

ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

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ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

VOL. VI.

FINAL REPORT

OF THE

ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

PART I.

THE REPORT,

WITH ANNEXURES.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.



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ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

FINAL REPORT.

SECTION I.

THE SCOPE OF THE INQUIRY.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

May it please Your Majesty, we the undersigned Commissioners appointed to inquire into matters connected with the cultivation of the poppy in India and the manufacture and sale of opium, desire humbly to submit to Your Majesty our Final Report upon the questions referred to us for investigation.

2. The Resolution of the House of Commons, asking for the appointment of this Commission, is as follows :— Order of reference.

Having regard to the strong objections urged, on moral grounds, to the system by which the Indian opium revenue is raised, this House presses on the Government of India to continue their policy of greatly diminishing the cultivation of the poppy and the production and sale of opium, and desires that an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty praying Her Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission to report as to :—

- I. Whether the growth of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited except for medical purposes, and whether this prohibition could be extended to the Native States ;
- II. The nature of the existing arrangements with the Native States in respect of the transit of opium through British territory, and on what terms, if any, these arrangements could be with justice terminated ;
- III. The effect on the finances of India of the prohibition of the sale and export of opium, taking into consideration (a) the compensation payable, (b) the cost of the necessary preventive measures, (c) the loss of revenue ;
- IV. Whether any change short of total prohibition should be made in the system at present followed for regulating and restricting the opium traffic, and for raising a revenue therefrom ;
- V. The consumption of opium by the different races and in the different districts in India, and the effect of such consumption on the moral and physical condition of the people ;
- VI. The disposition of the people of India in regard to (a) the use of opium for non-medical purposes, and (b) their willingness to bear, in whole or in part, the cost of prohibitive measures.

3. At the suggestion of the Government of India, we opened our inquiry, on the 8th of September 1893, by taking in London the evidence there available which the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade was desirous of placing before us. As it appeared that the majority of its witnesses referred chiefly to the subject in connexion with China, we thought it advisable to call for evidence from some of the persons present in England who have held responsible posts under the British Government in that country, and the opportunity was also taken of obtaining the views on the Indian aspect of the question of several witnesses of special experience, medical and administrative, who have retired from service abroad. Looking also to the fact that the greater part of the Indian opium revenue depends upon the export trade in the drug, which is principally with China and the Straits, and that prohibition of the production of opium in India would involve destruction of that trade, we thought it impossible to form a complete judgment on the moral objections raised against the Indian opium revenue system without considering the effects of that trade abroad. We decided, therefore, to request the Governors of the Straits and Hong Kong and Your Majesty's Minister in China to obtain the evidence of competent witnesses in the form of answers to

NOTE.—It has not been found possible to adhere consistently in the Minutes of Evidence and Appendices to the method of spelling sanctioned by the Government of India.

A glossary of Indian terms used in the Evidence and the Appendices has been added to our Proceedings. It is, however, desirable to explain in this place the Indian weights and measures :—

a maund	=	40 sers.	a masha	=	15 grains
a ser	=	2·057 lbs., or 16 chataks, or 80 tolas.	a rati	=	2 grains.
a tola	=	180 grains.			

The terms lakh and crore are frequently used in the Evidence and Appendices. A lakh is 100,000 and a crore 10,000,000. It is not uncommon in India to write these figures thus, 1,00,000, and 1,00,00,000.

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interrogatories. Copies of the questions thus sent out under the authority of the Commission, with the answers received, are given in Vol. V. of our Proceedings.

4. Our sittings in London were concluded about the middle of September. We then adjourned to meet again, in Calcutta. We resumed the taking of evidence on the 18th of November 1893.

5. A large number of witnesses came before us at Calcutta. In their evidence they dealt with the opium question under many aspects, and their examination occupied our attention until nearly the end of the year. During this period a section of the Commission consisting of Sir J. Lyall, Sir W. Roberts, Mr. Mowbray, and Mr. Pease, was deputed to pursue the local inquiry in Burma, whilst their colleagues continued the hearing of evidence at Calcutta. These sittings were brought to a close shortly after the return of the members who had visited Burma, and the Commission was able to begin its tour through Upper India on the 2nd of January, 1894.

6. Your Commissioners commenced their journey with a visit to Patna, the headquarters of one of the two opium agencies under the Government of India. Leaving Patna, we proceeded successively to the cities of Benares, Lucknow, Ambala, Lahore, Delhi, and Agra. The evidence regarding the Native States in Rajputana was taken at Jeypore and Ajmer, and early in February a section of the Commission visited Indore, where a similar inquiry was held in reference to the Native States in Malwa and the rest of the Central India Agency. The other members of the Commission proceeded to Ahmedabad, as being the most convenient centre for the attendance of witnesses from the numerous States under the political control of the Bombay Government in Gujarat. The full Commission reassembled at Bombay, where, after taking further evidence, the inquiry in India was concluded on the 22nd of February. Public sittings were held on 79 of the 83 working days spent in India. After we left Patna, indeed, there were only two working days that were not thus occupied.

7. Before leaving India a special meeting of the Commission was held, in order that the general conclusions on the subjects of our inquiry might be discussed whilst the evidence was fresh in our minds, and in oral consultation with our colleagues the Maharaja of Darbhanga and Mr. Haridas Voharidas, who might probably be prevented from attending the sittings to be subsequently held in London. After full discussion, in which our Indian colleagues took an active part, we adopted certain draft resolutions, which form the basis of our Report. They are quoted at length in the concluding Section.

8. It is advisable to offer here a few general remarks on the nature and source of the evidence on which are based the conclusions at which we have arrived. Taking into view that India is a country of vast extent and varied climatic conditions, peopled with many races with distinctive customs, it was obviously imperative to hear the evidence of a multitude of witnesses. In forming our opinions we have endeavoured to appraise the testimony of each individual or class under the strictest limitations of social or territorial experience. We lay some stress on this point, because, in regard to at least one aspect of the question under investigation, the sentiment or disposition of the population at large, and not merely the existence of certain concrete facts, is directly in issue before us.

9. The necessity for expediting the work at each centre precluded us from hearing the evidence in a definite and uniform sequence of subjects, an arrangement which has its obvious convenience and which, accordingly, was recommended to us by the Government of India in framing the outline of proceedings. At the outset an endeavour was made to observe some system in this respect, but experience soon proved that it would be necessary to abandon the attempt, and to examine such witnesses as might from time to time be in attendance, irrespective of the purport of what they had to state before us.

10. In the course of our inquiry questions have been raised as to the amount and character of the evidence submitted to us, and as to the conduct of the Government of India in connexion with the production of evidence and the selection of witnesses. We think it due both to ourselves and to the Government of India to deal with this subject in some detail, and to give in decided terms the judgment we have formed.

11. The first intimation of the views of the Government of India with reference to the production of evidence is contained in a telegram of the 15th of August 1893, addressed to the Secretary of State, in reply to a telegram from the latter, on behalf of the Chairman of the Commission, assuming that the Government of India would arrange "the course of inquiry, places to be visited, and witnesses." In their reply the Government of India stated, "We shall be prepared to suggest non-official witnesses who will give independent evidence, but we cannot undertake to specially search for witnesses who will give evidence against opium. We presume this will be done by the Anti-Opium Society." V. p. 362.

12. In pursuance of this telegram and in order to meet the wishes of the Chairman, the Government of India, on the 8th of September 1893, prepared a sketch of the course which it was thought might be conveniently observed in conducting the inquiry, and a general outline of the route which the Commission might follow in the ordering of its tour throughout the Provinces of India. The Government of India, however, desired it to be understood, that in proposing a programme and itinerary they were merely putting forward suggestions for the consideration of the Commission, in the hope of thereby facilitating the completion of our labours. All questions connected with the course of inquiry, places to be visited, and witnesses to be examined, were to be finally decided by the Commission. V. p. 363.

13. The Resolution of the Government of India of the 8th of September 1893, with the proposed itinerary and course of inquiry, was forwarded with a covering despatch of the 20th of September 1893 to the Secretary of State, to be communicated to the Chairman of the Commission. It was also communicated to the Local Governments and Administrations of British India; to the Foreign Department for communication to the Agents of the Governor General in Rajputana and Central India, and to the Residents at Hyderabad and Baroda, and to the Adjutant General in India. V. p. 364.

14. The original itinerary proposed by the Government of India was of an extended character, which it would have been quite impossible for the Commission to have completed in the course of one winter. We were therefore compelled to contract its scope, and to omit from our tour tracts in which, as, for instance, in Assam, an investigation on the spot had been specially recommended by the Government. In the final arrangements made after our arrival in Calcutta, the visits to Orissa, North-Eastern Bengal, Assam, the Central Provinces and Berar, Hyderabad and the Madras Presidency were abandoned, and the Government of India were requested to arrange for the attendance of witnesses from these places at Calcutta and Bombay. Many other centres of inquiry in the other provinces which had been suggested by the Government of India had to be abandoned owing to the limited time at the disposal of the Commission.

15. In the meanwhile the Government of India, in conformity with the wishes of the Commission, had made arrangements through the various local Governments and Administrations for the attendance of witnesses at Calcutta and at the other centres of inquiry decided on by the Commission. These witnesses may be roughly classified under the following heads:—

- (a.) Official witnesses, to give evidence regarding the extent of cultivation of the poppy, the manufacture and consumption of opium in India, the various systems of taxation in force, and the financial and administrative aspect of the question generally.
- (b.) Selected officers, both civil and military, with experience regarding the consumption of opium by different races and in different parts of India, police officers and others connected with the administration of the criminal law, and gentlemen of the medical profession, both in the service of the Government and private practitioners, who had had opportunities of observing the moral and physical effects of the consumption of opium.
- (c.) Non-official gentlemen of recognised standing, both native and European, who might present the case from different points of view, either in their individual capacities or as representing organised bodies of opinions.*

As regards the arrangements with Native States, the Government of India undertook to place before the Commission a full statement of all agreements now in force regarding the production of opium in such States, and its export from, and import into, them, and to give to the Commission every assistance in procuring a representation of

* With regard to the selection of witnesses of this class, we think it advisable to quote the actual instructions issued by the Government of India, which are given at page 365 of the 5th volume of our Proceedings (para. 7):—

"It is desirable that they should, if possible, be gentlemen of some social standing, of independence of character and good general intelligence, and so completely in touch with public feeling in their respective provinces as to command the respect and confidence alike of the people of India and of the members of the Commission."

the views of the Native Administrations whose interests were involved in the questions referred to the Commission.

16. In order to obtain evidence in addition to that of the witnesses put forward at our request by the Government of India, we thought it our duty to issue advertisements inviting any person who wished, to appear before us. The response to this invitation was limited, but the evidence of some of these volunteer witnesses was of much importance. We may remark that many of the witnesses nominated by the Government of India and the Anti-Opium Society had, in the first instance, voluntarily tendered themselves.

17. Besides those put forward by the Government of India and those voluntarily tendering themselves in answer to our general invitation, a large number of witnesses was produced before us by the representatives of the Anti-Opium Society. In no single case was the evidence of any witness tendered for examination by them declined by the Commission. On the contrary, we may unhesitatingly say that every effort was made on our part to give them the fullest opportunity of setting forth their views. Mr. J. G. Alexander, the secretary of the Society, who accompanied the Commission throughout the inquiry in India, ably and energetically represented its interests, and we wish to place on record our acknowledgments of his services.

18. But owing to pressure of time, and to the number of witnesses other than those put forward by the Anti-opium Society, we were obliged on several occasions to take upon ourselves the responsibility of cutting down the lists submitted to us by Provincial authorities. On some of the earlier occasions this work was done for us, at our request, by the officers of the Government, but as their selection of the witnesses to be omitted was objected to by one of our colleagues, we arranged on subsequent occasions to make the selection ourselves. Our action in such cases was governed by the view that a trustworthy witness to matters fully within his own knowledge did not require confirmation by additional evidence.

19. In order to economise the time of the Commission, and to facilitate the examination of witnesses, we made a rule, at the commencement of our proceedings in India, to require every witness to furnish beforehand an abstract of the evidence which he was prepared to give. In the case of witnesses put forward by the Government of India or Provincial Governments, these abstracts were made out after the witnesses had been selected. In accordance with the general instructions under which they were acting, the Provincial authorities were guided in their selection of officials by their general knowledge of their training and experience. The non-official witnesses were selected as specially fitted, either by position or by knowledge and judgment, to speak in a representative character on behalf of different classes of the community. In the later stages of our inquiry, we adopted, at the request of the Government of India, the plan of incorporating in our Appendices the above-mentioned abstracts in the case of all witnesses tendered on the part of the Government, who attended for examination, but whose examination was not taken owing to the want of time. We considered this plan to be fair, since we were omitting many of the witnesses put forward by the Government, whilst accepting every one of those brought up by the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade.

20. It must be obvious that, in cases where the exigencies of time required the cutting down of lists originally submitted, the selection of witnesses after their abstracts had been sent in, by Government subordinates at the request of the Commission, necessarily gave room for some difference of opinion as to the inclusion or omission of particular names. Questions of this kind have been raised, and communications have passed between the Commission and the Government of India, which are set forth at length in the last Appendix to Volume V. of our Proceedings, to which we would refer for any detailed consideration. We wish to say, however, that in none of these cases did we find any ground for the imputation of partiality or unfairness in the selection or omission of names.

21. On the general subject of the evidence we desire to put on record our opinion, that the Government of India have consistently endeavoured to place the Commission in full possession of the actual facts of the case. We believe that the evidence, put forward by them, supplemented by that produced by the Anti-Opium Society, and that given by independent volunteer witnesses, forms a trustworthy ground for arriving at conclusions affecting vast provinces and enormous populations, exhibiting such distinctions in race, climate, and social and physical conditions as are rarely to be met with under the control of a single Government.

22. We are indebted to the Government of India not only for their assistance in regard to the presentation of witnesses, but also for the preparation of notes and memoranda describing in detail the systems under which the poppy is cultivated, and opium prepared and sold in that country. These documents are included in the volumes of our Proceedings, and have been found of the greatest use in elucidating the questions before us.

23. We wish to add an expression of our acknowledgments to Mr. R. M. Dane, of the India Civil Service, who was deputed by the Government of India to arrange for the attendance before the Commission of the witnesses nominated by them, and for the presentation of the documentary evidence, and also to supply any special information that might from time to time be required. Mr. Dane's arrangements throughout were most efficient, and on every occasion we received from him ready assistance.

