIR FREDERICK ROBERTS,  
BART., G.C.B., G.C.I.E.,  
Commander-in -Chief in India.

SIMLA

May 30th, 1888.

MY DEAR ROBERTS,

I enclose you an extract from a letter which I wrote to my cousin, Sir. Arthur Blackwood, who is, I believe, an influential person in Exeter Hall circles. If you like, you can send it to Miss Josephine Butler, as it will show her the attitude which the Government, of India, and which you as a member of that Government, have taken up in reference to the C.D. Acts. You will remember that our attention was first called to the matter by a question asked by the Bishop of Lichfield, and it was while we were engaged in ascertaining the real state of the case that Mr. Dyer appeared upon the scene. Of course people in England do not understand how in a vast country like India abuses and malpractices of the kind we have reason to deplore come gradually into existence without the knowledge either of the civil or of the military authorities. The scandals recently disclosed have been the growth of twenty years, and, however indefensible in themselves, have undoubtedly originated in the well-meaning, though mistaken, efforts of regimental officers to maintain their corps in a state of efficiency. However, we have now got the facts before us; an immediate stop has been put to all the obvious transgressions complained of; and though, with the approval of the Secretary of State, we intend to retain the right of preventing diseased women from contaminating the soldiers in our cantonments, the regulations originally framed under the Cantonment Act some years ago will be thoroughly reviewed and brought into harmony with the requirements of the existing situation.

I suppose you, like myself, have been bombarded with an avalanche of obscene literature emanating from the pen of Mr. Dyer, who appears to be a very unscrupulous kind of gentleman, in which we are invariably denominated in large type as the "Infidel Government of India".- a pretty epithet to apply to a body which comprises such men as Aitchison, Elliott, and Scoble. In one passage, because a circular which was neither secret nor confidential fell into his hands, Mr. Dyer represents himself as having become possessed of the document through the special intervention of the Almighty. There is no doubt, however, that many of the official circulars in existence imply that it is the duty of Commanding Officers to provide attractive women for the soldiery, and we cannot expect - no matter what the motive underlying these recommendations may be - that public opinion will not justly condemn such

indefensible devices\*. However, knowing as I do how thoroughly you concur with all your colleagues in the view we have taken of the matter, and which we have expressed in a unanimously signed despatch to the Secretary of State, I am happy to think that the abuses complained of are in the course of being completely eradicated.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.)  
DUFFERIN.

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(enclosure to the above letter)

Extract from a letter from the Viceroy to Sir Arthur Blackwood, K.C.B, dated Calcutta, 26 March 1888, about the C.D. Acts.

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## 7. C-IN-C IN INDIA TO EARL OF DUFFERIN, 1.6.1888

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IOL: MSS/EUR/F130 - 46F

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FROM  
GENERAL SIR FREDERICK ROBERTS, BART., G.C.I.E.,  
Commander-in -Chief in India.

To  
THE EARL OF DUFFERIN, K.P.

MAHASOO;  
June 1st, 1888.

MY DEAR LORD DUFFERIN,

I am very much obliged for your Excellency's kind advice as to how to deal with Miss Butler's letters. I have written to her to-day, enclosing your letter of the 30th May to me, and also the printed extract of your letter of 26th March to Sir Arthur Blackwood.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) FRED. ROBERTS.

P.S. - I enclose a copy of the letter to Miss Butler.

F.R.

## 8. LT.GEN.ROBERTS TO MISS BUTLER [ENCLOSURE TO THE LETTER NO.VII]

FROM  
GENERAL SIR FREDERICK ROBERTS, BART., G.C.B., G.C.I.E.,  
Commander-in -Chief in India.

TO  
MISS BUTLER.

SIMLA  
June 1st, 1888.

DEAR MISS BUTLER,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th May and to thank you for writing to me. I think that the best way of replying to you will be to enclose a letter which the viceroy wrote to me on my telling him that I had heard from you. You will see from Lord Dufferin's



letter how much the Government of India deplore the state of affairs which has justly given rise to much indignation at home and how determined we are to put a stop to such abuses in future.

I do not wish to defend the action of Commanding and other Officers, but I would ask you and the members of the Abolitionist Society to believe that the case has been greatly exaggerated, not to say misrepresented.

