

Facts recorded by eye-witnesses in regard to the military regulation of vice in India / being speeches by Kate C. Bushnell and Elizabeth W. Andrew ; with an introduction by Josephine E. Butler.

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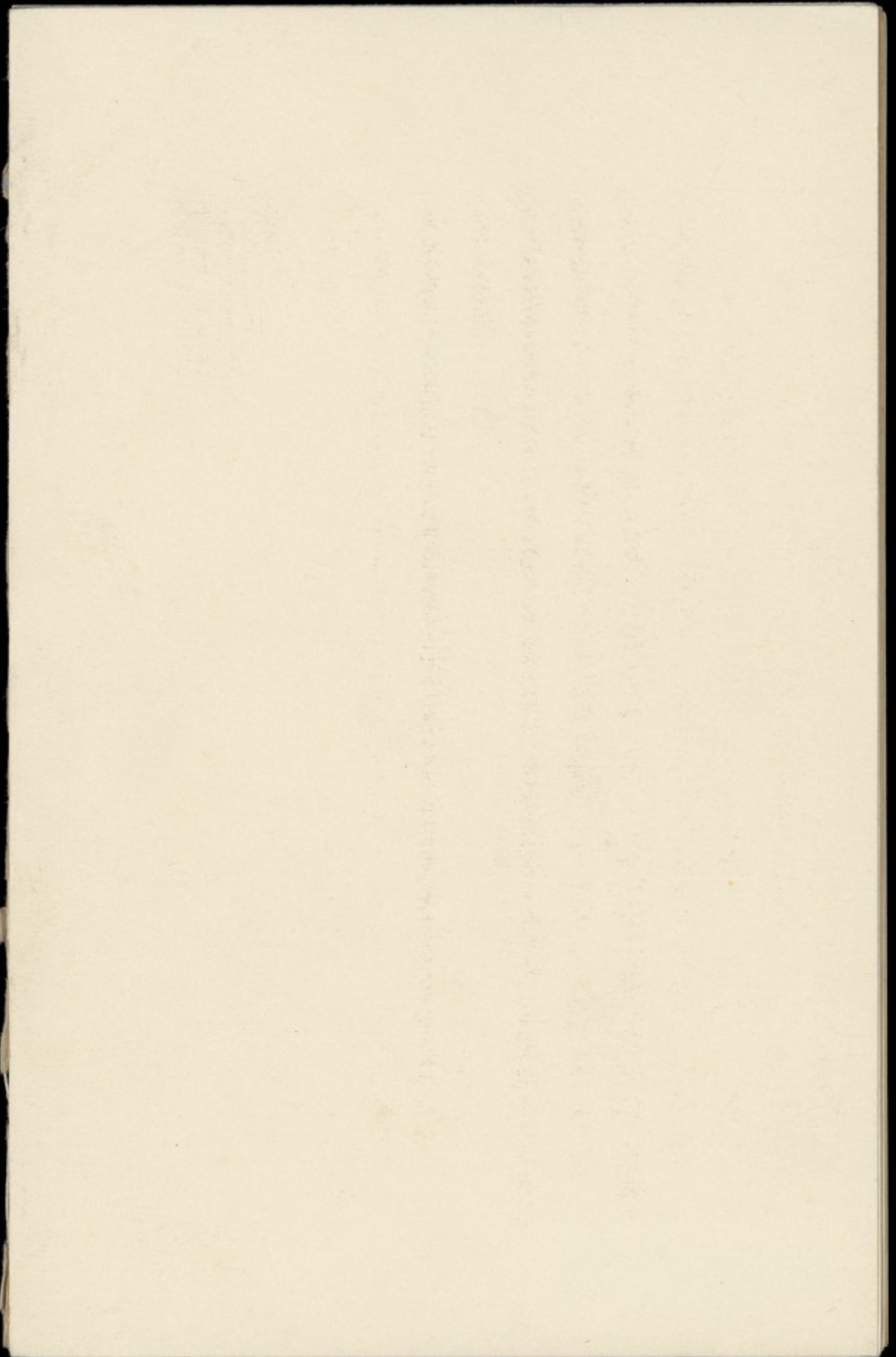
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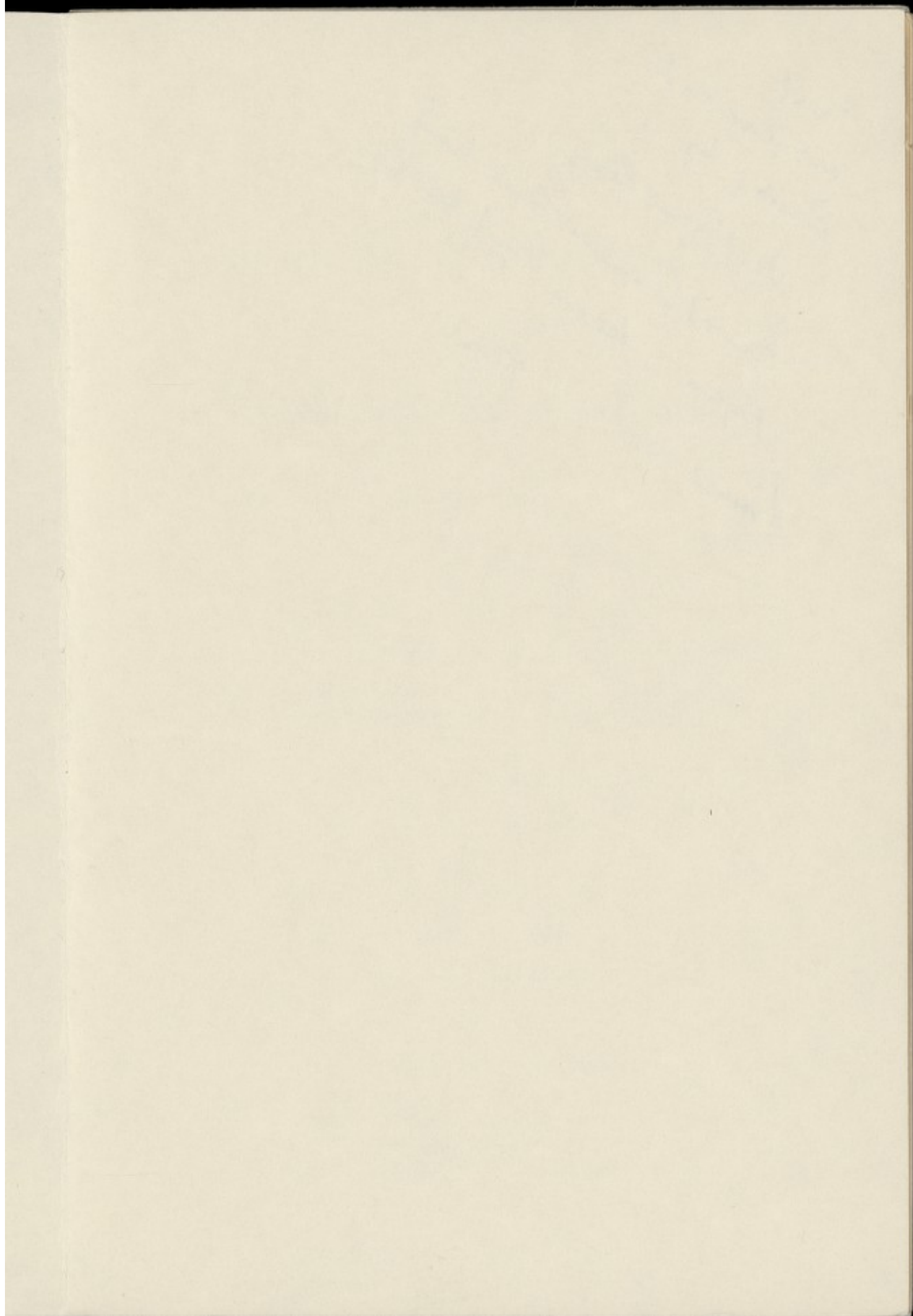
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FACTS
RECORDED BY EYE-WITNESSES
IN REGARD TO THE
MILITARY REGULATION OF VICE IN INDIA.

Being Speeches by
Dr. KATE C. BUSHNELL and
Mrs. ELIZABETH W. ANDREW,
Round the World Missionaries of the W.W.C.T.U., Commissioners of the
BRITISH COMMITTEE FOR INDIAN REPEAL;

With an Introduction
By Mrs. JOSEPHINE E. BUTLER.

ONE PENNY.

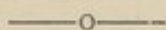
TO BE OBTAINED AT THE OFFICE OF THE
BRITISH COMMITTEE FOR THE ABOLITION OF STATE
REGULATION OF VICE IN INDIA AND THROUGHOUT
THE BRITISH DOMINIONS,
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INTRODUCTION.