24. We may conclude by stating that the number of witnesses examined was 723, of whom 466 were natives of India or China, and 257 Europeans. In the next Section of our Report we give a classified table of these witnesses.

SECTION II.

THE PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM IN BRITISH PROVINCES.

25. Of the special subjects on which your Commissioners are required to report, we propose first to consider the production and consumption of opium in the territories immediately under the administration of the Crown in India. We do not, however, include in our review the province of Burma. The opium question has there assumed an aspect differing materially from that which it bears in the rest of the Indian Empire, and for this reason we propose to consider the arrangements regarding opium in the two divisions of Burma in a later section of our Report. For the present, we confine our remarks to the provinces of India properly so called, and, under that limitation, we propose to treat of the cultivation of the poppy, the regulation of the sale of opium and preparations from it, the extent to which it is consumed, the evidence given before us as to the benefits, on the one hand, and the evils on the other, which are attributed to its use.

II. p. 533.

II. p. 527.

26. We may begin with citing the existing law on the subject. The production and sale of opium in British India are regulated by the General Opium Act of 1878, and the rules under it, in force throughout the territories administered either directly by the Government of India or by Local Governments and Administrations. We have included this enactment amongst the Appendices to the second volume of our Proceedings. Its general purport is to take power to prohibit the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of opium except under conditions provided in the rules, and to regulate the sale, possession, and transport of opium. The cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of opium except on account of the Government, is prohibited throughout the whole of the old Bengal Residency by Act XIII. of 1857, and this, with its code of procedure and scale of penalties, we have thought it advisable to reproduce in our Proceedings for convenience of reference.

PRODUCTION.

27. With the exception of a limited quantity of opium produced for local use in the Panjab and in the small tract of Ajmer-Merwara, the whole of the supply produced in British India falls within what is known as the Bengal monopoly. Postponing the consideration of the production in these two special cases, we deal first with the subject of the monopoly.

The Bengal monopoly.

28. A general account of this system is given at pages 319 and 344 of Volume II. of our Proceedings; and at page 371 of the same volume will be found a brief summary of the proposals made during the last 30 years for its modification. We may therefore restrict ourselves here to the broad lines of the subject. The general features of the monopoly system may be thus summarised: the cultivation of the poppy is at present restricted, under Act XIII. of 1857, to the tracts included in the two Opium agencies of Behar and Benares. Within these limits, the growth of the plant is only permitted under license from the local officials of the Opium Department. The licenses are granted to individual cultivators, but in parts of the Benares agency, and the whole of the Behar agency, it is usual to conduct the negotiations with the representatives of those who wish to grow poppy in a village or group of villages. The area to be put under poppy is specified in the license, and a proportionate cash advance is made either to the cultivator in person, or, more frequently, to his representative. The land sown is subsequently measured, and it is then ascertained how far the agreement as to area has been fulfilled. The whole of the opium extracted from the poppy has to be delivered at local centres where it is weighed and roughly tested, each man's contribution being paid for at the rate fixed by the Government according to the degree of consistency. The final test as to weight and consistency is conducted at the head factories, and determines the difference between the value as estimated at the local weighment, and that by which the year's account with the cultivator, including the advance, is adjusted. The opium is then prepared at the factories for the market; a portion is issued for consumption in India under the Excise regulations, but the bulk is sent to the Government stores in Calcutta, where it is sold as provision opium, for export only, at monthly auctions. A certain amount of this provision opium is kept in stock as a reserve, in order that, if the crop should fall short in future years, the quantity placed each year upon the market may be kept as far as possible uniform.

II. p. 321.

29. The objects which it is desired to attain under the system we have described are as follows:—First, that the area devoted to poppy should be kept under State

control; secondly, that the cultivator should be furnished, if he agree to grow poppy, with the means of carrying out the season's operations; thirdly, that the cultivator should fulfil his obligation by devoting the advance in full to the purpose for which it was made, and finally, that the cultivator should receive a price fixed irrespective of variations of season, and in return, should deliver to the State the whole of the produce without any adulteration.

30. The following return shows the area sown with poppy in the two Agencies under this system during the last 10 years, together with the number of cultivators who received licenses:—

Area under poppy in Bengal, &c. II. pp. 325, 344.

TABLE I, showing EXTENT OF CULTIVATION under the BENGAL MONOPOLY.

Year.	Acres Cultivated.			Number of Cultivators.		
	Behar.	Benares.	Total.	Behar.	Benares.	Total.
1883-84	249,699	256,141	505,843	719,195	626,720	1,345,915
1884-85	270,726	294,520	565,246	665,353	713,973	1,379,326
1885-86	283,446	311,475	594,921	695,781	788,079	1,483,863
1886-87	286,416	275,636	562,052	717,043	731,465	1,448,508
1887-88	279,849	256,758	536,607	707,483	701,036	1,408,519
1888-89	253,666	206,198	459,864	632,718	563,049	1,195,767
1889-90	248,893	233,664	482,557	657,358	617,229	1,274,587
1890-91	254,975	246,744	501,719	654,870	651,871	1,306,741
1891-92	231,741	228,923	460,664	639,798	601,413	1,241,211
1892-93	241,100	213,056	454,156	637,585	558,286	1,195,871

In the Seventh Section of our Report we discuss the considerations on which the Government of India determine the area to be placed under poppy. We there state, also, the conclusions at which we have arrived in regard to the Bengal monopoly, and, the recommendations we have to make where we consider alteration desirable.

31. We now pass on to the consideration of the excise system or regulations under which opium reaches the consumer. Under the Moghal and other dynasties which have successively held power in various parts of India, there does not seem to have been any system of excise. It appears from the Note prepared for us by Mr. Dane, that in some towns, perhaps, the right to sell opium was subject to a local fee, in the same way that certain other articles of luxury were taxed. As a rule, however, in towns, and universally throughout the rural tracts, there was no regulation of consumption until some time after the British had been established in Bengal.

Excise regulations. VII. p. 32.

32. A monopoly of the purchase of opium from the cultivators had grown up in Behar under the Moghal Empire. In 1773 this monopoly was recognised by Warren Hastings and established as a State measure. At that time, however, importance was only attributed to the trade in opium to the Straits and China, and the consumption of opium in British territory attracted no special notice. But upon the prohibition in 1797 of the cultivation of the poppy in Bengal proper, and its consequent restriction to the Behar division of the province, the attention of the Government was drawn to the strong local demand for the drug, which was being met by systematic smuggling and clandestine production. The authorities, finding that they could not stop the consumption, decided to place it under regulation. At the same time, they distinctly declared that in taking this step they were desirous of countenancing only to the narrowest extent possible a habit which they found themselves unable to eradicate.

First essays in excise in Bengal.

VII. pp. 50-51.

33. Since 1813, when the first Bengal Regulation on the subject was passed, the Government of India has remained steadfast to the policy then set forth. There are modifications in detail, but the general lines of all the different systems now in force are identical, being designed to place the habit under restriction, and to raise, if we may adopt a phrase that has become popular in connexion with such topics, the maximum revenue from the minimum consumption.

General excise policy.

34. The excise systems of the various provinces have been described in the notes presented to us on behalf of the Government of India. These documents were prepared by the chief excise authority of each tract, and will be found amongst the Appendices to our Proceedings. It is not necessary here to enter into details of the existing arrangements. Our present subject requires no more than a broad outline of the system which, originating out of the Bengal monopoly, has been extended, with the successive accretions of territory, to the whole of British India, with the exception of the Panjab and the small *enclave* in Rajputana, known as Ajmer-Merwara.

Provincial systems. II. pp. 425, 456. IV. pp. 402, 432, 455, 511. V. pp. 83, 101.

General features of the excise regulations.

35. The main features of this system are that only Bengal opium provided by the State, or Malwa opium which has paid pass duty, should be sold, and that the sale should be restricted to persons specially licensed for the purpose. The number of shops for the retail of opium in each district is fixed by the Government. The right to sell at these shops is disposed of either by auction, by selection from tenders, or on payment of a fixed fee for the licence. In some cases it is found convenient to dispose of each shop separately; in others all the shops sanctioned for a district or a subdivision of a district are included in a single farm. The term of the licence is usually a year, though in special cases it extends to three years. All the opium sold by the licensee has to be obtained, as we have already stated, under Government sanction, either direct from the State stores, or, where Bengal opium is not used, from the stock which has paid the State duty. The price at which Bengal opium is issued to retail vendors is made to vary according to the facilities for smuggling, but is always considerably above the cost price to the Government. Where the introduction of contraband opium is difficult the price is higher than where the process is easy. Under this system, accordingly, the cost of opium is enhanced several times before it reaches the consumer: first, in the case of Bengal opium, by the price at which it is issued by Government to the retailer, and in that of Malwa opium, by the pass duty and the imposts to which the drug is subjected in the States where it is produced; secondly, by the sums paid by the retail vendors or farmers for their monopoly; and finally, by the profit from the retail sale which the monopoly enables them to obtain.

Special measures.

III. 13,686.
IV. 26,163-8.
V. p. 86.

Limitation of quantity saleable.

36. Various supplementary measures have been from time to time adopted in order to protect the revenue on the one hand and the consumer on the other. Amongst others, we may mention the plan of demanding a guarantee that the farmer should annually take a minimum quantity of taxed opium. The object of this system was to provide against the sale of cheap illicit opium by the vendors, which was then prevalent, and to give them an additional inducement to prevent the use of such opium within the area to which their licenses extend. This plan was in force for some time in Bombay and the North-West Provinces, and was believed to be successful, but has been recently abandoned. In the last-named province, certain subdivisional officials are allowed to sell opium by retail concurrently with the licensed vendor. The object of the arrangement is to protect the consumer against adulteration of the opium supplied by the vendors, and against the combination of the vendors to raise the price at which they retail their opium.

37. We may conclude this sketch of the main features of the general system by observing that in all provinces a limit is placed on the amount of opium, or preparations of opium, which may be sold to any individual, or of which a person may be legally in possession, at any one time. The actual quantity allowed differs mainly with reference to the character of the country, the accessibility of the licensed shop, and the habits of the people. The usual range is between 360 and 900 grains of the crude drug, as issued for consumption, but in the thinly populated tracts of Sindh, bordering on the desert, the limit is raised to 1,800 grains. The quantities now fixed are shown in the following table:—

TABLE 2, showing the PRICE at which OPIUM is issued, and the MAXIMUM AMOUNT saleable by RETAIL at one time.

Province.	Maximum Quantity allowed to be in the possession of any Individual at once.			Rate at which Crude Opium is issued per Ser. (2·057 lbs.)
	Crude Opium.	Preparations for Smoking.	Poppy Heads.	
	Grains.	Grains.	Lbs.	Rupees.
Bengal -	900	180	10·28	16 to 32
Assam -	900	180	—	37
N.W. Provinces and Oudh -	540	180	—	16 to 18
Punjab -	540	—	10·28	—†
Bombay -	360	360	—	—*
Madras -	540	180	10·28	—*
Central Provinces -	360	360	2·057	22
Berar -	900	—	—	—c

* Malwa opium being here used, there is no issue by the Government.

† Both Malwa and local opium are used in the Punjab, this column cannot therefore be filled in.

38. In Bengal, Assam, the North-West Provinces and Oudh, the Central Provinces, and Burma, Bengal monopoly opium is obtained by the local governments and issued to licensed vendors. In Western and Southern India licensed vendors supply themselves with opium obtained from the Central India and Rajputana States under the Malwa or pass-duty system, which will be dealt with in the next Section of our Report.

39. In Ajmer-Merwara, which covers only some 2,700 square miles, no general restriction of the cultivation of the poppy has been attempted, owing to the fact that this, the British portion of Rajputana, is completely surrounded by States under Native rule, where absolute freedom as to cultivation exists and the use of opium is probably more widely spread than in any other part of India. Except in the four chief towns there is no restriction on consumption. A part of the produce is consumed locally; the remainder is exported to the adjacent Native territory.

40. In the Panjab, the system in force is somewhat different from that which prevails in the rest of the country; the essential difference, however, relates only to the manner in which the opium sold by the licensed dealers is procured; in regard to the limitation of the number of shops and the taxation of retail vend, the systems are practically identical. The greater part of the opium consumed has always been imported from the Protected States, by which the province is bordered on two sides, whilst a small quantity has been brought in from Afghanistan. This trade was formerly unrestricted. Within the Panjab itself no restriction was placed under the Sikh administration on the cultivation of the poppy, but the production was nowhere very considerable, and in most tracts the plant was grown merely for the capsule, an infusion of which called *post* was in popular demand. On the acquisition of the province by the British from the Sikhs it would have proved a highly unpopular measure to prohibit the cultivation altogether, and in some places the prohibition would have resulted in serious injury to the cultivators. Moreover, had such a measure been enforced, and Bengal opium only been issued for sale, it would have been most difficult to repress the competition of smuggled opium finding its way by customary routes from non-British territory. The cultivation was therefore allowed to continue, but on the condition that the opium produced should only be sold to licensed dealers, who paid for their monopoly of the trade. Subsequently, a duty of Rs. 2 per acre was imposed on the poppy crop. By these measures an excise revenue was raised on the home-grown article. In 1889 power was taken to enhance this duty up to Rs. 8 per acre. Of the imported opium, that from the Native Hill States within the province and from Kashmir and Afghanistan is subject to no pass duty. It is taxed through the sums paid for licenses by dealers, who alone are allowed to import it. The States of Rajputana on the southern frontier of the Panjab, are differently treated. Malwa opium, up to an annual quantity determined by the Government, is allowed to be imported from them, on payment of a low pass duty, by wholesale dealers licensed for the purpose. With this exception, imports of opium from these States are prohibited. A small quantity of Bengal opium is also consumed in the eastern portion of the province, obtained by retail vendors from the Government treasuries. The details of the licensing system are given at page 110 of the fifth volume of our Proceedings.

CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM.