The object of the original rules, which were framed by Lord Lawrence's Government, was to check disease. The alterations and additions to those rules, which have been made from time to time, give, I regret to say, another colour to them, but there most certainly never was any intention on the part of the authorities to do more than take such steps as seemed necessary to preserve the health of their soldiers. who are surrounded in this country by far greater temptations than people in England have any idea of. Prostitution is a trade amongst natives, which is practised all over India; shame, in a European sense, does not attach to it. Mothers bring up their daughters to the vocation they have followed themselves. If it were possible to prevent communication between this class and the soldiers, it would be our duty to do so, but this is impossible, and all we can do for the benefit of humanity is to try and prevent by law diseased women mixing with soldiers. Did the punishment for vice end with the evil-doer himself, it might not be desirable to attempt to save him from the result of his sin; but considering the contagious nature of the disease, and how innocent people may suffer both in the present and future generations, it seems a positive duty to try and diminish the danger as much as possible.

No one regrets more than myself the occurrences which have been brought to light, but you may rest assured that the repetition of them will be carefully guarded against, and that the revised regulations will be such as will not in any way offend decency or morality.

Again thanking you for your letter,

believe me,  
yours very truly,

(Sd.) FRED. ROBERTS.

### **9. DUFFERIN TO LORD ROBERTS, 2.6.1888**

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Ref: IOL MSS EUR F130

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I think your letter to Miss Butler excellent.....When we are reframing our cantonement regulations, the ruling idea ought to be the prevention of the cantonements from being contaminated by diseased women, and not the licensing of healthy ones.

## 10. DUFFERIN TO CU AITCHISON, 4.6.1888

Ref: IOL MSS EUR F130

Have you seen the enclosed letter. (Pioneer, 2.6.:Scientific Immorality or Moral Insanity) If you have not, perhaps you would look it over, and if you get the arguments and figures examined in your department, I should be much obliged. It is a matter of great importance that we should not make a slip in any of our representations, and I may tell you confidentially that I do not trust the soldiers and their calculations.

## 11. PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE VICEROY TO THE PERMANENT UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE OF INDIA, 8.6.1888

Ref.No. :IOL: EUR F:130 29E

FROM

SIR DONALD MACKENZIE WALLACE, K. C. I. E.,  
Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

TO

J. A. GODLEY, ESQ., C. B.,  
Permanent Under Secy. of State for India.

SIMLA  
June 8th, 1888.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

On May 17th Sir John Gorst had to reply to a question by Mr. Stuart about a memorial to the Viceroy from the Ladies' Committee of the Calcutta Missionary Conference praying that the protection of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885 might be extended to India. The cautious reply given was sufficient for the exigencies of the moment; but as the questioner may perhaps, after communicating with his friends in Bombay, return to the charge, I send you herewith a copy of the memorial and the reply of the Government of India, together with two notes by the Secretary and Under-Secretary in the Home Department explaining the grounds on which the reply was based.

Akin to this memorial are some memorials which we have been receiving lately from the same source, I think, about the traffic in foreign prostitutes. There is no doubt that an infamous traffic of the kind is carried on under the cloak of holy matrimony, but it is difficult, not to say impossible, for the police to put it down, and the power of the police in such matters is of course more and more limited by every step taken towards the complete abolition of the C. D. Acts. The traffic is carried on chiefly by Polish Jews, who marry young girls with a view to keeping or selling them for purposes of prostitution. Some of these respectable gentlemen have found their way to Bombay and Calcutta, and have brought their merchandise with them for disposal, and certain philanthropic people in Bombay are endeavouring to rescue the victims. With the aims of these good people we must of course all sympathise, but it is extremely difficult in practice to attain the object in view. The first difficulty is that, as a rule, the victims do not want to be rescued. They are brought out to India only when they are found to have no longer much

value in the European market, and consequently they have not only become accustomed to a dissolute life, but they have no idea as to how they could earn a living otherwise. The second difficulty is that, whether hired or sold, they remain under the marital authority of the importers, who can resist any interference within the sphere of their conjugal rights, even when they have delegated these conjugal rights to third parties. Of course the delegation of conjugal rights is not recognised by law, but the conduct of a married woman must be some thing more than scandalous to justify the police in taking action against the will of the husband\*.