The speeches of Mrs. Andrew, May 24th, 1893, and Dr. Kate Bushnell, June 1st, 1893, given in this pamphlet were delivered—one at St. Martin's Hall, London, the other at the final meeting of the Women's Liberal Federation at Holborn Town Hall.

Our British Committee reprint these speeches in this form with the view of putting something brief in the hands of readers who are anxious to have a few precise facts on the subject. Only a portion of the whole truth is here given, however, but enough to stimulate enquiry and throw some light on the matter.

It is desirable that our Abolitionist friends should have a clear conception as to the authority responsible for the horrible practices here related taking place in India.

We, as an Association, exist to endeavour to abolish Regulation of vice by the State, or by any governmental authority; and it must be here clearly understood that though one Cantonments Act was repealed in consequence of the Resolution of Parliament on the 5th June, 1888, another Cantonments Act was immediately passed, and that rules have been made under it by which with the aid and concurrence of the military authorities it has been found possible to maintain in full force all the cardinal elements and most morally objectionable features of the old system. In a word, vice among the English soldiery is as much patronised, legalised, regulated, and protected now as it has ever been.

We can easily conceive that an evasive answer would be given by the Military Authorities to our charges. It would be claimed, no doubt, that the Cantonments Acts were repealed, and that in view of the presence of the consequences of vice among the soldiery it was deemed necessary to endeavour to combat disease. All such sophisms have been met and exploded in the past, and are familiar to those who have followed our agitation. Even if there may have been some slight modifications in the Cantonments Act, or in the methods pursued, we have still to oppose the essentials of the regulation system by whomsoever practised, viz., the enforced personal examination of women, the registration, or licensing, of women, and their compulsory detention in hospital.

The subject women of India must, in fact, be removed from the control and surveillance of the Military Authorities.

A pamphlet on "The present aspect of the Abolitionist Cause in relation to India," and *The Dawn* for July 1st, 1893 (both to be had at 1, King Street, Westminster), will afford further details to those who desire them. In the former of these the remarkable call of our two Lady Commissioners to this work, and their later communications with myself and others of our Abolitionist League, which became the basis of a strong personal attachment, affection and confidence among us, are narrated. I refer to this matter in order that I may very warmly commend these noble women to the goodwill of the reader, and their testimony to the most careful and thoughtful consideration of every lover of Justice.

JOSEPHINE E. BUTLER.

June 20th, 1893.

SPEECH BY MRS. ELIZABETH W. ANDREW.

The resolution which Mrs. Elizabeth W. Andrew spoke to at the Annual Meeting of the Ladies' National Association for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice, on the 24th May, 1893, at St. Martin's Hall, was as follows:—

“ That this meeting regarding the existence of the State
“ Regulation of Vice in any form as:—

“ A violation of the Common Law, and consequently a
“ sentence of outlawry proclaimed against women ;

“ A denial of the Unity of the Moral Law, and an
“ encouragement of vice ; and

“ A hygienic mistake, and a danger to the public
“ health ;

“ Hereby records its continued hostility to the system in
“ any form ; and renews the resolve to maintain constant
“ vigilance against its reintroduction into Great Britain ; to
“ use every effort to obtain its entire abolition in India and the
“ Crown Colonies ; and further, as far as possible, to help
“ the Abolitionist movement on the Continent of Europe and
“ in our self-governing Colonies ; and requests Mrs. Butler
“ to sign a memorial conveying these expressions to the
“ Prime Minister, Her Majesty's Secretaries of State for India,
“ and the Secretary to the Treasury.”

MRS. ELIZABETH ANDREW (one of the two Lady Commissioners to India to investigate the Regulation System) said:—Jesus, when He uttered that prayer to the Father before going over the brook Kidron, on the eve of going out to trial and to death—that prayer for his disciples and all who should afterward believe on Him, said these wonderful words that have come again and again to me as I have thought of this evening: “For their sakes I sanctify myself.” We have been asked by friends in England many times since our return, “How did you have the courage to go to try to make the enquiry at all? How could you go on, week after week, looking into these things; yet your courage did not fail you?” I can only answer you and them to-night by these words of our blessed Lord and Master. He sanctified himself that His followers “might be sanctified through the Truth,” that is, “set apart.” We felt that we were, through His Spirit, “set apart” to do this thing. You may be sure that we never said to the British Committee that we were willing to go until it had become all clear to us upon our knees. We knew that there was trouble in India—sore, sad trouble; and we knew that if these Contagious Diseases Acts were going on still, under those delusive new Regulations, there

must be women down in these abysses of misery and degradation; and worse still, native heathen women down there because *thrust there by men who were the representatives of a Christian nation*. So we felt we must go and see what was the true state of things. But you may imagine the difficulties of two women in such an undertaking; brought up in a land where we do not see a soldier unless we happen to be in that part of the country where they are stationed. I have scarcely seen a soldier once in five years. They are on the frontier, or they are being trained in the academies, but we do not see them. You know, perhaps, that we hear and see very little of military matters in our country since the close of our Civil War.

And so to go to India, to look on the military system, to hear a language we knew not, to work in a country whose customs we were not acquainted with, was very difficult. And you can well understand that there were days when the way seemed dark. There was a month of closed doors, when we did not see how to go on. We sought advice, and had the best that could be given us by a confidential friend in Calcutta, to whom we had taken letters of introduction from friends in England. But even this advice failed utterly when we put it to the test, because it led us straight away into the civil lines instead of into the military lines; and this would have defeated our purpose.

We went to Agra, and we sat down, as it were, before the fort. Never can I forget those great high walls, seemingly so insurmountable, and the deep moat at the foot. We looked at that fort, and it represented to our thoughts the system into which we were trying to penetrate and whose secrets we sought to know, high and deep and difficult. During this time we learned what we could of the customs of the country, and we were patient and waited upon God. Then there came a day when we felt it must be settled, The winter season was passing away, and the heat was coming on, when it would be impossible for us to work; and we had learned enough also of the military system to know that many of the soldiers would soon be on the march to the hills, there would be a breaking up, and our way would be more difficult. So we set apart a day for prayer and fasting that God might show us what we could do, and what was *His way*. What solemn times those were! I remember saying to Him—"We want nothing but *the truth*; but Lord, let us have the truth about this!" We had seen enough already to know that the Regulation system was being carried on in so secret a manner as to make it difficult for us to get inside it. It came with clearness to us that we were to go to a friend in a neighbouring city, who had lived in India for years, in whose discretion and unusual powers of judgment

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Now I have thought it would be more satisfactory to you, and would at once allow all to see the track we followed, if I should give you a description of the places we visited and the surroundings of the women. I have thought it best

FOR ADULTS ONLY.]

STATE REGULATION OF VICE IN INDIA STILL CONTINUED.

The Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, which constituted the State Regulation of Vice in England and Ireland, was obtained in 1886. This auspicious event was followed up by earnest efforts to ensure that the regulations in our Indian Empire should be swept away, and in 1888 the House of Commons resolved that such measures ought to be repealed. This decision of the Imperial Parliament was duly communicated to the Viceroy, and the formality of repealing the Indian Acts was the result; but Military authorities were so wedded to the system that under new regulations the iniquity was continued.

Accordingly the British Committee sent out two competent commissioners to investigate the facts. Their report may be thus briefly summarised.

They found that within each Cantonment systematic provision is made:—

(1) For the residence of native women exclusively for British soldiers; (2) for their compulsory examination at prescribed periods by medical officers; (3) for their compulsory detention in Hospital under the orders of the examining officers; (4) with penal consequences in case of disobedience: of fine or imprisonment, or of expulsion from the Cantonment. These Hospitals are systematically used to maintain a system of licensed prostitution and the compulsory examination of registered women in the Cantonments.

In each Cantonment there are assigned quarters called "chaklas" for prostitutes. In some cases the "chakla" is stated to belong "to the Government"; in others, to persons who have acquired the property from the Government. In each Cantonment a register is kept of the "chakla" women. In almost every instance the "chakla," with its occupants, is managed by a woman superintendent, called the "Mahaldarni," who is paid either out of the Cantonment funds, by a share of the women's earnings, or by income from both sources. Some of these "Mahaldarnis" possess certificates signed by British officers testifying to their efficiency in supplying women as required, detecting disease, presenting the women for examination, &c.

The number of women in each "chakla" is proportioned to the number of British soldiers, averaging from 12 to 15 for each regiment. Many very young girls are "procured," apparently 14 or 15 years of age. A uniform low rate of pay is made, graduated according to the soldier's rank, from fourpence upwards. In default, the authorities frequently stop the sum from the man's pay.

When a regiment removes, these women with the Mahaldarni accompany it on the march in carts provided for their transport, or are sent by railway. During their progress they are protected by European guards.

Every registered woman is required to present herself for periodical examination by the appointed British Medical Officer, usually once a week, but in some Cantonments twice a week. The women subjected to this examination, and even the Mahaldarnis, speak of it with abhorrence.