41. The common mode of consuming opium in India is to take it in the shape of pills. In some parts of the country, and chiefly on social and ceremonial occasions, the opium is dissolved in water and drunk. In the Panjab and a few other tracts in Upper India an infusion of the capsule of the poppy, called *post*, is often drunk in the villages. The forms in which opium is smoked in India are known as *chandu* and *madak*. The use of *chandu*, or the Chinese preparation of opium for smoking, is one of comparatively recent introduction into India, and has not spread beyond the larger towns and military cantonments. The habit of smoking *madak* is of long standing in some of the eastern parts of the country. The details of the composition, and the process of preparation of *chandu* and *madak* are given in the Memorandum by our medical colleague, Sir William Roberts, appended to our Report.

42. The most complete and trustworthy information on the subject of the consumption, so far as licit opium is concerned, is to be found in the official statistics of the quantity issued to the consumer in accordance with the regulations which have been described above. These have been presented to us by the Government of India or the Local Governments and Administrations. The results, taking the province as

the unit, are summarised in the following table, which shows in a convenient form the diversity which exists in the different parts of the country :—

TABLE 3. showing CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM in the various PROVINCES of BRITISH INDIA.

Province.	Area.	Population (1891).	In 1892-93.				To each Shop.		Annual Consumption of Opium per Head.
			Shops for sale of			Amount of Crude Opium issued.	Mean Area.	Mean Population.	
			Opium.	Smoking Prepara- tions only.	Poppy- heads only.				
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
	S. Miles.					lbs.	S. Miles.		Grs.
Assam - - -	15,501	5,433,199	866	16	—	109,741	52	6,160	141
Bengal - - -	144,443	71,069,643	1,714†	334	17	159,171	69	33,923	15
Berar - - -	17,718	2,897,191	478	—	—	37,876	37	6,062	91
Bombay - - -	77,275	15,985,270	815	—	—	108,980	91	18,918	47
{ Sindh - - -	17,789	2,871,774	300	—	—	18,052	159	9,572	11
{ Central Provinces - - -	81,300*	10,046,546*	1,481‡	182§	—	52,248	49	6,011	34
Madras - - -	141,189	35,630,440	906	98	30	74,984	136	34,459	14
{ N.W. Provinces - - -	83,286	34,254,254	839	14¶	—	119,470	97	40,157	24
{ Oudh - - -	24,217	12,650,831	188	—	—	27,217	129	67,291	15
Panjab - - -	110,667	20,860,913	1,780	—	—	125,292	62	11,158	42
Total - - -	773,388	211,700,361	9,397	644	77	833,031	76	20,923	27

* Excluding mediatised chieftainships. † Excluding 1,264 druggists' licenses. ‡ Including 508 temporary licenses at fairs and markets.
§ Including 10 temporary licenses. ¶ Includes the sale of poppy-heads. || To be closed on expiration of current licenses.

Ajmer, Coorg, and British Balochistan, which, though nominally provinces, are in point of population small districts, have not been included in the above table.

Proportion of opium shops to area and population.

43. It will be seen that in the area to which Table 3 refers, and this includes nearly the whole of British India, except Burma, each shop supplies an average area of 76 square miles, containing a population of, approximately, 21,000. This, however, is no more than a convenient arithmetical expression; the details show that the average area is approached in Bengal alone. Looking to other parts of India, the extremes are found in Berar, where there is a license to every 37 square miles, and in Sindh, in which thinly peopled tract the corresponding area is no less than 159 miles. The variation is still more strongly marked in respect to the average population served from each licensed establishment. In no individual case is the general figure typical of the actual local distribution. A shop in Oudh, for instance, suffices for more than 10 times the population served by one in the Central Provinces, Berar or Assam, and for double the population for which a shop is provided in the densely peopled province of Bengal.* In the above calculation shops for sale of poppy-heads only or of smoking preparations, where they exist, are included. But for this, the area served by each shop would be 82 square miles, with a population of 22,530. This is, perhaps, the more correct average, since the special shops are supplementary to the others, and serve but a small body of consumers.

Average consumption per head, in provincial detail.

44. The last column of the table shows the consumption of opium per head of population. For the whole area dealt with in the table the quantity averages 27 grains per head annually. The extremes are found in Madras, where the average consumption is but 14 grains, and Assam where it rises to 141. Below the general average, we find, in addition to Madras, the provinces containing the great opium-producing tracts, namely, Bengal, the North-West Provinces, and Oudh. Above the average come Assam, Berar, Bombay, the Panjab, and the Central Provinces. Some of the provinces manifest so great an internal diversity in population and physical characteristics that the figures for each, taken as a whole, are of little use in connexion with the present subject, though they serve to exhibit the variety that exists in India generally. We will comment, therefore, on those parts of the country in which discrimination on considerations such as are mentioned above appears to us to be especially desirable. It is important to remember that the figures of consumption are those of licit opium only, and that illicit opium is no doubt consumed in considerable quantities in parts of some provinces.

II. 3009.
V. p. 85.
III. 10,852,
11,548, 13,867.

* In the above calculation for Bengal, the 1,264 druggists' licenses are not taken into account.

45. In Bengal, the Orissa Division, which has many damp and malarious tracts, shows a mean consumption of 47 grains annually, or thrice the incidence of the province as a whole. At the other end of the scale are the seven districts of the Patna division of Behar, in all of which the cultivation of the poppy is permitted under the monopoly system. Here the consumption is shown as no more than 2 grains per head of a population of 16 millions. In these districts some opium is believed to be illegally retained by the growers for domestic consumption. Between these extremes we find the districts of the Dacca division, containing a population of nearly 10 millions, with an average consumption of 5 grains per head. The wilder portion of the province, on the hills and table-land of Chutia Nagpur, returns an average consumption of a grain above that in the east delta. The city of Calcutta stands by itself in the tables of Bengal. The population, including that of the suburbs, is shown as consuming no less than 276 grains per head.

II. p. 34.

46. Assam is the next province we have to consider. Here the consumption of opium has fallen considerably since the introduction of the system of charging a fee for licenses. In 1873-74, the last year in which the permission to sell was granted free of payment, the amount of opium issued was 152,794 lbs. The price of opium and the license fees having been raised from time to time and other changes having been introduced, by 1877-78 the annual consumption had fallen to 140,480 lbs. In 1883, the present system of licensing individual shops was adopted, and by the year 1892-93 a further falling off had taken place, and the issues for that year were only 109,741 lbs. Under Burmese and the preceding Native rule, the production of opium was subject to no restriction, and after the annexation by the British in 1826, the same liberty was allowed to continue until 1860. Even now a certain amount of poppy is grown in the surrounding hill tracts, beyond British influence. The details of the returns show that large consumption is confined principally to the Assam valley, along the damp and low-lying country bordering the Brahmaputra River on both sides. Here the general use of the drug which existed before the country came under British rule still widely prevails, and though the amount has decreased, the average annual consumption reaches 357 grains per head. The largest consumers are the Mikir tribe, of whom, according to the estimate of the Commissioner of Excise for the province, from 80 to 85 per cent. eat opium. Amongst the purely Assamese community the proportion is estimated by the same authority not to exceed 30 or 35 per cent. In the southern and western part of the province the average annual consumption is only about 12 grains per head, rising to 30 grains amongst the tribes of the hill tracts.

II. p. 455.

II. 5621,
9016, 9547,
9671.

II. p. 458.

47. In the North-West Provinces the average annual consumption is returned at 24 grains per head. In Oudh, during Native rule, which only ended in 1856, there was no restriction on cultivation or sale. The corresponding figure there falls to 15. It must be borne in mind, however, that the cultivation of the poppy is permitted under license in every district of Oudh, a fact which in some degree accounts for the small consumption of licit opium. The existence of a large city in which the traditions of a corrupt Musalman court have not yet been obliterated explains, probably, the high rate of consumption in the Lucknow district, where it is seven times as high as that in the rest of Oudh. The influence in this respect of a large town is not confined to Lucknow alone, since the consumption in the districts in which are situated the towns of Lucknow, Benares, and Cawnpore, in the vicinity of which poppy cultivation has been prohibited since 1877, amounts to 85 grains per head, or nearly five times that of the rest of the combined provinces, where only 18 grains per head are consumed. The increase in actual licit consumption from 125,806 lbs. in 1882-83 to 146,687 lbs. in 1892-93, is attributed chiefly to the more efficient measures taken of late years for the prevention of the use of contraband opium, whether retained by the producers or smuggled from Nipal and elsewhere.

North-West Provinces and Oudh.*
V. p. 86.
V. p. 93.

V. p. 86,
par. 16,
V. p. 90.
III. 19,102,
19,530.

48. Our observations in regard to increased consumption of opium in the North-West Provinces apply, with perhaps still greater force, to the increased consumption shown in the Panjab returns within the last nine years. During this period the persistent smuggling that went on along the comparatively unprotected Rajputana frontier has been gradually checked by capture of smugglers' trains, and by allowing a certain amount of Malwa opium to be lawfully imported on payment of duty. The average consumption during the past ten years was 112,394 lbs., but, whereas in the first six years of this period the average was only 95,527 lbs., since the reduction of the duty on Malwa opium in 1888-89, it has risen to 122,474 lbs. Between the years 1887-88

Panjab.*

V. p. 110.
V. p. 109.

* The average consumption given in this and the following paragraphs is calculated from the Tables included in the Notes on the excise systems of the different provinces given in our Appendices. The quantity of opium returned against each district, (at 7,000 grains = 1 lb.) is divided by the population.

and 1888-90, the returned consumption in the two important districts of Ludhiana and Ferozpur was nearly doubled, a rate of increase which is stated to be entirely due to the prevention of smuggling, and to the substitution of taxed for untaxed opium. We see no reason to doubt this explanation. The nominal increase represents, so far as we can judge, no extension of the habit of indulgence in the drug. In regard to the unequal distribution of the rate of consumption in this province, we must not omit to call attention to the influence of social or religious custom which is so strongly shown in the case of the Sikh community. Of the Sikhs about 80 per cent. are to be found in the seven districts marginally named. The total population of these districts constitutes only about 31 per cent. of the whole province, but the licit opium consumed within their limits bears a proportion of 66 per cent. to the total for the Panjab. Our Table 3 shows that the mean annual rate of consumption for the whole province is about 42 grains per head, but it falls to 23, if these seven districts be excluded. Within these, taken separately, it rises to 104 grains. In five of them the infusion of poppy heads, known as *post*, is also in common use. In connexion with this point, we may call attention to the fact that, whilst the total consumption of licit opium amongst the 20 millions of the British districts averages 112,394 lbs. annually, that of the Patiala State, with its population of 1,583,000, is returned at 98,736 lbs. The consumption per head in the latter is, therefore, more than 10 times that in the former. Similarly in the smaller Sikh States of Nabha and Jind, the incidence of consumption is 366 and 180 grains respectively, or considerably higher even than that of the British Sikh districts. The habit of smoking preparations of opium is of comparatively recent introduction into this province, and since the 1st of April 1890, no licenses for the sale of such preparations have been granted.

Ambala	68,440
Jalandhar	90,320
Ludhiana	127,143
Ferozpur	81,219
Lahore	125,501
Amritsar	216,337
Gurdaspur	72,365

V. p. 108-9.

III. 16,218,
16,280, 16,259.V. p. 110,
par. 22.
III. 15,718.Bombay
Presidency.

IV. p. 280.

III. 18,545.

IV. p. 479.

IV. p. 480.

49. In the Bombay Presidency almost as great a variety is found in the rate of consumption as in Bengal. It is true that in Bombay city the consumption does not equal that which we have noted above as prevailing in Calcutta, the western capital being credited with only 155 grains per head of its population, against the 276 of the metropolis. But, taking the other divisions of the province, we find the high rate of 94 grains in Gujarat, where a considerable Rajput population, is surrounded by lower classes with a marked habit of imitating Rajput customs. In the Deccan the rate decreases as the south is approached, and where the Karnatak, or Kanarese country, begins, the consumption of opium reaches its minimum of four grains. The Konkan, or strip of land along the coast from Malabar to Bombay, returns an average of five grains, but this rate is raised by the inclusion of the two northern districts, adjacent to Bombay, where it rises to 10 and 8 grains respectively. Sindh approaches the Deccan average, but it is probable that the actual consumption is much larger than that returned, as smuggling from Rajputana is very easy. The amount of opium returned as consumed in the Presidency as a whole varied but little during the last 10 years, considering the comparatively rapid growth of the population in Sindh and the Deccan. In 1883, the figure was 117,440 lbs., and in 1893, 127,010 lbs.

50. In connexion with the sudden apparent increase in the consumption that took place in Gujarat some 17 or 18 years ago, we may point out that the difference is only in the returns, licit opium having been substituted for contraband. Up to the year 1878 opium was smuggled so freely from Malwa, that the demand for duty-paid opium was insignificant. Efficient arrangements were then made to protect the frontier by conventions with the surrounding States, and the measure of making the licensed vendors take a minimum quantity of licit opium was adopted. The results are to be traced in the following table:—

TABLE 4, showing the QUANTITY of OPIUM issued to, or imported by LICENSED VENDORS in GUJARAT.

	Average of 3 Years. 1874-77.	1877-78.	1878-79.	1879-80.	1892-93.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
Ahmedabad	3,274	2,853	6,363	16,139	15,101
Kaira	167	140	2,683	8,262	10,104
Broach	233	210	2,898	6,448	8,672
Surat	816	865	1,445	2,326	3,102
Total, Gujarat*	4,490	4,068	13,417	36,352	40,413

* Including the Panch Mahals, for which figures are not available till 1878-79.

The substitution above mentioned is clearly established by the sudden rise notwithstanding an increase in the price, showing the demand already in existence. The evidence taken by us at Ahmedabad conclusively showed that before 1878-9 opium was cheaper and easier to get, and consumption greater than it has been since that date. Similar results followed the introduction of better preventive measures in Khandesh a few years later.

51. In the Central Provinces the consumption seems to have remained stationary for some years. In 1883, the amount was returned at 52,496 lbs.; in 1893, at 52,248 lbs. The rate of consumption varies from 12 grains per head in the Damoh district to 71 in the Wardha district. There used to be much smuggling into these provinces from Central India, and it has not yet been possible to stop it. The real consumption is no doubt greater than is shown by these figures. Most of the districts in these provinces were not annexed until 1854, and the free cultivation of the poppy, allowed under Native rule, was not stopped till some time after annexation.

52. In Berar there is no special feature in the consumption requiring comment. The average rate is high, on the whole, and varies considerably from district to district. In Elichpur, for example, it reaches a rate of 154 grains per head, whilst in Basim it recedes to 35 grains.