As this subject is pretty sure to be brought before Parliament sooner or later by Mr. Stuart or some other Hon'ble Member, I shall endeavour to procure for you some materials which may prove useful.

The draft of the despatch on the opium question in Burmah has been printed to-day, and I hoped to enclose an early copy of it for you, but the Viceroy finds that certain portions of it require to be revised, and consequently it cannot go till next week.

By this mail you will receive a long despatch in reply to your enquiries about the future working of the Oudh and Rohilkhund Railway. On the whole, State management seems the best solution.

The Secretary of State's last suggestion about the Delhi-Ambala-Kalka Railway has met with very strong opposition in the Public Works Department. A telegram on the subject is to be sent to-morrow and a despatch will follow.

The Financial Department are most anxious to increase their working power by the addition of a Deputy Secretary to their present staff, but the project has encountered some opposition in Council, and the issue of the despatch has been postponed until the Viceroy has ascertained in a general way the views of the Secretary of State.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) D. MACKENZIE WALLACE.

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(ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTERS.)

Printed copy of letter from J. Ware-Edgar, Esq., C.S.I., Officiating Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No. 267 J. D., dated 11th October 1887, enclosing a letter from Miss Mary E. Leslie, dated 28th September 1887, giving cover to a memorial from certain Christian women of India to the Viceroy praying for the introduction of a Bill for extending to females in India the protection given to their sisters and fellow-subjects in England.

Home Department reply, No. 2061, dated 30th December 1887, to the above.

Notes by Mr. J. P. Hewett and Mr. MacDonnell, dated 22nd and 23rd November 1887, on the above.

**12. EARL OF DUFFERIN TO G. CHESNEY, MILITARY MEMBER OF  
VICEROY'S COUNIL, JUNE 8TH 1889**

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IOL : MSS EUR F130 45c

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FROM  
THE EARL OF DUFFERIN, K.P.  
TO  
LIEUT -GENL. G. CHESNEY, C.B., C.S.I.,  
Military Member of the Viceroy's Council.

SIMLA  
June 8th, 1889

MY DEAR CHESNEY,

I have just had a letter from the Secretary of State, who says that his instructions in reference to the Cantonment Acts are that any woman suffering from disease must go into hospital and be subjected to medical treatment under pain of expulsion; also that there is a sentence condemnatory of any regulation that has the appearance of sanctioning or promoting prostitution. The system of tickets must also be discontinued. I mention this in reference to the circulars of the Quarter -Master -General which were brought to my notice to-day in a file.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) DUFFERIN.

**13. COL.COLLEN, SECY. TO GOVERNMENT, MILITARY DEPARTMENT, TO  
EARL OF DUFFERIN, 17.7.1888**

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IOL: MSS/EUR/F130 - 46F

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FROM  
COLONEL E. H. H. COLLEN,  
Secy., to Govt., Mily. Dept.  
TO  
THE EARL OF DUFFERIN, K.P.

SIMLA  
July 17th, 1888.

MY DEAR LORD DUFFERIN,

I regret extremely that delay has taken place in laying before your Excellency the proposals of the Department in connection with the despatch of the Secretary of State forwarding a Resolution of the House of Commons regarding legislation on account of prostitution in India.

It was received on the evening of the 4th, and the case was submitted by me to General Chesney on the 7th. The Department proposed that the Resolution should be sent to the Governments of Madras and Bombay, as directed by the Secretary of state, and to the Commander-in-Chief. But as the legislation which supported the old system was the Cantonment Act, a revision on which is now taking place in the shape of the new Cantonment Bill, now being dealt with in the Legislative Department, we did not propose to do any more. This Bill has been discussed between that Department and this, and the Army Head Quarter authorities have also been represented on an informal Committee on the Bill. We are also revising the rules which were framed under the Act. This is being done by a committee of which the Home and Legislative Secretaries are members as well as the Quarter-Master-General and the two Surgeon-Generals. The rules have been drawn up, but require revision, and we have been in communication with the Home Department on the subject.