After each examination the women are dismissed, with liberty and license to resume their shameful occupation; or are detained in the Hospital, and receive an allowance from the Cantonment fund, ranging from two to three pence per diem.

If a registered woman fails to attend on the prescribed day for examination, the Medical Officer sends to her by the native police, or reports her to the Cantonment Magistrate, who orders her to come up for examination; if disobedient, she is threatened with arrest, fine, imprisonment, or expulsion from the Cantonment. If she leave the Hospital without a formal discharge she is liable to like penalties.

If she leave the Cantonment without a permit (which is given only after medical examination), she is either forbidden to re-enter absolutely or admitted upon examination. Expulsion or exclusion is generally tantamount to starvation.

These Hospitals are used almost exclusively for specific diseases contracted by registered women. In only one or two are diseases of any other kind ever treated, and that very seldom. Patients other than prostitutes are rarely admitted.

The women compelled to submit to this periodical examination are the registered women reserved for British troops; a few other women consorting with native soldiers are occasionally sent to the Lock Hospital for treatment.

A DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE appointed by the India Office is now investigating the system; but meantime the British Committee desire to call public attention to it, so that a united demand may be made that these iniquities may be abolished in India for ever. Additional evidence is coming in, and offers of further testimony from those who have personal knowledge of the system is invited.

Information will be supplied by THE BRITISH COMMITTEE FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE STATE REGULATION OF VICE IN INDIA AND THROUGHOUT THE BRITISH DOMINIONS. OFFICES: 1, KING STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

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saying to Him—"We want nothing but *the truth*; but Lord, let us have the truth about this!" We had seen enough already to know that the Regulation system was being carried on in so secret a manner as to make it difficult for us to get inside it. It came with clearness to us that we were to go to a friend in a neighbouring city, who had lived in India for years, in whose discretion and unusual powers of judgment

and helpfulness we had the utmost confidence. We went to this friend and laid the matter before her. She said, "I see no way; it seems to me an impossible thing that you should get this information." Nevertheless she was willing to help, and put all the power of her mind into the question. She was of the greatest service to us in making us feel at home in our surroundings, and in teaching us a few valuable Hindustani phrases. Through her help we got an Interpreter—one among several true Christians who aided us in our work. We started out, and, summoning all our courage to go into the heart of the matter, drove to the Cantonment and to the Lock Hospital. Here we visited the women and talked with them, although we were not permitted to pass the inner gateway, for the dhai, or nurse, said the doctor would be angry if she allowed us to come in. Then we went from the Lock Hospital to that dreadful abode of sin, despair and misery, which is called in India the "chakla," right within the Cantonment, only a few steps from the Sudder bazaar or central trading place of the Cantonment. The chaklas were not "contiguous to the Cantonments," as we had seen stated, but *inside* the Cantonments. In every one of these great military divisions which we visited there were precautions which we had to exercise. We knew it to be a secret system; we knew also there was a Cantonment regulation which gives the Commanding Officer authority to expel any person from the Cantonment without stating any reason for it, if he should choose to do it. Therefore we knew that with the deep feeling there was on this subject, if it were known what we were doing we should be summarily dismissed from the Cantonment. So we asked direction from God day by day at starting, whether we should go up to the Lock Hospital or to the chakla first. We asked Him to protect us from meeting those who would be enemies to our work and inform against us. And He did most wonderfully protect us in this way. Time after time we visited places where those who would have opposed our work had only just gone away. We were shown clearly and constantly that our way was being opened and guarded by God Himself. In this way our faith grew as the testimony grew; as we realised that we were on the right track, and that God was protecting us in all things. So we went on with greater and greater courage, and towards the last we could gather as much evidence in one day as we were able to secure in a week when we first started, because we became accustomed to the military system, and to the customs of the country.

Now I have thought it would be more satisfactory to you, and would at once allow all to see the track we followed, if I should give you a description of the places we visited and the surroundings of the women. I have thought it best

therefore to group these habitations, these chaklas, under three heads:—

In the ten Cantonments we visited, there were, one may say, three kinds of methods by which the women were housed, and the arrangements of the establishment carried on.

I. In certain Cantonments the women were practically housed all together under one roof. The Cantonments under this head were Lucknow, Amritzar, Bareilly, Sitapur, and Benares.

II. In other Cantonments, the women were gathered into chaklas in different parts of the Cantonment, regimentally placed. These were Meerut, Mean Meer, Rawal Pindi, and Umballa.

III. The Cantonment where the women were in one street, but under different roofs, was Peshawar.

I. In Lucknow the chakla is an extensive building. In some places the walls are 200 feet long and 12 feet high. In other parts of it, especially a certain distance along the line of the railway, the wall is low. But passing along still farther, from the railway side, you would look up to where the wall seemed to be 12 or 15 feet high, with only little windows, very high up. At another portion there was a gateway, where the brick wall was low. All around the wall inside were single rooms, numbered. I counted 33 on one side. There were two courtyards. We went through a narrow passage into one of these at our first visit, and the women gathered around us immediately, though surprised to see respectable women there. They conducted us to a mortar seat built around a tree. Then they came, dragging "charpoys," or native beds, that others might sit down. At one time we counted 37 women around us. We asked if there was a mahaldarni (the woman superintendent) there. Immediately an old woman came forward and said she was the mahaldarni. We asked, "Who built this place for you?" The woman said, "The Government." We said, "Does the Government own it now?" They answered, "No, the Government have recently sold it to a Mahomedan, a native," and they mentioned his name. Then we asked the mahaldarni whether she received regular wages, and she said "Yes; ten rupees a month." "Who pays you?" "The Cantonment magistrate." The woman told us another mahaldarni was present, pointing to her, and we said to her, "Have you any salary?" "Yes, ten rupees a month." "Who pays you?" "The Government." "But who pays you; where do you go to get your money?" "To the Cantonment Magistrate." (See Appendix B.)

The women poured out their hearts to us, and told us how they came to be there. That one talk was similar to scores which we had; they were constantly ready to give us their

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

LONDON.

July, 1893.

DEAR SIR,

May I ask your careful perusal of the accompanying pamphlet, and your special attention to the *fac-simile* of a Registration Ticket, showing the last date of the periodical examination, February 15th, 1892. This forms a complete answer to the assertion that the system of registration and examination of prostitutes has been discontinued in India.

I am, yours truly,

WALTER S. B. McLAREN, M.P.,

Chairman of the British Committee.

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confidence because we came to them with sisterly kindness. As we talked with them, we learned more and more of the condition of things. There was a native watchman inside on this occasion in uniform—a "chakidar." He had a belt on, with a metal plate, on which was engraved "Chakidar Cantonment," or Cantonment watchman, or guard. He was on guard. We asked the women, "Is there a guard here regularly?" And they said, "Yes; they are changed every few hours." We asked, "What is the capacity of this building?" They answered, "There are a hundred women here now, but the place will hold 150, or even 200 when other regiments come, bringing their women with them."

The Amritzar chakla comes next under this division: a little miserable place with mud walls surrounding it, and only a few rooms. There were five women and a mahaldarni there. The mahaldarni took one-eighth of the girls' earnings. She had no salary from Government, but the girls had to pay two pice to her out of the four annas which they usually received. (See Appendix A and B.) Four annas are less than four pence, because the rupee is worth not over 1s. 4d. or 1s. 3d. and a fraction, and it takes sixteen annas to make a rupee. Yet this mahaldarni earns her living by taking one-eighth of these wretched women's receipts. (See Appendix A and B.)

At Bareilly we found a large chakla, in two divisions surrounded by mud walls, with courtyards in the centre. There we also saw a Cantonment watchman inside, in uniform. The rooms were built in the same manner to which I have previously referred, being constructed against the wall. Each room was twice numbered—one an English and the other a native number. The small numbers were the registered numbers of the women, they assured us; the larger numbers were the regular Cantonment numbers required for every house; every Cantonment house must be numbered, being under military rule. At Bareilly we endeavoured to take away a miserable woman, past middle life; the most miserable woman I ever saw in India. The girls called our attention to her, as she had once lived with Christians, and even in that horrible place was still called "a native Christian!" and they asked us to take pity on her, because unless they had shared their food with her she must have starved. They told us how she was beaten, and kicked, and knocked down when the soldiers came in drink, and how they called her "Grandmother," and treated her so cruelly because she was too old to please them. They said to us, "Take her away; she is so wretched." She was gaunt, hollow eyed, and apathetic in her despair. We arranged to go after her in the evening, but we had difficulty in getting to see her at all. The space near the entrance of the chakla was crowded with English soldiers and officers. There were

many cabs waiting, and men constantly coming and going. As we sat there in the midst, in the dusk of the evening, our hearts were very heavy, seeing these English soldiers, and realising what Mrs. Wilson has said to-night—what it must mean to England to have these young men going down in the ways of death, and then returning after a short service, to bring these degrading ideas and practices home. We sent for the woman, and when she came she came trembling; but we could not get her to tell us why she could not come away with us. She said that after we had gone away in the morning, someone had sent word to her creditor—who had sold her food—that she was about to leave the chakla, and this creditor had sat down at her door and would not let her go because of her debts. We endeavoured in every way to overcome her fears, but she was held by invisible ties, and we had to leave her in that dreadful place. We found these women invariably in debt, in very many cases to the mahaldarni. It seemed almost hopeless to deliver them from their present circumstances. They were always so cowed. I remember three girls at Lucknow following us and weeping, saying, "We would go with you to-day, but we dare not go; we cannot leave till after the next examination day, and then we will come to you." But of course they did not come; they were in the toils of that system of slavery. As we proved in the case of Itwaria, whom we vainly tried to deliver, it would certainly be impossible for these poor ignorant creatures to escape from the hateful regulations unaided.