53. In the Madras Presidency we find the consumption of opium at its lowest. Excluding the city of Madras, the district of Malabar, and the four north-eastern coast districts, the average annual consumption among 27 millions of people is only 2½ grains per head. The highest rate is not found, as in most other parts of India, in the chief city, where it is only 26 grains per head, but in the four north-eastern districts adjoining Orissa, a tract subject to heavy rainfall, and comprising large areas under rice in the plains with a still more extensive area of forest-clad hill inland. Here the consumption of opium amounts to 84 per cent. of the quantity consumed in the whole Presidency, giving an average of 51 grains per head. We may note that up to 1880, no restriction was placed in the Madras Presidency on the importation, possession or sale of opium, and it was then generally considered that the local use of the drug was very small. This is no doubt true, as the above figures show, with regard to the greater part of the province. The inquiries, however, as to the extension to this Presidency of the Opium Act of 1878, brought to light the fact that the consumption in the north-east tracts was considerable. In 1883-4, the year in which the present system was introduced, the number of shops was 1,117, whereas it is now 1,034, and the consumption of opium has fallen from 77,676 lbs. to 74,984 lbs.

54. Before entering upon the subject of the character and effects of the opium habit, we may offer a few general observations in regard to the great variety in its territorial prevalence which has been described above. In some extensive tracts as, for instance, Southern India, and the Deccan, the use of opium appears to be inconsiderable. Elsewhere, as for instance in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, the rural tracts present a strong contrast in this respect to the larger towns, and it is by the higher consumption in the latter that the provincial average is materially raised. It is necessary to bear in mind that these returns deal with licit opium only, and that in towns, for various reasons, the real consumption is more confined to licit opium than in the rural tracts. On this supposition the distinction between town and country, though possibly considerable, is not actually as striking as it appears in the official returns. When we come to tracts like Orissa, the north-eastern districts of Madras, the Central Provinces, the Assam Valley, the Central Panjab, and the northern parts of the Bombay Presidency, the habit appears to be general and equally diffused amongst the town and the country population. As to the consumption of opium generally, we come to the conclusion, that whilst the use of this drug is more pronounced amongst certain classes and in certain localities than elsewhere, it is widely scattered over the length and breadth of India.

THE EVIDENCE REGARDING THE USE OF OPIUM AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE CONSUMER.

55. We now proceed to deal with the evidence brought before us at the different centres visited by the Commission during its tour in India. In order to show the character and variety of the testimony on which our conclusions are based, we first give the classification of the witnesses, grouped under their main heads of occupation:—

TABLE 5, showing the NUMBER, RACE, and OCCUPATION OF WITNESSES.

Occupation.	No. of Witnesses.		
	Total.	European and American.	Indian and Chinese.
1. Officials at Head Quarters, Lieut.-Governors and Chief Commissioners.	14	14	—
2. " Divisional and District - - - - -	51	31	20
3. " Political (<i>i.e.</i> , employed in connexion with Native States)	6	5	1
4. " Opium and Excise Departments - - - - -	14	11	3
5. " Pensioned - - - - -	12	3	9
6. Military officers - - - - -	27	13	14
7. " pensioners - - - - -	9	—	9
8. Chiefs and officials of Native States - - - - -	87	3	84
9. Landowners and tenants - - - - -	88	4	84
10. Planters - - - - -	12	10	2
11. Merchants and mill-owners - - - - -	83	14	69
12. Christian missionaries and catechists - - - - -	17	40	7
13. Professors and Schoolmasters - - - - -	8	—	8
14. Medical practitioners (under Government) - - - - -	81	65	16
15. " " (private and pensioned) - - - - -	65	13	52
16. " missionaries - - - - -	15	15	—
17. Representatives of Associations* - - - - -	52	9	43
18. Religious teachers (other than Christian) - - - - -	5	—	5
19. Lawyers - - - - -	27	—	27
20. Journalists - - - - -	8	1	7
21. Miscellaneous:—			
(a.) Civil engineers - - - - -	2	2	—
(b.) Labour contractor - - - - -	1	—	1
(c.) Municipal commissioners - - - - -	2	—	2
(d.) Actuary - - - - -	1	1	—
(e.) Writer - - - - -	1	—	1
(f.) Students at college - - - - -	2	—	2
(g.) Without occupation - - - - -	3	3	—
TOTAL - - - - -	723	257	466

* This heading includes representatives of important bodies, such as the Chambers of Commerce, and the Millowners and Planters' Associations, as well as those of numerous small local societies.

(11. p. 228.

56. The above classification is necessarily imperfect. For example, the representatives of associations have in most cases more definite occupation, which will be found against their names in the Index. The two municipal commissioners are so described because they appeared before the Commission in that capacity only. The pensioned military officers were in almost all cases also landed proprietors, and the heading of private medical practitioners includes both the qualified and the unqualified members of that profession. On the whole, however, the summary fulfils the purpose for which it is immediately intended, and sufficiently indicates that the information obtained by us has been derived from all the main interests of the country, in so far as they can be represented by typical witnesses of sufficient education and experience to speak for their respective communities. We should add that the table includes the 34 witnesses heard in England, most of whom gave evidence regarding the opium question in China, and the 37 witnesses who spoke as to Burma only.

Classification of the Anti-opium witnesses.

57. We also think it desirable to give a separate classification of those witnesses included in Table 5, who were presented by the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade. It must be understood, however, that this list is only approximately correct, and that these are not the only witnesses who gave evidence adverse to the use of opium except for medical purposes.

These witnesses fall into three main groups: first, the 24 medical practitioners; secular and missionary; second, the 30 missionaries and catechists; and third, the Native witnesses, other than medical, including the minor officials, lawyers, journalists, and the representatives of various associations.

TABLE 6, showing the NUMBER and CLASSIFICATION of WITNESSES presented by the ANTI-OPIMUM SOCIETY.

Occupation.	Number and Race.		
	Total.	European and American.	Indian and Chinese.
1. Government officials - - - - -	4	—	4
2. " ex-officials - - - - -	8	—	8
3. Landowners and tenants - - - - -	6	—	6
4. Merchants and shopkeepers - - - - -	11	3	8
5. Lawyers - - - - -	7	—	7
6. Journalists - - - - -	4	—	4
7. Medical practitioners - - - - -	14	4	10
8. " missionaries - - - - -	13	13	—
9. Missionaries - - - - -	39	34	5
10. Catechists and mission teachers - - - - -	5	—	5
11. Preachers (other than Christian) - - - - -	2	—	2
12. Representatives of Associations* - - - - -	26	3	23
13. Professors and masters - - - - -	2	—	2
14. Miscellaneous - - - - -	11	3	8
TOTAL - - - - -	152	60	92

* One of these witnesses represented a political association in Calcutta, and addressed the Commission on the system of poppy cultivation in Behar. Of the others, three appeared on behalf of the English Anti-Opium Society, eight represented the Brahmo Samaj of Bengal, and the rest, societies for the promotion of abstinence from stimulants in Upper India and Bombay.

58. In dealing with the evidence as a whole, we desire to say that, in our opinion, both the disadvantages and the advantages attending the use of opium have been, in many cases overstated. It was inevitable that in an inquiry of this nature there should be some exaggeration. Strong convictions have been held on either side, and witnesses have insensibly been led to dwell on what accorded with their convictions, and to leave out of sight what might tell in the opposite direction. In forming our conclusions, therefore, we have throughout endeavoured to make allowance for this. Apart from the necessity of giving weight to individual testimony, in accordance with the representative character of the witness and his opportunities for observation, we have felt it our duty to look particularly to fairness of mind and sobriety of judgment.

59. No part of the evidence deserves more attention than that of the medical witnesses.† A large and important section of these were members of the Indian Medical Service, and we naturally attach great weight to their testimony. We think it right, therefore, to state briefly how this branch of the public service in India is recruited, and what opportunities its members possess for observing the effect of the use of opium on the health and morality of the people of that country. Admission to the Indian Medical Service can only be gained by severe competition among those who have already qualified as medical men in the United Kingdom; and the selected candidates have to pass through a course of special training for Indian service. On their arrival in India they are required to do medical duty for a certain period with Native troops, and a great part of them pass subsequently into civil employ, as civil surgeons in charge of districts. In this capacity they are responsible for the medical administration of the district, including dispensaries, hospitals, and jails, and frequently have a large private practice among the upper classes of the Native community as well as among Europeans. By education, therefore, as well as by training and experience, they are well qualified to speak with authority as to the effects of the

† We think it necessary to make a few observations regarding a petition against the use of opium except for medical purposes presented to the House of Commons in 1892, purporting to be the expression of the views of 49 independent Native medical practitioners of the city of Bombay. Some weight was attached to this petition in England; and subsequently it attracted special attention in India, owing to the fact that almost all the signatories either disavowed the views contained in the petition or denied that they had signed it. The circumstances in which the petition was prepared were described at some length before us in Bombay by the local representatives of the Anti-Opium Society. We are satisfied that they acted with good faith in the matter, but it was admitted that the petition was drawn up without communication with any of the medical men who were asked to sign it, and that it was sent round for signature by the hands of a messenger. Not one of the signatories came before us to support the views which it contained, though one of those who gave evidence expressed opinions generally adverse to opium. Five others repudiated those views, stating either that they had not signed the petition, or that they had signed without any real knowledge of its contents. It is evident, therefore, that this petition, as an expression of independent medical opinion, is entitled to no weight.

use of opium in India, and their professional standing is a guarantee of their independence of character.

General motives for taking opium

60. Looking to the whole body of the evidence we find it proved beyond reasonable doubt that the prevalence of the use of opium is founded, first, on the universal tendency amongst mankind to take some form of stimulant with which to comfort or distract themselves, and, secondly, on the wide-spread popular belief in the medical or quasi-medical efficacy of the drug. It is important, however, to point out that many of the witnesses failed to draw any clear distinction between the medical use and that which cannot correctly be so described. It is constantly found that the opium habit dates from the time when the drug was taken for medical purposes. In some cases the chronic or recurrent character of the malady necessitates repeated doses; in others the exhilaration and general sense of comfort induced result in repetition of the dose long after the ailment for which it was originally taken has passed away. We have also to mention the special use of the drug in connexion with ceremonies and social usages which prevails chiefly amongst the Rajputs and those who copy their customs. This use is more particularly described in the next Section of our Report, treating of opium in the Protected States. The force of example and fashion must also be taken into account in describing the motives for taking opium.

Use of opium as a domestic remedy.

61. In every part of India with which we had to deal we found witness after witness testifying to the belief in opium as the common domestic medicine of the people. It is taken in cases of specific disorders, such as rheumatism, diabetes, chill, and diarrhoea. It is regularly administered to unweaned children. In malarial and damp tracts there is general faith in its virtue, either in warding off or in curing fever.

II. 2146-7, 4095.

The use of opium as a household remedy, has a special importance in a country like India. The mass of the population is beyond the reach of European medical aid, or even of the district dispensary system. The better class of Native practitioners, the *Halims* and *Vaids*, who follow the Arabic or Hindu systems of medicine, are only to be found in towns, and are chiefly resorted to by persons in easy circumstances. The poorer sections of the community, therefore, and especially the agricultural classes, have to prescribe for their own ailments. They have also, in the absence of veterinary aid, to prescribe for the ailments of their cattle, and in some parts of India, this constitutes an additional reason for keeping opium in their houses.

V. App. XIV.

Use of opium in infancy.

62. As regards the administration of opium to infants, the custom is more prevalent in the north and west of India than in the east and south. Abul Fazl, in his "Institutes of Akbar," specially mentions it as being common in Malwa in the 16th century. Mothers in all ranks of life whilst nursing their children are in the habit of giving them minute doses of opium, and in India, where the children are weaned much later than in Europe, the practice is continued up to the age of $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 years. In some parts of the country *balagoli*, or "children's pills," containing a small amount of opium mixed with various carminatives, are used.* To account for this practice various reasons are advanced. Some assert the object to be the prevention of diarrhoea and other infantile ailments; others say that it is to correct certain properties in the milk; a third explanation, and the most common, is that by this means the child is kept quiet and the mother thus left at liberty to pursue undisturbed her domestic duties, whether in the house or field. A few witnesses, chiefly missionaries, stated before us that they believed this practice to be productive of great infant mortality. The whole of the evidence on this point has been analysed by Sir W. Roberts, and, with him, we conclude that long practice in this use of opium has resulted in the acquisition of a degree of skill in administering the drug which must materially minimise the risk of accident, so that evident injury or accidental poisoning, though not unknown, are comparatively rare. It is impossible to believe that this custom should have been handed down for many centuries amongst a people, whose general fondness for their children is well known, if it were as injurious as some witnesses seem to think.

VII. p. 32.
IV. 20,285,
19,979, 21,318,
24,697.

II. 2299, 2757,
4291.

III. 14,028,
14,628, 19,980,
21,298.

19,529.

Use of opium as a febrifuge.

e.g., 3185,
5644, 5597-8,
6069, 6198,
10,244, 19,542,
11,686, 13,027,
27,835, &c.
IV. p. 498.

63. In respect to the use of opium in connexion with malarial disease we have already pointed out that the relative consumption is higher in the moist and low-lying plains and valleys than in the drier and more open country. Most of the witnesses with experience of the rural tracts spoke to the popular belief in the efficacy of the drug in cases of fever, or as a protective against malarial influences.

* The question of the sale of *balagoli* by a licensed opium vendor was considered by the Government of Bombay, and after consulting medical authorities, it was decided that it might be continued. Such a sale is open to question, but we are of opinion that the objections to it are not sufficiently strong to justify interference.

This was confirmed by the great majority of the private medical practitioners, though many were adverse to the non-medical use of opium. On the other hand, a certain number of witnesses, generally townsfolk, denied that any such belief prevailed amongst the people. Quite apart from the merits of this belief, its existence, which is the only question now before us, has been, we consider, conclusively established by the mass of evidence of those most competent from experience and observation to represent public opinion on the subject.

e.g., 2259,
2595, 5911,
9324, 9439,
9961, 26,546,
&c.