General Chesney returned me the papers on the 10th, saying that he wished to speak to me about the Resolution of the House. He is of opinion that it is not sufficient to communicate this Resolution to the Governments of Madras and Bombay, but that the matter requires to be treated in a different way. Accordingly I have had a note prepared of the history of the case, and this was sent to press on Saturday the 14th. I hope to get this from the press to-day, and to submit the proposals of the Department to-morrow. I think the first thing to be done is to send copies of the Resolution to the Commander-in-Chief and the Governments of Madras and Bombay.

I much regret that I did not lay this despatch personally before your Excellency. In future, I will submit any important despatches personally when I wait upon your Excellency, as well as sending them in the file which is circulated.

I am,  
DEAR LORD DUFFERIN,  
Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) EDWIN H. H. COLLEN.

**14. EARL OF DUFFERIN TO MEMBER OF INDIA COUNCIL,  
12.6.1888**

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IOL: MSS EUR F130 45c

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FROM  
THE EARL OF DUFFERIN, K.P.  
TO  
GENERAL SIR DONALD M. STEWART, G. C. B.,  
Member of the India Council.

SIMLA;  
June 12th, 1888

(Private.)  
MY DEAR STEWART,

The opening sentences of your letter of the 18th of May startled me very much, for I thought I had been industriously engaged in throttling all proposals for extra military expenditure during the last six months, and that it was we who were being disturbed by incitements from the India Office to extravagant profusion in the purchase of guns, war material, & c. I have driven poor Collen nearly distracted by hanging up for the present the completion of the Mobilization Scheme. Chesney will hardly speak to me because I cut 28 lakhs off his military estimates, and I have become anathema maranatha to the Commander-in-Chief since I insisted on reducing our drafts this year by three thousand men. I can only account for my letting the particular proposal to which you refer go home by my having received an assurance either that it would occasion no extra expense, or that it would be an economical proceeding. However, the Secretary of State has now negatived it, and therefore there is nothing more to be said.

I do not know what are the other matters to which you refer, but I suppose we shall hear about them in due time.

The vote of the House of Commons has settled for the present the question of the C. D. Acts in the Presidency towns, and the Secretary of State's Despatch also defines pretty strictly the scope of our revised regulations under the Cantonment Acts, so it is no good discussing either further. I saw that the storm was going to break, and like a prudent mariner I began taking in sail in the hopes of conjuring it, especially as the local Governments admitted that the C. D. ACTS both in Madras and Bombay were almost ineffectual on account of the limited powers they conferred. I felt we were lost the moment I saw the Quarter-Master-General's Circular of 1886, accompanied as it was by his most extraordinary letter denying the existence of any such document. I must say you soldiers are not always very wise in your generation, for an equally effective method of shielding our troops from contamination might have been adopted without sowing broadcast over the country flaring exhortations to Commanding Officers to beat up everywhere through the villages for fair and attractive sirens. There is a horrible fanatical cad of the name of Dyer rummaging about the place, and flooding us with daily torrents of the most obscene and filthy literature\*.

We have warned the Amir pretty clearly that he must not interfere with the independent tribes on his border, but his attitude is very suspicious and unsatisfactory. It would be most unfortunate for us to find ourselves engaged in a quarrel with him upon these kinds of questions, and still more so were we compelled to oppose his aggressive attempts by force of arms. On the whole, we are inclined to think - at least this is Aitchison's opinion and that of most of my Council- that these attempts to increase their jurisdiction have always been occupying the attention of the Amirs of Afghanistan, and that none of them, even the most powerful, have ever succeeded in their attempts. But it appears to me that the introduction of arms of precision into the Afghan army has altogether altered the conditions of the contest between the Amir's well-equipped troops and the neighbouring tribes with their wretched matchlocks. As you say, however, in the face of our warnings, the Amir, in spite of his obstinacy and arrogance, will not dare, I hope, to commit any serious outrage.

I am so glad to find that you are impressed with the danger introduced into our financial position by the continued fall of silver. I had already asked the Secretary of State in strict confidence what he thinks about the reimposition of the import duties.

I have been very much touched by your kind words in reference to my leaving India. At my time of life four years is quite enough of so burdensome an office, even if no other considerations drove me home. Certainly few Viceroys in recent years have had so many nasty problems to deal with, the difficulties inherent in each one of which have been enhanced tenfold owing to the bottom having been knocked out of the chest containing our silver ingots,

Your dear little daughter, I understand, has come back to India, but alas! is in Poona instead of being in Simla. When I return, there will be none amongst my Indian colleagues whose hand I shall be so heartily glad to shake as your own.