Sitapur is the next place to be mentioned. This chakla was a peculiar building, different from those I have described. It resembled ordinary Indian barracks. It had two suites of rooms with one inside wall dividing them, and the doors opening on opposite sides, ten suites of rooms on each side. We visited the women there and heard their sad stories. They declared that the building was owned by the Government, and that they paid no rent. At Benares, which is the last of those where the women are gathered under one roof, we found the women established in a good building in a prominent street; there was a watchmaker's shop in front. The women and mahaldarni told us the place was hired for them by the Government, and that they paid no rent; they had lived there two years and a half. We saw in this chakla three girls (two of them were deserted by their husbands, and one was a widow) who had been brought into a life of shame by the police and registered before they were 14 years old. Thus they told their pitiful histories.

II. Of those where the degraded women live in different parts of the Cantonment, Meerut is one of the largest Cantonments. Here we visited the women in three different

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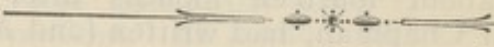
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Early in May, 1893, statements appeared in *Methodist Times*, *The Woman's Herald*, *The Christian*, and investigations made by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bush and sanction of, vice in military stations and camps in India.

These ladies are now (June, 1893) engaged in a tour in various parts of the country.

The following notes are intended to enable the narrators of these ladies (or who are expecting to do so) to give a previous history of the case.

15th April, 1886.—The Bill repealing the odious and immoral "Contagious Diseases Act" of the Kingdom received the Royal Assent.

4th February, 1887.—Mr. James Stuart, M.P., obtained a Return from the Government giving information as to legislation of a similar kind in India.

9th July, 1887.—The Secretary of State (Lord Cross) in consequence of a petition from the Viceroy (Lord Dufferin) for information as to the "existence of prostitutes in regimental bazars, British and Native. I apprehend that they are condemned."

11th August, 1887.—Lord Cross pressed the Indian Government for further information.

31st August, 1887.—Lord Cross informed the Government of India he had written to the Viceroy on the subject of repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts. The Viceroy replied to the House of Commons as to the intentions of Her Majesty's Government.

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SOME OF THE MORE IMPORTANT

DATES AND FACTS

RELATING TO THE SYSTEM OF PROVIDING FOR, AND SANCTIONING, VICE IN INDIA.

(Issued, June, 1893.)

Early in May, 1893, statements appeared in *The Christian Commonwealth*, *The Methodist Times*, *The Woman's Herald*, *The Christian*, and other papers, as to the result of investigations made by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell, in respect to the provision for, and sanction of, vice in military stations and camps in India.

These ladies are now (June, 1893) engaged in addressing meetings on this subject in various parts of the country.

The following notes are intended to enable those who have heard, or read, the narratives of these ladies (or who are expecting to do so) to understand something of the previous history of the case.

15th April, 1886.—The Bill repealing the odious and immoral "Contagious Diseases Acts" in the United Kingdom received the Royal Assent.

4th February, 1887.—Mr. James Stuart, M.P., obtained a Return (61) "East India (Contagious Diseases)," giving information as to legislation of a similar kind in India.

9th July, 1887.—The Secretary of State (Lord Cross) in consequence of questions in Parliament, telegraphed to the Viceroy (Lord Dufferin) for information as to the "existence of official regulations for provision of prostitutes in regimental bazars, British and Native. I apprehend system is indefensible and must be condemned."

11th August, 1887.—Lord Cross pressed the Indian Government for further information.

31st August, 1887.—Lord Cross informed the Government of India he had "recently received several memorials on the subject of repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts. Questions have been asked in the House of Commons as to the intentions of Her Majesty's Government."

7th December, 1887.—Reply to telegram of July 9th not having been received, Lord Cross telegraphed again, "When may Report be expected on provision of prostitutes in regimental bazars? Urgently required. Full report requested as soon as possible. Also on Contagious Diseases Acts. They should be treated separately."

24th January, 1888.—Letter from the Government of India to Secretary of State (Lord Cross) admitted that "some of the existing arrangements are open to objection."

23rd February, 1888.—Sir John Gorst, M.P. (Under Secretary for India) replying to a question in the House of Commons, said: "If anything like the practices alleged by Mr. Dyer prevails in India, measures must be taken to secure that any such practices shall be stopped forthwith."

In February and March, 1888.—Several questions were put in the House of Commons on this subject.

27th March, 1888.—The Government of India wrote to the Secretary of State (Lord Cross) concurring in the abandonment of the Contagious Diseases Act, but pressing for retention of the regulations in Cantonment Acts, which were practically similar.

4th May, 1888.—The Secretary of State (Lord Cross) telegraphed to the Viceroy (Lord Dufferin): "Quarter-Master General's Memorandum of 17th June, 1886, has been published in newspapers here. Is it authentic?" This "Infamous Memorandum" was issued by Major-General Chapman, the Quarter-Master General, under instructions from Lord Roberts, Commander-in-Chief. It was addressed to Officers commanding Divisions and Districts in India. It stated, amongst other things, that, it is necessary:—

"To arrange for the effective inspection of prostitutes attached to regimental bazars, whether in cantonments or on the line of march."

"To have a sufficient number of women, to take care that they are sufficiently attractive, to provide them with proper houses."

The "Memorandum" includes references to many previous instructions on the subject, amongst which it is pointed out that the "number of women on the register is not in proportion to the number of men who visit them." Also that "His Excellency will be prepared to sanction any reasonable expenditure from cantonment funds on the measures therein suggested.

The Viceroy, replied, four days later, that this Memorandum "is authentic."

It was afterwards discovered that about fourteen months after the issue of this "Infamous Memorandum," its author, Major-General Chapman, had written (2nd August, 1887,) to the Secretary to the Government of India—"neither the Government nor its officers, either directly or indirectly, encourage prostitution . . . no act of theirs can justly be interpreted as encouraging vice . . ."

7th May, 1888.—The Secretary of State (Lord Cross) asks the Viceroy (Lord Dufferin), "can I say that the system of provision of prostitutes in regimental bazars has, as directed, been totally prohibited? If not, order it at once."

(It will be remembered that the Secretary of State had, ten months before, said that it was "indefensible." See 9th July, 1887.)

8th May, 1888.—Mr. Stansfeld, M.P., obtained a Return (158) "East India (Contagious Diseases)" "being copies of the recent correspondence between the India Office and the Government of India on the subject of the Contagious Diseases, and Cantonment rules and regulations."

5th June, 1888.—Resolution carried in the House of Commons, on motion of Mr. W. S. B. McLaren, M.P., "THAT, IN THE OPINION OF THIS HOUSE, ANY MERE SUSPENSION OF MEASURES FOR THE COMPULSORY EXAMINATION OF WOMEN, AND FOR LICENSING AND REGULATING PROSTITUTION IN INDIA IS INSUFFICIENT; AND THE LEGISLATION WHICH ENJOINS, AUTHORISES, OR PERMITS SUCH MEASURES, OUGHT TO BE REPEALED."

24th June, 1888.—At a meeting of the Indian Council at Simla, the Indian Contagious Diseases Acts were repealed, Sir Charles Aitchison saying: "It certainly has not had the anticipated result of extirpating disease . . . The Government of India recommended the repeal of the Act on the grounds that it did not . . . effect appreciable good . . . and was liable to abuse." He added that the Cantonment Acts were under "separate consideration."

13th November, 1888.—An influentially signed address was presented to Lord Lansdowne on his departure to assume the Viceroyalty, asserting "that the system is still maintained in many places in India. . . . We respectfully request you to make personal investigation into these facts upon your arrival in India."

Several other memorials on the same subject were addressed to Lord Lansdowne, including one from a Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, which said (in reference to the alleged suspension of the Cantonment Acts): "The latest advices show that if orders to that effect have been given, they have not been obeyed, and the vile system is in full operation."