64. Passing from the popular use of opium in cases of specific disorder, we have now to consider it in the more general character of a stimulant. We found that reliance upon the drug in cases of failing strength, after the age of 35 or 40 years, is widely prevalent in the parts of India where opium is commonly used. The representatives of large and influential classes, such as the merchants and landed proprietors, and a great majority of the Native medical practitioners, were unanimous in their view that though opium is not to be recommended to young men except in a strictly medical sense, or in special circumstances, it is properly used in moderation, with beneficial results, by those past middle age, who feel themselves in need of a stimulant of some sort, to serve, in the words of one of the witnesses, "as a prop to a falling house." A considerable number of these witnesses, we may add, informed us that their opinion was founded on personal experience, as they had themselves taken opium for periods varying from 15 to 50 years, and believed that they had derived benefit from the habit. Their appearance and vigour were enough to satisfy us that, at all events, they had experienced no perceptible harm from it, and this was true of many who admitted that they were in the habit of taking what are considered even in India to be excessive daily doses.

Use of opium as a stimulant and restorative after middle age.

II. 3943, 5738.

III. 12,517,
15,914, 17,721.

23,980.

6006, 15,020.

15,888, 16,443,
16,484, 16,517,
17,837, 17,893.

65. The use of opium as a stimulant in physical emergencies seems to prevail more in the north of India, where the cold weather is comparatively severe, and in the tea-gardens and rice-growing tracts of the east, where the cultivator has to spend many consecutive hours exposed to wet and chill. The evidence from the Panjab showed that many who do not touch opium during three-fourths of the year habitually take a little during the winter months. In Assam, again, the evidence of planters showed that labourers from the hill country and settlers from Bengal take to the habit whilst resident in the Brahmaputra Valley. It was also proved before us by witnesses from various parts of India that opium is commonly taken to enable the consumer to undergo fatigue on journeys and on occasions when special exertion is required. This use of the drug was particularly mentioned by some of the military witnesses, the general purport of whose evidence is given in the next paragraph.

Use of opium in cases of fatigue and exposure.

III. 15,882,
15,963, 16,991,
18,569, 18,691.

II. 10,056,
10,167.

II. 5596.

10,038, 13,886,
14,232, 16,467,
17,662, 17,884,
21,782, 22,665,
23,750, 24,727,
24,904, 26,996,
28,115.

Use of opium in the Native army.

III. 18,654,
18,713-4.

III. 12,910,
12,935, 14,117,
14,184, 15,753,
15,879, 16,413.

17,007, 17,029,
18,641, 17,595-99.

III. 15,792,
16,946, 17,020,
17,045, 17,059,
17,096, 17,137,
17,571, 19,197.

16,960, 17,065,
17,090, 18,646,
18,706.

III. 14,222,
14,157, 17,084,
17,561, 19,164.

66. As regards the use of opium in the Native army, we heard the evidence of a number of officers, European and Native, including some in medical charge of Panjab regiments. Their evidence goes to show that the proportion of habitual consumers amongst Native soldiers is small. It is not unlikely that the number was understated in some of the regiments; since, though the men do not themselves regard the habit as reprehensible or degrading, they are aware that it is unfavourably viewed by some of the European officers. But even after making allowance for the concealment which may have been practised, the true number of habitual consumers and of men who take opium throughout the year is probably not considerable. In the first place, the great majority of men on active service do not suffer from any of the chronic or recurrent diseases for which, as we have observed above, opium is a popular remedy, nor, again, are they of an age when recourse is commonly had to opium as a stimulant or as the restorative of declining physical power. The use is more general under certain conditions of specially arduous duty or of exposure to particularly severe or malarial climate, or, again, during the two or three months of winter in the Panjab. In such circumstances it has been estimated that from 50 to 80 per cent. of the Sikh soldiers take opium, though the habit is abandoned on the cessation of the special conditions which gave rise to it. The weight of the evidence which we have to guide us on this point distinctly supports the view that the number of soldiers who take opium to an extent which does them harm is quite insignificant; that the consumption of the drug in the Native army is not attended by any perceptibly injurious results, and is often beneficial, and that any attempt to limit the consumption, as, for instance, by requiring soldiers to register themselves as consumers, would be highly unpopular. A question was raised before us as to the issue of opium to Native soldiers as a free ration when the regiment is on field service. No system of this kind is in force. The men ordinarily make their own arrangements, but a supply of opium

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II. 3106. is sometimes taken as a reserve in the regimental canteen and sold to consumers on the same footing as other luxuries or as extra provisions. The Commissariat, also, sometimes takes a supply on field service, upon which Commanding officers can indent up to a limited quantity on payment of a specially high rate. Occasionally opium is issued on the advice of a medical officer in special circumstances, as was the case when troops were employed in fighting and road-making amongst the snowy ranges of Sikkim. It has been issued, also, by State engineers to Pioneer regiments engaged in railway construction on the north-west frontier of India.

Use of opium as an aphrodisiac.
 II. 2593, 2757, 8637, 9397, and p. 314.
 III. 14,126, 14,134, 15,759-62, 15,926, 17,114, 17,598, 17,826.
 67. Some witnesses stated before us that the most common reason with Natives of India for taking opium is the belief in its power as an aphrodisiac. Many drugs have this reputation with Oriental races, and opium, no doubt, is included amongst them; but the conclusion we have reached is that in India, as a whole, this motive for taking opium is exceptional, though it may be common in some large towns. The subject is examined at length by Sir W. Roberts in his Memorandum.

Use of opium by women.
 3464, 3802, 20,286, 20,310, 25,951.
 68. The evidence as to the extent of the consumption of opium by women was not very clear, and the special position of women in India, no doubt, renders it difficult to ascertain the real facts regarding their habits. There is reason to believe that the drug is taken, as a restorative, after middle age, among Muhammedan ladies in Oudh and Bengal, and also to some extent among the lower classes of society in various parts of the country. On the whole, however, the consumption of opium by women, except in connexion with medical needs may be said to be of a restricted character, the custom of the country being generally opposed to the use of any stimulant by them.

Effects of the use of opium.
 II. 4286, 5833, 9321.
 III. 13,050, 13,996, 14,517, 15,666, 16,775.
 IV. 23,520, 24,238, 27,202, 27,339, 27,282.
 II. 2363, 9157, 9541.
 III. 15, 547, 16,718, 19,073.
 69. We have next to consider the physical and moral effects upon the consumers of the use of opium in the various ways already described. As to excessive consumption causing harm there is no difference of opinion. The material question, therefore, is how far moderation can be observed in practice. It was stated by some witnesses that little or no distinction can be drawn between moderation and excess; that excess necessarily follows the habitual use of opium, and that it is inevitably attended with injurious results, though they may be less apparent in the case of those who are able to afford what is considered by Natives of India to be a rich diet than in the case of consumers among the poorer classes. These witnesses also relied on certain terms of disparagement, literally translated by the word "opium-eater," as showing the popular estimation in which the habit is held. It appears, however, from the evidence of the bulk of the educated and representative witnesses, that these terms, in their ordinary acceptance, are applied only to those who take opium in excess. A parallel to this may be found in the use of the phrase "he drinks" in this country, as applied to persons who take alcohol in excess. Looking to the whole evidence, we find a marked preponderance on the side of the view that the common use of opium in India is a moderate use leading to no evident ill effects. This is the view generally expressed by Natives of the country holding responsible positions in life, and by the medical witnesses, and is confirmed by the statements of individual consumers, to which we have already referred. We had, for instance, Mahomedan and Rajput gentlemen from Northern and Central India, and numerous representatives of the Sikh landowners and peasantry, many of them far advanced in years and of fine manly bearing, coming forward, one after another, to testify to their habitual use of opium over long periods, and to the benefits which they believed themselves to derive from it. Among the Sikh community in particular, which is almost entirely agricultural, the habit of opium-eating is widely diffused. This community is distinguished for hard work, energy, and thrift, and these characteristics exist side by side with the opium habit. On this point we desire to quote the evidence of Dr. H. Martyn Clark, a medical missionary of the Church Missionary Society, who has had 13 years' experience at Amritsar, the head-quarters of the Sikh religion. Speaking of the effects of the habitual use of opium on the people of the Punjab, and especially on the Sikhs, Dr. Clark said:—

III. 16,902. "In a certain proportion of cases the people begin to lose flesh and waste; they become dyspeptic. But in another, and I am bound to say conscientiously, the great majority of cases, no such results appear. While it does not do any good, it does not appear to do the slightest harm. The people who use it are hale and hearty, fit for work and exposure, and the habit seems to interfere neither with their longevity nor their health."

"In my experience the effects of opium-eating on the mental and moral condition of the people are also curious. In some instances I have noted a decided deterioration when opium-eating was commenced. The

person seemed to become shifty and unreliable. But in the vast majority of cases I have seen absolutely no prejudicial effects upon the mental or moral character of the person."

I have never noticed the train of moral evils that are referred to as a result of the opium habit by a certain section of people, such as neglect of home, of children, of business, ruin of families, and so forth. I believe practically such things are simply unknown in the Punjab. After the most careful inquiry I have been only able to hear of one case in which a man had brought his family to ruin through the torpor induced by excessive quantities of opium. You can have no set of peasantry harder, thriftier, and more careful than our Punjab peasantry, . . . and yet among this class you will find an immense number of opium-eaters."

These views receive support from the statements of another medical missionary, the Rev. F. T. Newton, who has had long experience in the Ferozepur district, from those of several settlement officers who have been brought into specially close relations with the people of the rural tracts, and in short by the whole weight of the evidence in the Punjab. Only one Sikh witness expressed an opposite view to that of his fellows, and he was a small shopkeeper in Lahore and himself an opium-eater. Another section of the community among whom the habit of opium-eating is generally prevalent is that of the Marwaris, a class of traders. We had evidence from many parts of India to the effect that they are shrewd, enterprising, and successful in commerce, and that their use of opium does not cause any loss of intelligence or business capacity. One or two general observations should be added. Persons addicted to the opium-habit, except in the strictest moderation, are unable to continue their labours effectively without their periodical dose, and it is generally admitted that the habit, once acquired, is difficult to abandon if it has been carried to any excess.

70. As to the general prevalence of moderation, we have evidence of great weight in corroboration of that of the majority of Native witnesses from men of long experience in the country as employers of labour, or in responsible charge of establishments of Native subordinates. Such men are brought into close and direct contact with large numbers of Natives of various classes, both clerical and industrial. They are personally concerned with or responsible for the efficiency of their staff. It is impossible, therefore, that a habit fraught with the evil consequences attributed to it by the minority of our witnesses could escape notice, and, considering the abundance of material for recruitment, it is equally certain that discovery would be followed by dismissal. We have strong evidence accordingly in favour of the moderation of the consumer and of his general immunity from any evident ill-effects caused by the habit in the statement of many of the higher officials of the Government, that in a long service the effects of habitual indulgence in opium on the part of their subordinates had never come to their notice as a reason for dismissal or degradation, though the effects of alcohol had often forced themselves on their attention in this respect. Similar evidence is given by medical officers of experience, both regarding their own subordinates and the men examined by them on behalf of large railway companies and emigration agencies in Calcutta. In regard to this point we may remark that, as the whole of the lower and 97 per cent. of the upper grades of the public service are occupied by Natives of India,* the field of observation is wide enough for ample generalisation. To the evidence of officials we must add that of the important class of planters and mill-owners, to the general effect that they had never to dismiss a hand for excess in opium-taking, though some of them were aware that a proportion of their men indulged in the habit, and almost all of them spoke of alcoholic excess as a constant source of trouble. We may quote, in conclusion, the evidence of the actuary of the largest Insurance company in India doing business in Native and European lives, to the effect that after 20 years' experience, the company had decided that it was not necessary to impose any extra premium on the lives of moderate opium consumers.

71. Our conclusions, therefore, are that the use of opium among the people of India in British Provinces is, as a rule, a moderate use, and that excess is exceptional, and condemned by public opinion. Moderation, no doubt, is a relative term, and its limits may vary largely in the case of individual consumers. In some localities, also, and among certain classes of the community, there may be a tendency towards excess that is not found elsewhere. But, looking to broad results, we are satisfied that the general use of opium, which may properly be described as moderate, is not attended by injurious consequences. In many parts of the country the number of those who take opium constitutes a very small proportion of the entire population, and we have no hesitation in saying that no extended physical and moral degradation is caused by the habit.

* Public Service Commission Report (C. 5327 of 1888), p. 63.

EVILS ALLEGED TO RESULT FROM THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF OPIUM SUPPLY.

72. In connexion with the general question of the effects of the consumption of opium, we have to consider certain special results which some of the witnesses attributed to the present system on which opium is procurable by the Indian public.

73. It is stated, for instance, that owing to the alleged ease with which the drug can be obtained, opium has come to be extensively used as a means of committing suicide. As a rule, the information on which this assertion is based appears to have been from vague report. One or two witnesses, however, quoted statistics in support of their opinion. We procured, accordingly, from the Government of India a return of the number of suicides due to opium, which is included in our Proceedings. This comprises all cases in which inquests have been held, and the law, as in England, prescribes a formal inquiry and report on the occurrence of any sudden or suspicious death. Other cases of suicide may occur, and, as was stated before us, may be hushed up, but these are necessarily insusceptible of proof; nor is there any reason to believe that the desire of concealment is stronger in the case of opium poisoning than where the more common methods of drowning, hanging, or use of arsenic, dhatura, or other easily procured poisons are adopted. In relation to the total population, the prevalence of suicide in India is not large compared with European countries, nor is there evidence that where opium is used for this purpose the ratio is higher than where other means are used. The subject has been discussed in greater detail by Sir W. Roberts in his Memorandum, and we only think it necessary to say that, so far as the evidence goes, we do not find that opium is to be credited with any special prominence in the history of these unfortunate occurrences.