Believe me,  
MY DEAR STEWART,  
YOURS SINCERELY,  
(Sd.) DUFFERIN.

**15. SECY. OF STATE FOR INDIA TO EARL OF DUFFERIN,  
11.5.1888**

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IOL: MSS EUR F130 (12) No. 20

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FROM

THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE VISCOUNT CROSS, G.C.B.,  
Secretary of State for India.

To

THE EARL OF DUFFERIN, K. P.

INDIA OFFICE,  
WHITEHALL, S. W.;  
May 11th 1888.

MY DEAR LORD DUFFERIN,

You must be very glad to get to Simla.

Many thanks for your letter of the 16th April.

(MARGIN NOTE: Viceroy's letter of 16th April. Cantonment Regulations in India)

I am very sorry to have troubled you so much about soldiers and Cantonment Acts lately, but the House of Commons has been very obstinate and pertinacious, and, to say the least of it, some of the Indian officers have been more than foolish, and their reports have been most misleading, and this folly has done infinite mischief. How General Chapman could sign that Report which you sent us in your Despatch after he had himself signed that Circular involves a question of casuistry far beyond my poor understanding. I have to consult the Cabinet as to my answer to your last Despatch, which I will do on Saturday. The whole question will come before the House of Commons on the 5th June. Lord Salisbury and I are most anxious to assist you in keeping your powers under the Cantonment Acts. Smith doubts the loyalty of the House of Commons, and this miserable Circular has increased our difficulties a hundredfold. I am very glad that you are going to revise the orders under this Act. You may easily keep the same restraining power without having the appearance even of "licensing," which the present orders bear\*.

(MARGIN NOTE: Relations with native States) I am sorry that you were not able to get to Cashmere, and I am still more sorry to hear your account of our Politicals. I feel quite as much as you can possibly do the difficulties of our position as regards the Native States. The terms of the Queen's Proclamation are almost inconsistent with the interference which we are obliged to practise in the internal administration of the Native States, and we want the best men to carry out this most difficult work, and we have not got them\*. Nevertheless, it is wonderful how much good has been done, and is being done, and you must yourself feel much encouragement from this fact. I have sometimes thought of asking you whether you have any suggestion to make upon the subject. This Hyderabad question is rather a case in point, and I doubt Cordery's judgment.



I quite agree with you as to Tweedie, and I have great doubts as to the fitness of Stace.  
(MARGIN NOTE: Colonel Tweedie)...

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**16. SECY. OF STATE FOR INDIA TO EARL OF DUFFERIN, 8.6.1888**

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IOL: MSS EUR F130 12 No. 24

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FROM

THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE VISCOUNT CROSS, G.C.B.,  
Secretary of State for India.

TO

THE EARL OF DUFFERIN, K.P.  
INDIA OFFICE,  
WHITEHALL, S. W.;  
June 8th 1888.

MY DEAR LORD DUFFERIN,

I have to thank you for letters dated 14th, 15th and 18th May. (MARGIN NOTE: Viceroy's letter of the 14th, 15th and 18th May.) Lord Lansdowne came to see (Date for Lord Lansdowne's arrival) me the other day. He is anxious to make his arrangements as to meeting you in India some time in December. I told him that I would consult you, and that I was quite sure that Lord Salisbury would do his best to fall in with any arrangements which you and he might make together on the subject. Perhaps you will like to write to him yourself. Of course I will do my best to meet your wishes in any way.

I am very glad to find that you have entirely recovered from the effects of your severe cold. Such a cold as yours is a very unwelcome visitor.

I thought (MARGIN NOTE: House of Commons and the C.D.Acts) it right to send you a telegram as to the action of the House of Commons in the matter of contagious diseases and to send it without note or comment for your information, as I could not give any explanation in a mere telegraphic message. In my letter of the 27th April I expressed my own opinion that your proposals would have satisfied all reasonable men, and so they would have done I still think, if it had not been for that miserable Circular. I told you subsequently in my letter of the 11th May that, in my opinion, the gross mis-statements of General Chapman and the issuing of this Circular would increase our difficulties a hundredfold, and that Smith was very doubtful of the loyalty of the House of Commons, and so it came to pass. We were prepared to support Sir Richard Temple, who did all he could for us. As matters went on, however, the thing became absolutely impossible to deal with; the feeling was universal, and we could not have got fifty men to vote against the resolution. I presume that we must send a formal despatch announcing its terms, but the initiative of any legislation must come from India, and I believe that our opponents will leave us entirely alone until you have had time to deal with the matter. You will probably take an early opportunity of posting me up as to your intended action...