None of these representations had any effect, as will be seen from what follows:

March, 1889.—Information was received from an Indian official that after apparent compliance with the will of the House of Commons for a short time, the prostitutes' quarters had been again provided at Rawal Pindi, close to the soldiers' tents.

19th April, 1889.—A letter from Peshawar said, "All the brothels have been re-opened here." Other information at the same time was to the same effect.

11th October, 1889.—A new measure, known as "The Cantonments Act, 1889," received the Assent of the Viceroy.

About end of October, 1889, the *Calcutta Statesman* charged the Indian Government with trying "to evade their own solemn promises, and emphatic instructions from the Home Authorities . . . in the disgraceful shuffle at Simla over the Cantonments Bill," and with "a distinct evasion of the will of the English people, pronounced through the House of Commons."

The complaint was repeated in the *Calcutta Statesman* of November 9th, 1889, and the *Indian Daily News* of November 11th, 1889.

November, 1889.—*The Banner of Asia* reported that Messrs. M. Gregory and J. A. Stagg found the immoral system in full operation at Lucknow the previous month.

IMPORTANT

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AND SANCTIONING, VICE IN INDIA.

(Issued, June, 1893.)

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- 6th December, 1889.—Rev. John Dymock sent to Lord Cross the emphatic protest of the Committee of the Free Church of Scotland against the new Cantonments Act, as “entirely at variance with the resolution of the House of Commons of 5th June, 1888.” He quoted from an Indian newspaper as to how the “religious fanatics . . . will probably howl again now at the way the old order of things will be enforced under another name but with very little difference in manner. . . . The authorities have turned Dyer & Co’s “flank.”
- 28th December, 1889.—The *Calcutta Statesman* and *Indian Witness* had articles protesting against the new Cantonments Act.
- 8th January, 1890.—Lord Cross (Secretary of State) in reply to the Wesleyan Conference Social Purity Committee, said that the Government of India had received direct instructions that the Resolution of the House of Commons must be recognised as governing their conduct. “His lordship is confident that the Government of India will conform to these instructions.”
- 10th January, 1890.—The Calcutta Missionary Conference protested against the draft rules under the new Cantonments Act, as contrary to the Resolution of the House of Commons, and re-enacting the old regulations.
- 10th February, 1890.—The Wesleyan Conference Social Purity Committee made a similar protest.
- 14th February, 1890.—The Rt. Hon. James Stansfeld, M.P., and Mr. James Stuart, M.P., wrote to Lord Cross an argumentative letter in reference to the proposed draft rules, pointing out “they may be used to set up again a system of compulsory examination of prostitutes, and to regulate and license within the cantonment “the calling of those prostitutes,” &c.
- 6th March, 1890.—Sir John Gorst, M.P., replied (in Lord Cross’s name) at some length, saying (in reference to the danger which had been suggested), “the Secretary of State can see nothing in the rules to lend any colour to such an insinuation, and he is unwilling to attribute to the Government of India, an intention to evade, or to allow any of its officers to evade the explicit instructions which he has issued, unless some solid ground can be afforded for such an accusation.”
- 11th July, 1890.—The *Calcutta Statesman*, referring to the Cantonments Act, and the Memorials from various public bodies, both in England and in India (presented during the period of more than six months between the publication of the draft rules and their confirmation), said: “In simply ignoring wholesale all such suggestions . . . the Government of India virtually treats the representations which have been presented to it . . . as deserving only of contempt.”
- 18th August, 1890.—Rev. Dr. Waugh and Mr. Stagg found the old odious system was carried on as usual at Lucknow.
- February—April, 1891.—“The British Committee” received confirmatory confidential letters to the same effect.
- 25th May, 1891.—The General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland by resolution complained strongly to the India Office, and to the Viceroy, that according to information from missionaries, the old system was still being carried on.
- In the Autumn of 1891, “THE BRITISH COMMITTEE FOR THE ABOLITION OF STATE REGULATION OF VICE,” arranged with Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell† to make a thorough investigation of the actual state of affairs in India. (This was done in the early part of 1892, and the result of their investigation was made known in England in May, 1893.)
- 12th January, 1892.—Large meeting at Exeter Hall. Mr A. S. Dyer gave account of visit to Lucknow, in company with Mr. Stagg and Mr. Gladwin on October 5th, 1891. The old system was in full swing. Mr. Gladwin went on to Cawnpore, Agra, and Jhansi, at all of which places the same state of things existed.
- February, 1892.—The *Sentinel* quoted from the *Tribune* (Lahore)—“To all intents and purposes the Act remains in force as before, as cantonment authorities have placed their own interpretation upon the orders of the Government of India. . . .”
- 2nd November, 1892.—The Rev. William Huntly, M.D., Medical Missionary, reported the condemned system was still in operation at Nusseerabad virtually as before.
- Early in April, 1893.—“The British Committee” sent out circulars announcing that after considerable correspondence and numerous Conferences, Her Majesty’s Government had appointed a *Departmental Committee*, consisting of:—

† *Missionaries of the World’s Women’s Christian Temperance Union.*

MR. G. W. E. RUSSELL, M.P., UNDER-SECRETARY FOR INDIA, *Chairman*.

THE RT. HON. J. STANSFELD, M.P., and } representing the opponents of "Regulation."
MR. HENRY J. WILSON, M.P., }

SIR DONALD-MARTIN STEWART, BT., G.C.B., &c., } representing the Council of India.
SIR JAMES-BRAITHWAITE PEILE, K.C.S.I., &c., }

The Reference to the Committee is as follows:—

"To enquire into the Rules, Regulations and Practice in Indian Cantonments and elsewhere . . . in order to ascertain and report how far they accord with the Resolution of the House of Commons, of 5th June, 1888."

A "Statement of Facts" had previously been submitted to the India Office, and to the Government, alleging that "within each Cantonment systematic provision is made by or with the sanction of the Military authorities for the residence therein of native women as prostitutes for the use exclusively of British soldiers; for the compulsory examination of such women at prescribed periods by European or Native medical officers; and for an established system of licensed prostitution."

4th May, 1893.—Statements first appeared in newspapers as to results of investigations by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell.

11th May, 1893.—*The Christian Commonwealth* reported an "interview" with Lord Roberts, drawing his attention to the printed "Statement of Facts." At this "interview" the late Commander-in-Chief denied and contradicted the allegations, one by one, adding "that any such state of things exists as this report describes, is simply untrue."

18th May, 1893.—*The Christian Commonwealth* reported that Mr. James Stuart, M.P., and Mr. Walter McLaren, M.P., declare that "The British Committee" has ample evidence of the truth of the statements, which Lord Roberts has denied. This evidence consists not only of carefully prepared statements of eye-witnesses, but includes a printed official ticket, proving that the vicious system of registration of women, and the hateful examinations, were in full swing in 1892.

Meantime the "Departmental Committee" has held several sittings at the India Office, and has taken evidence which has been sent out to India. It is understood that the reply of the Indian Government, together with official witnesses, may be expected in this country about the end of July. The Report of the Committee will be presented to the House of Commons, and become public in due course.

Although the opponents of State Regulation and Sanction of Vice have never rested their case on the alleged results of such an immoral system, it may be well to quote the following passages, showing that legislation of this kind has always been a sanitary failure, and that thus the only ground on which it has ever been defended cannot be maintained.

16th June, 1882, Lord Ripon (Viceroy) wrote to Lord Hartington (Secretary for India) as to the abolition of Contagious Diseases Act, "for all these reasons we are of opinion that the time has come to abandon a measure which has never in practice been a complete success, which is odious in the eyes of our native subjects, and in those of a large and influential class of Europeans."

9th June, 1884.—The Surgeon-General of Her Majesty's Forces, Bengal, wrote to the Director, Army Medical Department, London,—"It is surely obvious that failure after 17 years application means nothing more nor less than the hopeless inadequacy of the measures to effect the purposed end."

5th November, 1884.—The Secretary of the Government of India, (Military Dept.) wrote to the Quarter-Master General in India, that the Governor General in Council had for some time past had under consideration the abandonment or retention of the system in question. "That system has had an extended trial during a period of over 20 years, and the experience gained of its working proves that the results are very far from satisfactory."

The reader may also be referred on this branch of the subject to several valuable papers by Dr. Nevins, and particularly to a paper read by him at the International Hygienic Congress, August, 1891, showing the failure of the "Regulation" system as a means of preventing disease.

Copies of this Paper, and other information, may be obtained from the
BRITISH COMMITTEE FOR THE ABOLITION OF STATE REGULATION OF VICE IN INDIA AND THROUGHOUT THE
BRITISH DOMINIONS. OFFICE: 1, KING STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

PORTLANDER-SECRETARY FOR INDIA, *Chairman.*

... and } representing the opponents of "Regulation."