74. It has been stated again that the use of opium is one of the causes of insanity in India. Regarding this point we have first to observe that one of the most noteworthy features in the last census of infirmities, which was taken in 1891, is the freedom of the population from insanity, as compared with the prevalence of mental disorder in European countries. In India we find three males and two females mentally unsound in 10,000 of each sex, whilst in England the corresponding figures were 32 and 35; in Scotland 38 and 37, and in Ireland, 47 and 43. In the United States of America the proportions in 1890 were 33 and 31; and in Austria 24 and 19. Then, again, the local distribution of this disorder in India shows that a very large proportion is attributable to the cretinism that seems to affect the inhabitants of some of the hill tracts and of the valleys of certain streams, as it is found to do in Switzerland and other countries. The serial order of the provinces in respect to the prevalence of insanity, to look at the question from another point of view, is by no means in correspondence with that in which they are ranged in relation to the average consumption of opium; nor, moreover, does the distribution by age or sex of the persons thus afflicted establish any link between insanity and the use of that drug. It is to be noted, first, that mental disease amongst

males attains its maximum at the time when, according to the bulk of the evidence given before us, the habit of taking opium is only, as a rule, beginning. It is also found that the women who are of unsound mind bear a steadily increasing proportion to the men similarly afflicted, from middle life onwards. This rule obtains notwithstanding that the women do not, as a general practice, take opium. The case would certainly be reversed if opium were a predominating or influential cause of insanity. The statistics from the various lunatic asylums in India, and the evidence given by the medical officers in charge fully corroborate the view that the number of cases in which insanity is traceable to the use of opium is insignificant. In the chief asylum in Oudh, only eight out of 393 admissions were recorded in the five years preceding our inquiry. In Bareilly, again, only three had occurred in four years. In Agra, one case, and that a doubtful one, in eight years. The Superintendent of the Bombay Asylum found only three cases in 11 years. The most complete evidence on the subject is that given by Surgeon Lieut.-Col. Crombie, who quoted statistics of the Bengal asylums for 10 years, showing that during that period, of 2,202 admissions, only eight were opium-eaters. The same witness also presented a valuable paper prepared by him for the Calcutta Medical Society in May 1892, in which the subject is treated in some detail, the conclusions finally drawn being that the opium habit does not pre-dispose to insanity, and that in India the only product comparable with alcohol in its tendency to unhinge the mental faculties is one prepared from hemp (*ganja*). Some of the medical witnesses, indeed, stated that it is probable

that opium, by calming the nerves, tended in some cases to ward off mental unsoundness. Much of the evidence of other witnesses entitled to speak with some authority on the subject was to the same effect as Dr. Crombie's, and on the whole we see no reason to doubt that the conclusions above quoted are correct.

75. There was no substantial evidence of the use of opium leading to crime, except to petty pilfering by some indigent and excessive consumers in order to get the means of buying opium. The ordinary criminal statistics do not afford any direct information, as they contain no record of the motive for the crime or the influences under which it was committed. Indirectly, however, they tend to confirm the view held by the majority of the witnesses, that the opium-eater is, as a rule, a quiet, inoffensive man, not given to crime or violence as the spirit-drinker or *ganja*-smoker. For instance, in Assam the annual average admissions to gaol during the last five years were 2,696, of whom only 7 per cent. were opium-consumers. This fact has the more significance because the proportion of consumers amongst the general population in this province is abnormally high. In the North-West Provinces, again, where the towns contain an unusually large proportion of consumers, and where the population of many rural districts in which dopper cultivation is permitted, are believed to keep back a part of the produce for their own consumption, out of 26,270 prisoners at the end of October 1893 only about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. were consumers. But the most weighty evidence presented before us on this subject, as, indeed, is to be expected, was that of the officials who have to deal with crime as experts, and who can speak, therefore, with authority as to the side of the question regarding which returns are silent, namely, the prevailing motives of crime and the classes amongst whom criminality is most developed. We refer to the record in our Proceedings of the evidence of men of such experience as Sir John Lambert, Commissioner of Police in Calcutta; Mr. Vincent, who holds the corresponding post in Bombay; Colonel Porteous, the Inspector-General of Police in Madras, and Messrs. Monro and Lyall, who have successively filled the same office in Bengal. It is the unanimous opinion of these witnesses that the habitual consumption of opium has no perceptible influence on any form of crime.

76. We have finally to offer a few remarks upon an idea that has gained some currency, that the use of opium or the connexion of Government with its supply is a hindrance to the spread of the Christian religion in India. This view was advanced before us by several witnesses. It is, no doubt, true that in some churches there is a general rule against the admission of those who indulge in opium; in some others exclusion is practised, but at the discretion of the individual missionary; whilst in a third class no rule on the subject exists. The principal testimony in support of this view is found in the evidence given by the members of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission, and in the remarks of Bishop Thoburn, the head of the American Methodist Episcopalian Church in India. In the opinion of these witnesses, there is less susceptibility to moral and religious influence in those who consume opium, the habit being, as they think, inconsistent with a correct Christian life.

Opium as a hindrance to the spread of Christianity.

H. 2026-5,
 14,362, 16,925,
 21,493, 23,309,
 23,329, 23,341,
 23,489, 23,524,
 26,349, 27,824,
 27,833, 28,168.

77. We may now quote the words of some who are entitled to speak with special authority on this question, and who do not hold the opinion that opium is a hindrance to the spread of Christianity. Their views were set forth in memorials addressed to Your Commission. The Metropolitan of the Church of England in India, with the Clergy of that Church, including missionaries, in Calcutta wrote as follows :—

"While there are evils in the abuse of opium, they are not sufficiently great to justify us in restricting the liberty which all men should be permitted to exercise in such matters, medical testimony seeming to show that opium used in moderation is in this country harmless, and, under certain conditions of life, distinctly beneficial." II. p. 438.

The testimony of the Bishop of Lucknow and the clergy of his diocese is to the same effect:—

"As persons who have some knowledge of missions in this country, we may add that, as far as our personal experience and our own inquiries have gone, we are of opinion that it cannot be truly said that the connexion of Government with opium has hindered the success of mission work in India. Under these circumstances we are disposed to think that a general prohibition of the use of opium in those parts of India of which we have any experience is unadvised for, and would produce greater evils than it was intended to remedy, and that Government can best serve the interests of morality, not by abolition, but by keeping a firm hand upon the production and distribution of the drug."

Dr. Goethals, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Calcutta, corroborated this view :—

"It has been urged by some that the use of opium is a serious obstacle to the success of missionary work; looking back with an experience of more than 15 years of missionary life, and having consulted

several priests of longer standing in the country, I have been forced to the conclusion, as far as Catholic missions are concerned, that facts do not tally with this assertion. As representing a Church that has lasted longer than any other in India, where it has made more converts and employs more missionaries than all the other Christian sects put together, I can conscientiously affirm that, to the best of my knowledge, not a single case has fallen under my observation in which the use of opium has stood in the way of conversion to Christianity. Further, I do not remember having ever heard complaints on that subject either from my colleagues in the Indian Episcopate, or from any of the numerous missionaries whom I have met since my arrival in India."

78. In addition to these collective addresses, we received some statements of individual opinion from missionaries, or those connected with missionary effort, to which we feel bound to direct especial attention. First among these witnesses we would refer to Mr. James Monro, C.B., formerly Inspector-General of Police and subsequently Commissioner in Bengal, and, finally, Chief Commissioner of Police in London. Mr. Monro has returned to India for missionary work. In his evidence he gives the following weighty testimony.

I. 5170. "I have been for many years a member of the Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society, and I have come across a good many missionaries in that connexion. I have come across a good many more since I have been here at work, but I do not recall any missionary to whom I spoke about his missionary work who ever suggested that the opium trade and the Government connexion with it in Lower Bengal formed any obstacle to his work. Since I came here I have made a point of asking all the missionaries whom I have come across, especially in the district of Nuddea, (a district that has been held by the Church Missionary Society upwards of 60 years), and not one of these missionaries has ever experienced any obstacles in his missionary work on account of the opium traffic and its results. I have worked with missionaries in other districts in the same way, and I have not as yet come across any missionary who has expressed an opinion that the opium trade did form an obstacle, or who could show me any facts which warrant any such opinion, supposing he had expressed it. . . . As a missionary myself, in my own experience, going amongst the village districts where I am perfectly well known, and where the people would not have the slightest hesitation in talking to me, I have never heard an adverse opinion in regard to opium expressed."

The Rev. H. Lorbeer, a missionary of the German Lutheran Church, whose field of work lies at Ghazipur, one of the two head-quarters of the Opium Department states as follows, after 28 years' experience:—

III. 12,814. "I do not consider that the use of opium impedes the progress of Christianity in India. All our converts were made from opium cultivators, and some of them cultivate it still occasionally when they are in pecuniary difficulties."

From the Sikh districts in the Panjab, where the opium habit is very prevalent, there is testimony to the same effect. Dr. McKee, of the United Presbyterian Church of America, now working at Sialkot, informed us as the outcome of his 23 years' experience, that the effects of opium had not been found to stand in the way of his spiritual work in India, adding:—

III. 17,252. "The truth is, that up to the time that this subject began to be agitated in the papers, we knew little about it, because it did not affect our work at all, and the effect of it was not perceptible on the moral or physical condition of the people."

III. 17,154. Dr. Newton, a medical missionary of the same Church, and of the same length of experience in the country, who is now at Ferozpur, confirms the above view.

Dr. Henry Martyn Clark, of the Church Missionary Society, residing at Amritsar, is in charge of one of the largest medical missions in the world. After giving in detail his professional experience of the effects of the opium habit, he said:—

III. 16,902. "I should like, finally, to add, as a missionary, that opium in this country is absolutely no hindrance whatever to missionary work."

Impressed as we are with the views quoted above, we feel it our duty to express the opinion that neither the use of opium nor the Government connexion with it, is any material hindrance to missionary effort.

OPIUM-SMOKING.

Opium smoking as practised in India.
e.g., 2322, 5825, 11,211, 16,544, 18,624, 14,352, 22,661.

79. We conclude this Section with a few observations on the habit of smoking preparations of opium, a habit which stands in India on a somewhat different plane from the ordinary custom of taking the drug in other forms, to which alone the preceding portion of the Section refers. There is no doubt that in Indian public opinion a broad line of distinction is drawn between the habit of eating and that of smoking opium.

V. p. 87. 80. In the early Bengal regulations referring to opium, the use of *madak* was forbidden. *Chandu* was not mentioned, and it seems certain that the use of this preparation was introduced into India at a later date from China. An interesting account of the growth of the habit in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, where the sale of *madak* was prohibited until 1863, will be found in our Proceedings. The process of preparation and the apparatus required, tend to restrict the habit to public saloons, and the

dislike of respectable Natives to such establishments has confined the practice for the most part to low and openly dissipated classes. Smoking is, in fact, little practised in comparison with other uses of opium, and is confined chiefly to the larger towns and military cantonments. A description of the process is given by Sir W. Roberts at the end of his Memorandum. On the medical aspect of the smoking habit his conclusion is that "it cannot be said to have been adequately proved " that moderate opium-smoking, taken by itself and apart from disease or semi-starvation, has any prejudicial effect on health." On the other hand, it was clearly shown before us that Native public opinion generally condemns the habit as disreputable, mainly, perhaps, from its associations, and this opinion is shared by the great majority of European witnesses, official and private, including the medical practitioners.

81. We consider it necessary, however, to point out that the relative objections to opium-smoking and opium-eating vary much in different places. The relative prevalence of the two habits seems to be a matter of national custom. In India it is the common habit to eat the drug, in China and the Far East to smoke it. The different views which may be taken of the two habits, due to local colouring, cannot be better illustrated than by the following extracts from a Despatch addressed in 1893 to Lord Ripon, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, by the Governor and the Colonial Engineer of the Straits Settlements. Sir Cecil Clementi Smith writes from Singapore:—

6. * * * "I am not yet satisfied that it is advisable (to raise the maximum price of opium). There is a prospect by so doing of driving the poorer class of Chinese to eating preparations of opium containing still more deleterious substances, and it would be deplorable if, as a result of Government action, any section of the community should be induced, in order to satisfy their craving for sedatives or stimulants, to adopt the most harmful practice of eating preparations of opium, in lieu of the comparatively harmless and often beneficial practice of smoking the same drug."

Major McCallum, R.E., the Colonial Engineer at the Straits Settlements writes:—

4. "I quite conceive that to many races in India the consumption of opium is an artificially acquired habit which is attended with serious evil, and which is a fair subject for philanthropic and legislative effort. It is the same in the Straits Settlements, where the indolent Malay cannot indulge in the habit of *chandu* smoking without moral and physical deterioration. It is not for the Malay that I claim that opium is a harmless or even beneficial stimulant, but for the principal consumer in this part of the world, namely, the hard-working and thrifty Chinese coolie."

Lastly, Mr. O'Brien, acting Auditor-General of the same Colony, writes:—

3. "Opium-eating in all its forms (including the practice of morphia injection), when once established as a habit produces an invariable bodily and mental condition which imperatively calls for a constant, if graduated, increase of the drug used."

4. "Now this is not the case with opium-smoking, and puts the practice on an entirely different platform from the other forms of abuse of opium. Chinese are opium-smokers, not opium-eaters, with exceptions so few that they may be disregarded."

82. Referring to the recent withdrawal of licenses for consumption of preparations of opium on the shop premises, there is some difference of opinion as to whether the step has tended to the decrease of the habit. The measure has been in operation too short a time to enable us to come to a definite conclusion. People now meet together on private premises for the purpose of smoking, and thereby defeat the object with which the discontinuance of licensing the shops was ordered. Unless the owner of the room or an individual smoker can be proved to have sold *chandu* or *madak*, or to be in possession of more of those preparations than the general regulations permit, no offence has been committed. Smoking on such premises is not an offence punishable under the existing law.

83. Questions have also been raised before us as to the effective carrying out of the orders issued by the Government of India between 1891 and 1893 for the prohibition of smoking on licensed premises. There may have been cases in which the holders of licenses for the sale of opium, whilst stopping consumption on their premises, have provided places in the immediate vicinity as private clubs or smoking rooms. We are of opinion, however, that having regard to the difficulty of legal proof in such cases, the Government have, to the best of their ability, enforced compliance with their orders.

84. We have now set forth the evidence taken by us in connexion with the important questions of the nature and extent of the use of opium by the population of India and its effects on the consumer. In the Sixth Section of our Report we state our conclusions on the general question of prohibition except for medical purposes.

SECTION III.

THE PRODUCTION, CONSUMPTION, AND EXPORT OF OPIUM AS AFFECTING THE PROTECTED STATES OF INDIA.