**17. SECY. OF STATE FOR INDIA TO EARL OF DUFFERIN,  
27.7.1888**

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IOL : MSS EUR F130 12

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No. 31

FROM  
THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE VISCOUNT CROSS, G. C. B.,  
Secretary of State for India.  
TO  
THE EARL OF DUFFERIN, K.P.

INDIA OFFICE,  
WHITEHALL, S. W.;  
July 27th, 1888

MY DEAR LORD DUFFERIN,

Many thanks for your letter of the 29th June. (MARGIN NOTE : Viceroy's letter of 29th June.)

You have quite appreciated the situation as to the C. D. Acts (C. D. & Cantonment Acts). I am given to understand that questions will be asked every week in the House as to what is being done. Reuter says that you are bringing in a bill to repeal. All well and good as to the Cantonment Acts. So far as I could gather the general feeling of the House of Commons from the debate and from conversation, I thought that every one was entirely satisfied with the despatch which I sent you as to there being no compulsory examination, &c., &c., but it was said, and the vote of the House was intended to say, that, after the action of the military authorities in India (which you so justly censure in your letter) they were no longer to be trusted with the administration of an Act couched in such general terms as the Cantonment Act, and that the conditions laid down in my despatch should be embodied in an Act, and not merely in Regulations. I am very sorry that you should have this troublesome matter to deal with, but the sooner it is all settled now, the better for all parties. I have always myself voted in Parliament against the repeal of the C. D. Acts, and I think that these wild fanatics, and these still wilder fanatical women, talk a great deal of nonsense, but it is quite impossible to attempt to get out of that vote, and any such attempt would be certain to end in disastrous failure and defeat. (MARGIN NOTE: Hyderabad Mining Enquiry)

I understand that the Hyderabad Committee will report very soon, and rumour says that they are not unanimous. I am very glad that Cordery is not going back. I have only seen him twice, and I may be doing him an injustice, but I certainly was not impressed...

**18. SECY. OF STATE FOR INDIA TO EARL OF DUFFERIN,  
16.8.1888**

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IOL : MSS EUR F130 12

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No.34

FROM

THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE VISCOUNT CROSS, G. C. B.,  
Secretary of State for India.

To

THE EARL OF DUFFERIN . K.P.  
BROUGHTON-IN-FURNESS;  
August 16th, 1888.

MY DEAR LORD DUFFERIN,

The heading of this letter will tell you that our holidays have begun. Though Parliament has only adjourned till 6th November, it is very pleasant to get away. The Session has I think so far been a success. (MARGIN NOTE: Viceroy's letter of 20th July)

Many thanks for your letter of the 20th July. As you name the C. D. Acts again, I will add one word to my former letters, especially as some half a dozen globe-trotting M. P.'s of the Radical type are going to India for the express purpose of watching your operations. I have always myself voted in Parliament for the maintenance of these Acts. It was with the knowledge of this fact that Members of my Council made their formal protests, but the wave of public opinion is too strong to be resisted. I should, therefore, like a despatch, as short as you like, stating what you are doing, as of course I can make no public use of your private letters. With regard to the Cantonment Acts, the words of my Despatch were settled in Cabinet, and the particular words "there must be no compulsory examination of women" were inserted by Lord Salisbury himself, and we all think that it will be quite necessary to amend the Cantonment Acts in the full sense of that Despatch, so as to prevent the possibility of any such regulations being made in future\*.

(MARGIN NOTE: Persia affairs-Two enclosures)

I have told my Private Secretary to send you a copy of the Minutes of Sir. H. Rawlinson and Sir A. Lyall about Persia for your private information. No agreement will to my mind ever bind Russia when she finds that it is to her interest to break it, but Lord Salisbury is quite alive to the whole question.