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chaklas. Four chaklas were recorded on the registration list, but we had only time and opportunity to visit three of them: the Sudder bazaar, the Lancers' chakla, and the Infantry chakla.

Then three miles distant from the Sudder bazaar of Meerut we visited the Rest camp of the 50th West Kent Regiment. These soldiers had only been there less than a month, yet already there was the whole paraphernalia of vice prepared for them. Passing through the large encampment, beyond the tents of the soldiers, and then beyond the officers' tents, we came to the bazaar, the trading place; and then just beyond that were these two rows of fourteen little tents for the women. Thirteen women were there and their mahaldarni. A few steps from these was a large opium tent. We went into that tent and saw men and women lying in drunken sleep. At Meerut, as in all the Cantonments visited, the women broke out in spontaneous expression of their hatred of the military regulation of vice. They described to us the shame and horror of the compulsory examinations in most vivid language, and in all the agony of their feelings; and declared that it was impossible for them to refuse to obey the regulations, for if they did they would be expelled from the Cantonment. And when we said, "But what does that mean if you should be expelled from the Cantonment?" they answered, in piteous tones, "*It means starvation.*" What was there for them to go to? "No one will give us work; we are prostitutes." If any of you should stop for a moment and say, "Why should these women stay and endure all this?" remember that there are as many variations of history as of women there. We get into their history, and we find that a large proportion have been brought in by fraud, and by poverty, and by betrayal—brought there by wicked men under promises of marriage, or by wicked women under expressions of sympathy or motherly interest; or brought into this awful life through other circumstances which they could not control. One particularly I remember, who told us that she was sold by a Sepoy—whose daughter had adopted her in famine times—sold when 11 years old, to the mahaldarni "to sit in the chakla." She added, "In all the days of my life I have never known one day's happiness. My heart is full of wounds." She did not seem to be much above 20, yet she was old in misery. As I say, you must take into consideration these personal histories, and the way these women have been entrapped and brought in. Then you must remember that a large proportion of these poor women are the wretched widows of India. A missionary said to us, "'Widow' is almost a synonym for 'prostitute' in India." And we found this true as we made inquiry in place after place. Scores of women said to us,

"I did not know what I was coming to." Then still another thing to be remembered is that there are so few industrial openings for women in India, and that the most respectable woman can do but little to earn a living. And after women have once gone into this shameful life with the soldiers, they are perfect pariahs and outcasts from their friends. In very many cases they would not be received even if they should wish to go back to their friends; their caste is broken; they are considered utterly degraded. The breaking up of family ties by this regulation system is a serious consideration. Over and over again women told us that they had been brought there by their husbands, or brothers, or sisters, and sold into it. I recall one case where a woman told us that her husband had brought her into the life; she seemed overcome with shame, and great tears rolled down her cheeks, as she told her story. We asked, "Where is your husband now"? and she replied, "He is a bearer in this encampment." Think of the breaking down of honour and virtue among the natives by this system!

Another encampment that comes under this division is Mean Meer. There we visited three different chaklas. Do not think we went once only; we went in most cases over and over again, patiently trying to get all the information we could at all these different places. These we visited were huge Cantonments for the most part. It often meant miles and miles of driving to go from one part of the Cantonment to another, to find the abodes of the women. At Mean Meer we were obliged to stop at Lahore, three miles distant. It could not be supposed that anyone would go to this dreary Cantonment for any sort of pleasure or interest. We remained in the city; thinking it safer to do so, because of avoiding observation, and drove out to the Cantonment day after day. It was in this Cantonment that we obtained the Registration and Examination Ticket, which is the clearest evidence possible of these two points. (See Appendix C and D.) This ticket bears the name of the Cantonment magistrate on one side, and the initials of the European surgeon on the other, with the dates for the periodical examinations; it was sold to us only two days after the last date on the ticket was recorded. This ticket corresponds to the blank form which we saw at the Lock Hospital, which called on the Cantonment magistrate to "give prostitute ————— a ticket enabling her to pursue her calling, as she is enrolled to appear regularly at the bi-monthly inspection." These counterfoils were signed by the surgeon of the Lock Hospital, and bore dates as late as January, 1892.

We found the women housed differently here. In the Sudder bazaar the chakla was a very good building, which the

mahaldarni said was full. She and the women assured us that the house was owned by the Government, and that they lived in it rent free. In the regimental chakla, not far from the Sudder bazaar, we found the women in rooms resembling barracks. They said their quarters were rented to them by the commanding officer, and that they paid from one rupee to one rupee and four annas per month, each. The last chakla we visited, namely, the Artillery chakla, consisted of rooms on the narrow native street.

At Mean Meer the women also spoke of their hatred of the examinations, of the feelings of shame and abhorrence they had towards them, and of the miseries they were subjected to in the carrying out of the wicked system. They also told us of their poverty. They told us their histories, and we sympathised with them and went on. What could we do? Can you think how it tore our hearts as these women would weep and sob around us? Often they would say, "Take us with you; we will go with you anywhere in the world." But we could not take them. It was impossible, not only because of the lack of Rescue Homes within reach, but also because of the strongly entrenched power of the system of slavery under which they groaned. Then on to Rawal Pindi, a huge Cantonment far up the north-west frontier. We visited seven chaklas there. The women simply seemed innumerable in one that we went through; it was alley after alley, courtyard after courtyard. There was a great massing of soldiers there at that time because of some uneasiness in the country, which we did not understand. The whole Cantonment seemed alive and astir. We drove from place to place. In the Sudder bazaar we found the women whom we visited living right over the shops in the busiest thoroughfare. These were set apart for the British soldiers. We also visited the chakla for the native troops. The women here congratulated themselves that they were not brought under the strict rules applying to the women belonging to the British soldiers; for they were not compelled to go to the Lock Hospital except when the mahaldarni sent them. The native physician of the Lock Hospital corroborated this, and said only the women set apart for British troops were obliged to go to the Lock Hospital regularly for examination.

From that, out to the Infantry chakla, which consisted of rooms built around an open space; single rooms facing on a large open courtyard.

Then the Artillery chakla; a most wretched place, mud walls surrounding it. Only five women were in these dreary quarters. We went there twice, and could not find the women at home first; but we found them in the evening. The mahaldarni they said was there to protect them from the cruelty and rudeness of the soldiers, especially when

they should come in drink. But we looked at this decrepit old woman and said, "What protection can she be?" We said to the women, "Why are there only five girls here?" and they replied that the women were afraid to stay because the soldiers treated them so cruelly. We were impressed with the miseries of their surroundings as we stayed on with them into the deepening gloom of the approaching night. By and by a woman rose and lighted a lamp of the rudest sort—a wick floating in a cup of oil—and placed it in a niche in the wall. Here we were in a narrow little room, the women sitting, native fashion, on the mud floor around us; no furniture in the room, except the native bed or charpoy, on which we sat: it was bitterly cold after sunset; the women stretched their fingers over a little charcoal fire by turns, shivering as the wind swept in through the grass curtain (for door there was none) and pierced through their thin cotton clothing. We were warmly dressed, yet felt the cold intensely. It was one of the most wretched sights we saw in all India. And the misery was increased, because we did not see how these captives were to be delivered from their despair and degradation under the regulating system. It all settled down on our hearts like a pall. The other three chaklas we visited were only at what is known as the new Cantonments, Rawal Pindi. There remains Umballa under this division. There we visited two tent chaklas—women in the Rest camps. One of these was the chakla of the Argyle and Sutherland Highlanders, and the other of the Second Gordon Highlanders. There were ten tents in each place, one hundred yards from the soldiers' encampment, surrounded by a wall of native matting. We talked with the women at each place. Young soldiers came shamelessly to the very tent where we were, and in one case stood so near that we could read the letters on his shoulder strap. Oh, if my English sisters could see what we have seen they would not hesitate to rise for the sake of their own sons, even if they did not realise what it must mean to those native women to be so crushed down!

From these chaklas we went on to the Sudder bazaar, chakla, and Lock Hospital. I dare not take you into that Lock Hospital. It is torturing to me to remember that examination room, with its fearful paraphernalia. I dare not tell you what I saw. Oh, human degradation! Oh womanhood that can be so crushed down, down, under the ban of shame! We read the records there. We read that it was made a point of honour that soldiers should declare the women whom they held responsible for communicating disease. We read copies of letters from the surgeon in charge calling on the Cantonment magistrate to order these women up for examination. And yet at the top of the

register it was written: "Prostitutes attending *voluntary* inspections!" But all the machinery laid bare before our eyes showed that it was not voluntary. (See Appendix C.)

The Sudder chakla here is a large one, with accommodation for twenty women, with rooms built around a courtyard. We saw two little girls, one 4 and another 12. The one of 12 years was dressed as the degraded women were.