85. We have dealt in the preceding Section with the production and consumption of opium in British Provinces, and we now propose to consider the opium question as it affects the Protected States of India. These comprise an area of more than half a million square miles, with a population of 66 millions, as shown in the table below, being rather more than a third of the area and rather less than a fourth of the population of the whole of India. The interest of these States in the question differs materially. Those that are most vitally affected by the present inquiry are the States which produce what is known generically as Malwa opium, and which have a share in the export trade of that opium. In some other States, chiefly in the Punjab, production to a limited extent is carried on, while as regards consumption there are some marked variations, the opium habit being little known in the Protected States in the Madras Presidency. For the purposes of the present Section of our Report the Protected States will be divided into two groups, those that fall naturally under the Malwa opium system, and those which are not immediately connected with that system. Production, consumption, and export will be treated in order.

TABLE 7, showing the PROTECTED STATES in INDIA, with their AREA and POPULATION.

Name of Protected States.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.
Hyderabad - - - - -	82,698	11,537,010
Baroda - - - - -	8,226	2,115,396
Mysore - - - - -	27,936	4,943,604
Kashmir - - - - -	80,900	2,513,952
Native States in Rajputana - - - - -	130,268	12,016,102
Do. in Central India - - - - -	77,898	10,318,812
Native States under the Bombay Government :-		
(a.) In Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Cutch - - - - -	50,515	5,361,111
(b.) In other parts of the Presidency - - - - -	18,530	2,698,157
Native States in Madras - - - - -	9,609	3,700,622
Do. in Bengal - - - - -	35,834	3,296,379
Do. in Central Provinces - - - - -	29,435	2,160,511
Do. in North-West Provinces - - - - -	5,109	792,491
Do. in Punjab - - - - -	38,299	4,263,280
	595,167	66,017,487

I.—Native States under the Malwa Opium System.

Introductory.

Meaning of the term Malwa. 21,867. 22,170. 22,174. 22,274.

86. The term Malwa has been used, in the evidence recorded by us, and in the various statements printed in the Appendices, with several different meanings, which require to be distinguished. Geographically the name belongs to the fertile table-land of Central India, which is described by Sir John Malcolm as consisting "of the level elevated plain extending north and south from the Vindhya Mountains to the Chittore and Mohendra range, and east and west from Bhopal to Dohad."* Within this tract, of which the district round Indore may roughly be taken as the centre, lie the important opium-producing States of Central India, and it is to this tract, where the conditions of climate and soil are peculiarly favourable to the cultivation of the poppy, that the witnesses refer when they speak generally of the production or the consumption of opium in Malwa. The name is used by some few witnesses in a more restricted sense, as meaning the Malwa Province of the Gwalior State, the dominions of the Maharaja Sindbia, in contra-distinction to the other Provinces of that State which are not situated in the larger region known as Malwa. But in its general relation to opium, the term has acquired what is practically a trade signification as covering the opium which is brought into British territory, under the pass-duty system to be described further on, whether for local consumption within that territory, or for export to China and the far East. In this sense the term includes opium produced in any of the States of Central India, whether within or without the limits of Malwa proper, opium produced in the States of Rajputana, and also opium produced in the State of Baroda.

* P. 3, Vol. I. "A Memoir of Central India, including Malwa," by Sir John Malcolm.

These, therefore, are the States which will be dealt with under this head, and also the States in Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Cutch, under the political control of the Bombay Government, which, owing to their geographical position, have been closely connected with the history and development of the Malwa trade and system.

87. The evidence regarding the Native States in Rajputana and Central India was recorded at Jeypore, Ajmere, and Indore, and we think it desirable to preface this section with a few remarks as to the course of the inquiry in those provinces. It has already been stated that the Government of India, at the request of the Commission, undertook to arrange generally for the production of evidence, and, in pursuance of this undertaking, the Native States in Rajputana and Central India were invited to express their views on the various questions affecting them, while a special officer in each province was entrusted with the duty of collecting and compiling information on the subject, so that it might be placed before us in a complete form. Each of these officers prepared and circulated to the various Native States in his province a series of general questions, which will be found in our Appendices, in order to ensure that the points on which information was required should be clearly understood, and that the whole ground which the inquiry was likely to occupy should be covered. In most of the States the methods of administration are still backward; inquiries of this nature are regarded with some jealousy and suspicion; and it was anticipated, from the experience of the past, that unless special measures were taken the subject might fail to receive adequate attention. The statistics supplied by the Native States in Rajputana were placed before us in the form of a separate summary for each State, while those from the States in Central India were compiled in several tabular statements; but the information in all cases is the information given by the States themselves, though in some instances the Central India figures have been modified by the officer charged with the compilation of the statistics, as explained by him in the introduction to the Appendix, in which they are printed. We were unable to take the evidence of all the persons offered for examination from the Native States either in support of these statistics, or as being entitled to speak with authority on various aspects of the opium question, but we recorded the statements of 64 witnesses in Rajputana, and of 41 in Central India, including those presented by the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade. Among the Rajputana witnesses were representatives from all the important States in that province, Native officials of high position and long experience, a number of Rajput nobles and landowners, and various members of the Mahajan or commercial class, which, both socially and by reason of its wealth and numbers, forms an important part of the community in Rajputana. In Central India we received direct communications from the Maharaja Holkar of Indore, from the Nawab Shah Jehan Begam of Bhopal, and from the Mahomedan Ruler of Jaora; we recorded the evidence of a group of witnesses from the Gwalior and Indore States, which have the largest stake in the opium trade, and of representatives of all the chief opium-producing States, with one or two exceptions. Many of these witnesses are highly educated men holding responsible offices in the States, which they represent, while others speak with the knowledge of a lifetime on a subject of the gravest importance to these States. We are satisfied, therefore, that we have been placed in full possession of the views of the Protected States in Rajputana and Central India on the opium question, and that, subject to certain inevitable limitations, we have ascertained the material facts regarding the production, consumption, and export of Malwa opium. On the part of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade the evidence given before us in these provinces was of a limited character. In Rajputana four witnesses were produced at Jeypore, whom we cannot regard as being entitled to any weight, while at Ajmere we recorded the statements of a medical missionary, Dr. Huntly, who did not go so far as to advocate the prohibition of opium, except for medical purposes, by law, and of a lady Zenana missionary, both belonging to the United Presbyterian Mission, and also of two missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, an American body. It should be added, however, that the evidence of Dr. Valentine, the principal of the Medical Missionary College at Agra, which was given at that place, related mainly to his experience in Rajputana. In Central India a group of witnesses came before us at Indore from the Canadian Presbyterian Mission, including four missionaries, two medical missionaries, two schoolmasters, and two catechists. There was also a European shopkeeper from Mhow.

88. The evidence regarding Baroda and other Native States under the political control of the Bombay Government in Gujarat and Kathiawar was recorded at Ahmedabad, and two witnesses* who spoke with authority regarding Cutch appeared before us in

* IV., pp. 225-228; IV., pp. 292-294.

States in
Gujarat,
Kathiawar,
&c.

Bombay. The States in Gujarat and Kathiawar are very numerous, and most of them are grouped under Agencies as shown in the table below, the Kathiawar Agency, in particular, comprising a congeries of States, chiefly of Rajput origin, which vary very much in size and importance. Baroda was represented by two Native and by two English officials, the first of whom had been lent to the service of the State, while the second was in political charge of the Baroda districts in Kathiawar. Representatives of 16 Kathiawar States, including Bhaunagar, Morvi, Gondal, and the Mahomedan State of Junagadh were examined, and we have every reason to believe that we have obtained a genuine expression of the views of the Chiefs.

TABLE 8, showing the NATIVE STATES IN GUJARAT, KATHIAWAR, and CUTCH, with their AREA and POPULATION.

Name of State.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.
i. States in Gujarat :—		
(a.) Cambay - - - - -	350	89,722
(b.) States in the Palanpur Agency - - - - -	7,775	645,526
(c.) States in the Mahi Kantha Agency - - - - -	9,300	581,568
(d.) States in the Rewa Kantha Agency - - - - -	4,980	733,506
(e.) States in the Surat agency - - - - -	1,051	181,208
ii. States in Kathiawar - - - - -	20,559	2,752,404
iii. Cutch - - - - -	6,500	558,415
Total - - - - -	50,515	5,542,349

Historical Retrospect.

Connexion
of Mahome-
dans with
Malwa, and
early Native
trade in
Malwa
opium.

89. The first point in connexion with the Malwa opium trade to which our attention has been directed by Your Majesty is "the nature of the existing arrangements with the Native States with regard to the transit of opium through British territory." For the full understanding of these arrangements, a short historical account of this part of the subject appears to be necessary, and we, therefore, proceed to give this.

The tract of country called Malwa was first conquered by the Mahomedans at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and towards the end of the same century the Musalman Governor of this region threw off his allegiance to the central authority, and established an independent Kingdom of Malwa under the Ghorî dynasty. In 1526 this dynasty was overthrown by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, and for some few years Malwa formed a part of the Gujarat Kingdom. It subsequently became the scene of successive revolutions, until it was finally conquered by the Emperor Akbar, shortly before the Gujarat Kingdom was reduced to subjection by him in 1570. Malwa was then made a Province of the Delhi Empire. With the sixteenth century the Nations on the western sea-board of Europe entered the field of Eastern commerce in succession to Venice and the Mediterranean cities, and the accounts given by various European travellers and writers during this century clearly show that there was an established Native trade in opium from the West Coast of India with China, Malacca, and other places as early as the beginning of the century. Extracts from their writings are given at some length in a special note appended to our Report, and it will be seen that they speak of opium as coming chiefly from Cambay or the Kingdom of Cambay, and as being a regular article of trade at the port of Cambay. For the greater part of this period Cambay was included in the Kingdom of Gujarat to which these writers, no doubt, refer, and it seems certain that the opium spoken of was actually produced in Malwa, which geographically and by the course of its history was closely associated with the Gujarat Kingdom, and for some years had formed an integral part of it. As already stated, Malwa was incorporated in the Delhi Empire about 1570, and in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, or *Institutes of Akbar*, compiled by Abul Fazl in 1590, opium is recorded as a staple product of the Malwa Province,* and one that had attained special excellence in that region.

VII. pp. 30-2.

Connexion
of the
Portuguese
with the
Malwa
opium trade,
during the
16th, 17th,
and 18th
centuries.

90. The special position occupied by the Portuguese in the history of the Malwa opium trade deserves separate mention. Early in the sixteenth century they acquired Goa,† and some few years later they planted fortified settlements on the upper line of

* The Malwa Province of the Moghul Empire included a part of Rajputana, and also the territory, outside Malwa proper, now comprised within the Central India Agency.

† Goa was finally captured by Albuquerque in 1510, while Daman was conquered in 1530 and Diu obtained in 1535. See pages 211, 400, and 417, Vol. I., "The Portuguese in India," by F. C. Danvers, 1894.

the West Coast of India, at Daman, about 100 miles north of Bombay, and at Diu, an island at the southern extremity of the Kathiawar peninsula, two ports which may be said to face each other across the entrance to the Gulf of Cambay. During the greater part of this century the Portuguese held a marked supremacy in Eastern commerce, a supremacy which, according to the writers already mentioned, was fully recognised at Cambay. From an early date they acquired a large share in the opium trade from the West of India to the far East, where they established themselves at Malacca, and later at Macao, situated on an island in the estuary of the Canton River. Towards the end of the century they were losing the predominance in Eastern commerce, to which, during the seventeenth century, the Dutch succeeded for a time; but they appear to have always maintained their connexion with the Malwa opium trade to the far East; and Daman and Diu, on account of their situation with reference to Malwa, played an important part in this trade well into the present century. Of the actual extent of the trade during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries not much is known, but that it was by no means confined to the Portuguese and Dutch was established by the inquiry made by the Government of India at the beginning of the present century, which will be dealt with in the next paragraph. The only other matter that requires notice before passing on to the results of this inquiry is that, on the breaking up of the Delhi Empire, which began towards the end of the seventeenth century, Malwa passed into the possession of the Marathas.

91. At the beginning of the present century the attention of the Government of India was directed to the trade in opium from the West of India, of which little or nothing then seemed to be known at Calcutta. The Bombay Government was therefore requested to have a full inquiry made into the origin, circumstances, and course of this trade, as there was reason to fear that it would injuriously affect the revenue derived from the monopoly of opium in Bengal. The inquiry showed that in the Company's own territories, and also in the Native States, in the Bombay Presidency, a considerable internal and external trade was being carried on in opium coming from Malwa. As to the origin of this trade nothing very definite was ascertained, but as to its antiquity the evidence from all sources was unanimous. The Bombay Customs Master reported, in a letter dated the 22nd November 1803, that it was a generally received opinion among the Native merchants that the trade had existed for centuries back, while the Collector of Surat, writing in September of the same year, stated that from information obtained from the oldest and most respectable merchants of that city as well as from the Custom House records it appeared that "opium has been an article of traffic ever since Surat has been a place of trade from time immemorial." The Malwa opium was said to be exported by sea to Arabia and Persia from the ports of Kathiawar, and to the Malay Coast and China, as well as to Malabar and other places in India, from the Company's port of Surat, while Cambay, Jambusar, and Broach were also mentioned as places to which opium was sent for export from the interior. The inquiry further made it clear that the habit of consuming opium was widely prevalent, especially in Gujarat, including Baroda and other Native States, as well as British territory, though the actual cultivation of the poppy in this part of the country was reported to be very limited in extent.

Result of
inquiries
into Malwa
opium trade
at beginning
of present
century.

VII. pp. 46,
47, and 48.

92. With a view to prevent injury to the revenue derived from the Bengal monopoly, the cultivation of the poppy was prohibited in 1803 throughout the Company's territories in the Bombay Presidency. These were at that time very limited in extent, and the importation into them of opium, other than Bengal opium, was forbidden. Orders were also issued, which were finally clothed with legislative sanction by Bombay Regulation I., of 1805, prohibiting the shipment at British or foreign ports in India of any opium except Bengal opium, in vessels sailing under the British flag. At the same time it was arranged, with the acquiescence of the Gaekwar of Baroda, that the cultivation of the poppy in his State should be forbidden, but this arrangement was modified at the end of 1805. The Court of Directors appear to have understood from the papers on the subject that the opium actually consumed within the Company's territories in the Bombay Presidency was produced locally, and they, therefore, expressed an opinion that in view of the general diffusion of the opium habit, the prohibition of poppy cultivation would be a harsh measure. In the result, the prohibition already issued throughout the Company's territories was allowed to remain in force, but as regards the Baroda State the cultivation of the poppy was not actually interfered with. The main policy, however, appears to have been to prevent the Malwa opium from reaching the sea by arrangements with the intervening Native States, and with

Measures
taken to
prevent
competition
of Malwa
opium with
Bengal
opium.