III. The place under my last division is Peshawar, near the Khyber Pass gateway through which Alexander passed to the conquest of India. We were told by a British soldier, and by others, of the hatred of the people here for the English soldiers. The chakla was formed by a street turning at right angles with its ramifications. The women told us that all the other chaklas had been broken up, and that all the degraded women of the Cantonment had been gathered here. Every door in this awful street was twice numbered, with English and native numbers, one a small number—a tin plate about six inches square. There were also large tin plates at least 15 inches in diameter, and on these were large English numbers. We asked of three separate groups at different times what these large figures meant, and they told us in each case that they corresponded to the registered number of the women. We found the women in deep revolt against the system of regulation.

Can you imagine how difficult it was to know what to say to these women? We went with sympathy in our hearts, but what could we say of hope and comfort? Over and over again we asked, "What can we do for you?" Never did they ask for money, though we knew they were in great straits and often wanted for bread. They always said, "Pray for us;" or they said, "Remember us when you go back to England, and try to help us, and have homes established that we can go to;" or they said, "Help us to get rid of these shameful examinations." And often they folded their hands together and prayed to the only God they knew, asking Him to help us to help them. May God help us to help them!

SPEECH BY DR. KATE C. BUSHNELL.

The resolution to which Dr. Kate C. Bushnell spoke at the Women's Liberal Federation meeting on the 1st June, 1893, at Holborn Town Hall, read thus:—

"That this Council expresses approval of the appointment of a Departmental Committee for the reception of evidence regarding the new Cantonment Acts in India."

[Subsequently the following resolution was substituted for the one quoted above, which was not deemed sufficiently strong, viz. :—

“ That this Council, bearing in mind the resolution against
 “ all legislation regulating vice, which was unanimously
 “ adopted by the House of Commons, on June 5th, 1888, and
 “ indignant that under the East India Cantonment Act and
 “ Regulations, 1889, that resolution of June, 1888, is evaded
 “ and frustrated, thanks the Government for the appointment
 “ of a Departmental Committee to inquire into the matter,
 “ urges the Government to take all necessary steps for
 “ carrying out the vote of the House of Commons, and resolves
 “ to use every practicable means to secure the abolition
 “ throughout the British Empire of all such Acts or Regula-
 “ tions which strike at the fundamental liberties of women.”

This amended resolution was carried unanimously and enthusiastically.]

Dr. BUSHNELL said :—

As I understand the situation, I can be of most service here this morning by making it clear to you that there is abundance of evidence to prove that the resolution of the House of Commons, which was passed in the year 1888, has been set aside and ignored by the military officials of India. I do not know of any stronger point to prove this in a general way than a statement that has been very recently put in print by a Major-General of the Indian army in this document which I hold in my hand, the “ Annual Report of the Army Health Association,” published in Meerut, India, at the end of the year 1892. He refers to the recent discussion that took place before the Decennial Missionary Conference held in Bombay. Most of you have read in the papers what has been said *pro* and *con.* with regard to the action of these missionaries, who first passed a resolution condemning the State regulation of vice, and then withdrew that resolution for technical reasons. The Christian public in the main have not felt that the technical reasons were sufficient for the withdrawal of so important a resolution. (Cheers.) This Major-General, speaking of that resolution, betrays the position of Indian officials—some of them, at any rate—upon this point, and his conception of the position of the Indian Government at large. He says, “ An attempt was made at this Conference to hamper the Government of India in carrying out remedial measures at present practicable.” That is, he asserts that when the Decennial Conference condemned or proposed to condemn State regulation of vice, that was an effort on the part of that Conference *to hamper the Indian Government.* (“Shame!”) Now would it hamper the British Government here in England for this or any other Association to pass a resolution condemning the State

regulation of vice? Does it not prove the position of the Indian Government with regard to the State regulation of vice when a condemnation of State regulation tends to hamper the Government? It seems to me that this statement of the Major-General shows that the position of the Indian Government with regard to State regulation of vice is not the same as that of the British Parliament. I also wish to emphasize the fact that we have evidence—the evidence of our own eyes—in relation to this matter. I am speaking now more particularly with regard to the hospitals in India, which were supposed to have been abolished—the Lock Hospitals—after the passing of the resolution in the year 1888. I have to tell you this morning that I could produce a “Report of the *Lock Hospitals* of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh,” printed by the Indian Government in the year 1890, two years after the passing of the resolution of the House of Commons. (“Shame!”) My friend, Mrs. Andrew, and I visited ten Cantonments in India in order to look into this matter. I want it to be clearly understood that from every one of these we brought evidence that the resolution of the House of Commons was being disobeyed. The Lock Hospitals, as they were called by the Government of India in their own publications, were, soon after the passing of the resolutions, called in other documents the Cantonment Hospitals. The first name was the Cantonment Lock Hospital, but they took out the word “Lock.” Instead of bearing the term Lock Hospital they were called the Cantonment Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases. I hold in my hand an extract from another Government document, which was sent out in November, 1892, by the Secretary of the Military Department of the Government of India. This document refers to these Cantonment Hospitals, and states that “it is very desirable that the rules for the management of these Cantonment Hospitals should be applied in such a manner as not to give a legitimate cause of offence to *respectable* persons suffering from contagious and infectious diseases.” Does not that statement prove that these Cantonment Hospitals which, it is claimed, are general hospitals, have been reserved really for one purpose? For they are instructed that respectable persons suffering from even cholera and small-pox shall not be removed to these hospitals. It is impossible this morning to read all of this document, but it shows conclusively that the Cantonment Hospital is a hospital for disreputable women. We visited ten Cantonments, and in every one we found a Lock Hospital, and we found it by simply directing our cabman to drive us to the “Lock Hospital,” or “disreputable woman’s hospital” (Hindustani), and he knew exactly which

hospital we wanted. In four of these ten Cantonments we studied carefully the annual report of the hospital for the year preceding the one when we were there—for 1891. In each of these four reports, although the hospital was called "The Cantonment Hospital for the treatment of Contagious and Infectious Diseases," we never found a single case of infectious or contagious diseases recorded as treated there, excepting those diseases to which disreputable women are liable. Then again, in nearly all these ten hospitals we saw the Registration List of degraded women living in the Cantonment, who were, of course, not all in hospital at the time. What has a Registration List of degraded women to do with a hospital, unless it is a Lock Hospital, for the care of such women as these—a care which extends beyond their confinement in hospital when ill? We could have produced here for your inspection this morning an original Registration Ticket on which the health of the degraded woman is certified to by an examination which took place only two days before we secured the ticket in the month of February, 1892. (See Appendix D).

As to these examinations we found that they took place in every one of the ten Cantonments which we visited, and that they *were compulsory*, on the evidence of the degraded women themselves, their mahaldarnis, the nurses of the Lock Hospitals, native policemen of the Cantonment, native physicians of the Lock Hospitals, and on the evidence of the records we found in the hospitals. (See Appendix C.)

APPENDIX A.

EVIDENCE of Governmental Regulation of Vice in Military Cantonments is found in the fact that the rate of pay is not proportioned to the attractiveness of the prostitute, but to the rank of the soldier. While women living outside the Cantonment, and those consorting with native soldiers, receive a variable sum. So far as our inquiry went, we found a uniform rate for those consorting with British soldiers. As the privates far outnumber the officers, the woman of shame receives the pitiful sum of less than four-pence (4 annas) as her usual pay. To what excess this cheap vice tempts the young soldier and dooms the native woman who is haunted with the prospect of starvation, the reader may imagine.

Reference to Appendix B will show that, out of this pitiful rate, the girl must pay one-eighth (sometimes one-fourth) to the Mahaldarni, and meet the cost of rent (in some cases), fines, debts, food, and clothing.

A glance at the following Table will show that we made careful inquiry into this matter. Benares and Peshawar are at the farthest distance from each other of any of the stations we visited. And we gathered evidence on this point at every one of the ten Military Cantonments we visited intervening between these two places.

Table showing the number of witnesses stating that the rate of pay was proportioned to the rank of the soldier, i.e., Sergeant, 1 rupee; Corporal, 8 annas; Bombardier, 6 annas; and Private, 4 annas, and places where the evidence was taken.

Cantonment.	Chakla.	Number and character of witnesses.
1. Benares	Secrole	10 inmates
2. Lucknow	Sudder Bazar	35
3. Sitapur	" "	1
4. Bareilly	" "	10
5. Umballa	Argyle & Sutherland Highlanders	4
6. "	2nd Gordon Highlanders	6
7. Amritzar	Sudder Bazar	6
8. Meerut	Lancers	3
9. Mean Meer	Regimental Bazar	6
10. "	Artillery "	7
11. Rawal Pindi	Infantry "	4
12. "	Artillery "	4
13. "	Highlanders ", (New Cantonment)	4
14. Peshawar	Sudder Bazar	8

1 Mahaldarni
2 Mahaldarnis
1 ex-Dhai
1 Mahaldarni
1 "
1 "
1 "
1 Dhai
1 Mahaldarni
1 "
1 "
1 "
1 "
1 "

APPENDIX B.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF MAHALDARNIS MET WITH, AND WHERE FOUND, WHO EXACT PART OF THE GIRLS' EARNINGS.

	Cantonment.	Place.	Share Girls' Pay.	Additional.	Remarks.
	Lucknow	Sudder Chakla	1/4	10 Rupees	Girls made statement in her [presence
	"	Lancers Regt.	1/4	"	Stated by herself (Mahald.)
	Meerut	50th W. Kent. Regt.	1/8	"	"
	Mean Meer	Regimental Bazar	1/8	"	"
	"	Artillery Bazar	1/8	"	"
	Rawal Pindi	Infantry Bazar	1/8	"	"
	"	Artillery "	1/8	"	"
	Rawal Pindi	Highlanders	1/8	"	"
	"	Battery	1/8	15 Rupees	"
	"	Rifles	1/8	"	"
	Peshawar	Sudder Chakla	1/8	"	"
	Amritzar	"	1/8	"	3 prostitutes
	Umballa	Argyle & Sutherland Regt.	1/8	"	Mahaldarni [fee
	"	2nd Gordon Highlanders	1/8	"	Charged each girl Rs. 6, entrance
	Barcilly	Sudder Chakla	1/8	"	Stated by Mahaldarni
	Lucknow	Near Sudder Chakla	1/4	5 Rupees	" " girls in her presence
	"	"	1/4	"	These two Mahaldarnis had been discharged, but, they said, told to "keep a few girls and take part of their earnings," this they were doing. These two are the same mentioned at the head of the list previous to their discharge.

New
Canton-
ment.

In the hands of the Mahaldarni of the Highlanders Regiment, Rawal Pindi, we saw autograph letters of recommendation ranging in date from April, 1887, to November, 1891, and signed by British Surgeons, Colonels, Quartermasters, and other officials. They styled her "Superintendent of Prostitutes," stated that "few soldiers were in the hospital, while the women were under her care," and one of them, that she had accompanied and taken care of the women "on the march" satisfactorily.

The Mahaldarni of the Infantry Bazar chakla, Rawal Pindi, showed certificates ranging from 1875 to 1888, signed by British Colonels, Majors, Surgeons, and others. They styled her "the head woman of the brothel," "the superintendent of the brothel," and as "having charge of the brothel." One certificate spoke of her as having been in charge of the "Regimental brothel of the 4th Battalion Rifles," and was signed by the Colonel.

At Lucknow we saw the following certificates, &c., in the hands of the two Mahaldarnis who were discharged during our visit to India:—

"——— has supplied the 2nd Derby Regiment with prostitutes for the past three years, and I recommend her to any other regiment requiring her for a similar capacity.

"———, Quartermaster,
"——— Regiment.

"Lucknow, 25th October, 1885."

"——— Mahaldarni of the Sudder Chakla, has been known to me three years, and has always done her work well.

"———, M.S., Staff Surgeon.

"D———, 12th March, 1889."

"———, Mahaldarni, 7th Lancers, you have not brought your women from ——— and ———. You will have to do it or the Colonel will think you have broken faith, as it is now fifteen days since you received your appointment.

"———, Staff Surgeon.

"26th June, 1886."

These documents written by British officers, sufficiently indicate the Mahaldarni's duties. Comment is unnecessary.

APPENDIX C.

At 7.35 a.m., Monday, February 8th, 1892, we (Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Bushnell) went to the Sudder Bazar, Meerut, and to the neighbourhood of the Lock Hospital. The women in gaudy apparel were assembling, for it was

examination day. A tall native policeman stood about, apparently to keep order, and an unusually large number of policemen were in front of the police station situated obliquely opposite across the street. The girls sat in groups outside the gate in the public highway. They went in by twos and threes as their turns came. We watched the scene from various points until 9.30 a.m. Women were coming and going all the time, nevertheless there were always twenty or more waiting outside the gate, and a similar group in the yard inside. Boys and men were about them all the time. The thoroughfare was one of Meerut's busiest. The fearfully demoralizing effect of the scene and the conversations could scarcely be described. Tiny boys seemed full of curiosity and perfectly familiar with such sights. At one instant we counted twenty-five men and boys standing by or passing, and doubt if the number was less while we were watching. We passed the Hospital again at 11 o'clock; all was then quiet.

In the correspondence book at the ——— Lock Hospital we saw a copy of a letter, dated December, 1891, addressed to the Cantonment Magistrate and signed by the British surgeon in charge of the hospital. It gave the names of six girls supposed to be diseased, and requested the magistrate to order them to inspection. Another, dated January, 1892, addressed to the Cantonment Magistrate stated that the prostitute whose name was written in the margin had been indicated by a soldier of a certain regiment named, as having given him disease, and requesting that the woman be sent to inspection on a certain date. There were many other letters of similar import.

At the Lock Hospital, Peshawar, the native physician, asked by Dr. Bushnell, "Are the women compelled to come to the examinations?" replied "Yes; if they were not compelled to come, they would not come." Asked "What do you do if they do not come?" he replied, "I send for them."

In most Cantonments the women are detained in Hospital, and supported by the Cantonment funds during the natural monthly period. We have this not only on the testimony of the women themselves, but on the words of the Hospital nurses, native physicians and Hospital records.

In the Lock Hospital at Mean Meer (near Lahore), we saw a book of blank forms with counterfoils. These forms were addressed to the Cantonment Magistrate, requesting him to "give prostitute——— a ticket enabling her to "pursue her calling, as she is enrolled to appear regularly at "the bi-monthly inspections of the Voluntary [!] Venereal "Hospital of Mean Meer Cantonment." These blank forms ended thus:—

"Signed —— Surgeon.

"Cantonment Hospital."

Many had been torn out for use, and their counterfoils bore dates as late as January, 1892. Appendix D is a *fac-simile* of a Registration ticket corresponding to these orders.

The mockery of calling the institution "Voluntary" is illustrated by the following copy of a letter that was in a book at this Hospital:—

" 1st January, 1892.

" Mean Meer Cantonment Hospital.

" ——— has the honour to inform the Cantonment Magistrate that the undermentioned did not appear at the bi-monthly inspection, and respectfully requests that they be made to appear on the 8th instant.

(Four names follow.)

" ———,
" ———,
" ———,
" ———.

" (Signed), ———,

" Surgeon, M.S."

EVIDENCE AS TO SURGICAL EXAMINATIONS.

Cantonment.	No.	Character of Witnesses.	When Examd.
Lucknow	58	Native Physician, Dhai, 2 Mahald., 6 Native Police, 48 Chakla Inmates	Bi-weekly
Meerut	44	Mahald., 43 Inmates, A. and B. saw women collect for examination	Weekly
Meean Meer	14	Mahald., 12 Inmates, 1 Man, and Hospital Records	Bi-monthly
Rawal Pindi	30	Native Physician, 2 Dhais, 3 Mahald., 21 Inmates, 3 Others	Weekly
Peshawar	10	Native Physician, 9 Inmates, and Records	Do.
Amritzar	8	Dhai, Mahald., and 6 Inmates	Bi-monthly
Umballa	12	2 Mahald, 10 Inmates	Weekly
Sitapur	3	Native Physician, Ex-dhai, Inmate	Do.
Benares	11	Dhai, 10 Inmates, Records	Do.
Bareilly	11	Native Physician, Mahald., 9 Inmates	Do.

APPENDIX D.

Fac-simile of a Registration Ticket of Examination, showing date of examination as late as February 15th, 1892.

FRONT.

1892

Ticket of Registered Prostitutes in the Cantonment of Meean Meer,—

Name. Begum 1st

Caste Mahamedani

Registered number. 1

Place of residence in Cantonment. Sudder Bazar

Date of Registry. 4-3-90

Personal appearance, _____

Amrit Lal
Cantonment Magistrate,
Meean Meer.

A B P. S. B. M. M.

BACK.

YEAR AND MONTH	Date of Medical Examination and Signature of Medical Officer.				REMARKS.
	Date of inspection in the 1st half month.	Signature of Medical Officer	Date of inspection in the second half month.	Signature of Medical Officer.	
1892					
January	<u>15/12</u>		<u>15/12</u> <u>23/12</u> <u>27/12</u>	<u>1/10/12</u>	
February	<u>15/1</u>	<u>1/10/12</u>	<u>15/12</u>	<u>1/10</u>	
March					
April					
May					
June					
July					
August					
September,					
October					
November,					
December...					

Interpretation of letters A.B.P., S.B., M.M., at the foot of the front of ticket:—Artillery Bazar Prostitute, Sudder Bazar, Meean Meer.

wing