VII. pp. 48,
49.

this object in view special engagements were entered into with the Chiefs of the Mahi Kantha Agency in Gujarat, in 1812, and a few years later with the Gackwar.

For some years the export of Malwa opium appears to have been considerably checked. This was due, in the first place to the exhausted condition of Malwa after the Maratha civil war in that country at the end of the 18th century. It was also due in part to the measures already described and in part to the acquisition by the Company in 1804 of a belt of territory along the Gujarat coast, which enabled a more direct control to be maintained over the passage of opium from Malwa to the sea, and over its introduction into the Portuguese ports of Daman and Diu. There are also grounds for believing that the Portuguese themselves, who were receiving British assistance in Europe for the defence of their liberty against the French, prohibited for a time the export of Malwa opium from their Indian ports as the result of arrangements made with their Viceroy of Goa by the Marquis Wellesley.

VII. p. 49.

Policy of purchasing Malwa opium for the China market and its failure.

93. As early as 1815, however, it became apparent that Malwa opium was again being exported in considerable quantities. Several circumstances contributed to this result. The demand for opium in China was increasing, while the supply from Bengal was kept low. The arrangements with the Portuguese proved to be of only temporary efficacy, and indeed their commercial interests in the East were so largely bound up with the opium trade that it was not to be expected that they should long forego their share in this traffic. The Malwa produce, therefore, found its way to Daman and Diu partly by smuggling through Gujarat and partly by circuitous routes, the chief of which was through Marwar, Jaisalmer and Sind to the port of Karachi, from which place it was shipped to Daman. It should be added that British supremacy was established in Malwa at the close of the Pindari war in 1818, and the pacification of the country was naturally followed, under the conditions which have been described, by a large increase in the production of opium. When, therefore, in that year the Government of India was first brought into direct political relations with the Native States of Malwa, they found it necessary to take into serious consideration the rivalry of the Malwa opium with the Bengal product. Being still bent on securing a monopoly of the sale of the whole of the Indian opium for the export trade, mainly with the object of maintaining the price of the Bengal opium, they decided, though not without some hesitation, on purchasing yearly in Malwa a limited quantity of opium, fixed with reference to the existing China demand at 4,000 chests, in order to enable them to control the China market.

VII. p. 53.

It was thought that, with the advantage of a direct and comparatively cheap transit to Bombay, a Government agent would be in a better position than any other purchaser, and so able to secure the greater part of the Malwa produce. Arrangements were, therefore, made for the regular purchase of opium in Malwa, and in 1821 an opium agent, with head-quarters at Indore, was appointed for this purpose. The system, however, did not prove a success. At first purchases were made recklessly, as the agent seems to have thought that he must outbid private traders, and the result of his attempting to do this in a free market was the payment of extravagant prices, and also a temporary stimulation* of the production of opium. These proceedings were not approved by the Government, and it was realised that the control of the China market could not be secured in this way.

Treaty arrangements for direct restriction of production of Malwa opium.

VII. pp. 55-6.

94. A change in system was then decided on in July 1823 with a view to place direct restriction on the production of opium in Malwa and the adjoining country. The Government of India undertook to purchase yearly from the opium-producing States in Rajputana and Central India a specified quantity of the drug at a stated price, on their agreeing to confine the cultivation of the poppy within an area calculated to produce this quantity of opium with a certain additional amount for the consumption of their own subjects, and on their undertaking to prevent, to the best of their ability, the export of opium from their territories. Accordingly in 1824 and the following years a number† of Treaties, containing provisions of this nature, were negotiated with various States in Rajputana and Central India, but the Maharaja Sindhia, Jeypore, Kishengarh, and Bhopal were unwilling to enter into any such engagements. In pursuance of the same policy Treaties were negotiated with Udaipur, through which lay the direct route to the West Coast, and with several other States in Rajputana for the

* Evidence of Mr. Swinton before the Select Committee of the House of Lords upon the affairs of the East India Company, 1830.

† One of these Treaties is given at pages 56 and 57 of App. B. of Vol. VII. of our Report, from Aitchison's Treaties, 3rd edition, Vol. IV., pages 174-176.

prevention of the transit of opium through their limits. This system remained in force until 1829. From the first it was most unpopular, and it was found that any real limitation in the area of poppy cultivation was impracticable. Accordingly, a large clandestine trade in smuggled opium grew up. Smuggling by the more direct routes to the West Coast was kept in some check by the command of the immediate littoral acquired by the Company in 1804, by the arrangements made with Baroda and the other Native States of Gujarat, and by the establishment in 1820 of British supremacy in Kathiawar and Cutch. But Sind was still an independent kingdom, and large quantities of opium were conveyed by the indirect route already established from Malwa, through Pali in Marwar and Jaisalmer, to the Port of Karachi in Sind, and thence shipped to Diu and Daman. The extent to which this route was used at this time may be gathered from the fact that Sir John Malcolm estimated that 10,000 chests of smuggled opium reached Daman in one year,* while Mr. Stark, chief of the Revenue Department in the India Board, stated in evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, which reported in 1832 on the affairs of the East India Company, that the opium smuggled from Malwa to Daman amounted in one year to 9,000 or 10,000 chests.

95. It was, therefore, determined by the Government of India that the restrictive system should be abandoned, and we think it desirable that the reasons for this determination, as given at the time by the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, in Council, should be quoted here at length:—

Reasons for abandonment of direct restriction of production in Malwa.

† “Although some difference of opinion exists among the authorities employed in Malwa and Rajputana regarding the practical effect of the opium Treaties upon the prosperity of the country at large and the feelings with which they are viewed by the Native Princes; the general tenor of the evidence now before Government leads irresistibly to the inference that evils of a very serious nature are inflicted by our monopoly system in Central India on all who fall within the sphere of its operation. It has been found altogether unpracticable to enforce that part of the original scheme which contemplated a positive reduction of the quantity of the poppy cultivation, and we have therefore determined to abstain from any direct interference with the production of the article and have instructed the local authorities accordingly.

“Nearly all our agents concur in representing that our measures for controlling the transit and exportation of Malwa opium are vexatious and oppressive to the people, unpalatable and offensive to their rulers; whilst we have abundant proof of their imperfect efficacy in the continually increasing prevalence of smuggling, and the yearly augmentation of the export of the drug from Diu and Daman to the China market. The intervention of Sindia's scattered and extensive possessions, which it has been found impossible to include in the general arrangement, would alone defeat our hopes of preventing the escape of contraband opium in considerable quantities from Central India. And further the temptations to smuggling are so powerful, the pursuit of the illicit traffic is so congenial to the tastes and habits of the wild tribes and dissolute adventurers who abound in Malwa, and the public sentiment is necessarily so hostile to our monopoly that it may reasonably be doubted whether the Native States, however well disposed to co-operate and anxious to fulfil their engagements, are strong enough to carry the system into complete effect either with or without the constant and minute interference of our local agents. In the meantime there is reason to fear that the repeated and desperate efforts made to pass the opium beyond the limits of our restrictions by large armed bands of smugglers, and their open systematic defiance of the local authorities whilst engaged in the enterprise, are operating to demoralise and disorganise the country, and to revive the ferocious and turbulent habits of the Meenas and other uncivilised tribes in a degree which demands the most serious consideration. . . . Impressed with this view of the subject, and being quite unable to devise any middle course of procedure which affords the promise of satisfactory results, his Lordship in Council cannot avoid the conclusion that we are bound by paramount considerations of justice and good faith to withdraw altogether from interference with the growth and transit of opium throughout Central India, confining our restrictions upon exportation to our own territories and to Gujarat, Kattywar (Kathiawar), and Cutch, where the prohibition should still be maintained by the Bombay Government, as it appears from the communications of the Honourable the Governor in Council that no injury and discontent are produced by our arrangements, which have been in force for many years in that quarter.”

96. Finally in July 1830 the Government of India decided on formally recognising the Malwa opium trade, and on allowing the direct passage of Malwa opium to Bombay for export by sea under a system of passes and on payment of a fee or duty. This was the origin of the pass duty, or Malwa, system, which is in force at the present time. The object at first in view in assessing the duty was to secure that the cost of the opium as put down in Bombay by the direct route through British territory should not exceed the cost involved in its conveyance to the coast by the cheapest of the more circuitous routes through Native State territory, and the duty was fixed at Rs. 175 a chest. Five years later the duty was reduced to Rs. 120 a chest, because the opium

Recognition of the Malwa export trade and introduction of the pass duty, or Malwa, system.

* Paragraph 5 of Letter from the Governor General in Council in Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated the 21st September 1830, in Appendix IV. to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, dated the 11th October 1831.

† Resolution of the Governor-General in Council in the Political Department, dated the 12th June 1829, in Appendix IV. to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, dated the 11th October 1831.

- IV. p. 456. shipments from Bombay in 1834 had largely fallen off, while those from Daman had increased. But in 1843 Sind was conquered, and the chief route by which Malwa opium reached Daman was thus closed. The duty was then raised to Rs. 200 a chest, and since that date has been raised on various occasions until it reached Rs. 700 a chest in 1879. In 1883 the duty was reduced to Rs. 650 a chest, and at the time of our inquiry stood at Rs. 600 a chest.* This opium cannot legally be brought into British territory, whether for consumption in British India or for export to China, except on payment of the duty in force for the time being, and by certain fixed routes. For the levy of this duty scales have been established, in the charge of Government officials, at convenient centres, and the opium, after being weighed, is allowed to be forwarded under cover of a pass and with special precautions by one of the prescribed routes. According to the old-established custom of the trade the chest of Malwa opium contains 140 lbs. in weight, to which an allowance of 4 oz. is added for leaf and dust, making a total of 140½ lbs., and for convenience of carriage the manufactured drug is usually packed in half chests containing 70½ lbs. The existing scales are at Ajmer, under the management of the Commissioner of Ajmer and Merwara, at Indore and the eight other places named in the margin, under the administrative control of the Agent to the Governor-General
- II. p. 317. Rutlam. Dhar. Ujjain. Udaipur. Chittore. Jaora. Bhopal. Mandasaur.
- IV. p. 456. Central India, and at Ahmedabad under that of the Government of Bombay. At the present time the Ajmer scales are only used for the weighment of the opium that goes to the Punjab for local consumption there, while the Ahmedabad scales are chiefly used for Baroda-grown opium when sent to Bombay for foreign export. Under this system, therefore, the Government of India has nothing to do with the production of Malwa opium, and has no direct concern with the export trade.
- IV. p. 404.

97. On the introduction of the pass-duty system the various engagements in force with the protected States in Rajputana and Central India were abrogated, and, so far as they are concerned, there has been no change in the position of affairs since that time. The only subsequent agreements with these States, relating in any way to opium, are certain agreements entered into in 1878-79 with five Rajputana and three Central India States, on the occasion of the abolition of what was known as the Customs line or hedge. The salt duty, before 1878, was higher in Bengal than in Western and Southern India, and the main object of this line, which was regularly patrolled, was to prevent the smuggling of salt into Upper India. In that year, however, the salt tax was equalised throughout the country, and the agreements with the States in question, which bordered on British territory, were intended to secure that opium should not be exported by any of the routes, or in any of the directions that had previously been barred by the Customs line.

II. p. 359.

Whether Government policy has led to extension of poppy cultivation in Native States.

I. p. 169.

II. 2398.

II. 2495 to 2501.

IV. 21,811.

98. It will be convenient, therefore, at this place to deal with a statement, concerning the Malwa trade, which will be found in the eighth paragraph of a Memorial presented to the Secretary of State for India, Lord Kimberley, in November 1892, by the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, which was placed before us as containing, in brief, the case of that Society against the opium trade. It is asserted in that paragraph that "the present wide extension of poppy cultivation in the Native States is due to the policy of the British Government itself," and, in support of this assertion, a statement made in 1829 by Mr. St. George Tucker, who was at that time a Director of the East India Company, is relied upon, to the effect that the Government of India "contracted burdensome Treaties with the Rajput States to introduce and extend the cultivation of the poppy." This statement is undoubtedly erroneous. It can only have been intended to apply to the Rajput States in Rajputana and Central India, and the examination of the early relations with those States has made it clear that no such Treaties were ever concluded with them, nor, for that matter, were any Treaties, with the object mentioned, ever contracted with any Rajput States. So far, therefore, as the assertion in this Memorial is based upon Mr. St. George Tucker's statement, it is based upon a misapprehension of the facts. It is true that, while the system of free purchase of Malwa opium was in force, disproportionate prices, as also stated by Mr. Tucker, were paid for the produce, but this system did not survive for quite two years (1821-23), and the payment of these prices was the individual act of the opium agent, and entirely opposed to the intention of the Government of India. The subsequent

* The duty was raised in December 1894 to Rs. 650 a chest (Government of India Resolution in the Finance Department, No. 6054, dated the 11th December 1894).

system, which was maintained from 1823 to 1829, and is described in paragraph 93 of our Report, was essentially restrictive in character.

99. As regards Baroda, the present arrangements with that State, though founded on an early convention, are the outcome of comparatively recent negotiations. It has already been stated that in 1803 the Gaekwar, who at that time was dependent on the British Government for his political existence, acquiesced in the prohibition of poppy cultivation, which was then of a very limited character, within his territories, though it seems doubtful how far even temporary effect was given to this arrangement. In 1820 he entered into a formal convention with the British Government, which is still in force. The main object was to prevent the smuggling of Malwa and Baroda-grown opium to the coast. Under the terms of this agreement, the Gaekwar's Government undertook to buy up the opium locally produced and arrange for its sale to the merchants and individual consumers within its territory, at the prices in force in the adjoining British districts. It was provided that if more opium were required for local consumption it should be procured from British territory, or, if necessary, from Malwa under special passes. There was no recognised export of Baroda opium at that time, and none was contemplated by the agreement. The State control of production and sale, however, was not introduced, and as time went on, the poppy cultivation appears to have increased, and the Baroda traders began to take a part in the foreign trade. Before 1857 the Baroda-grown produce was sent to Ratlam to be manufactured, and in this way entered into the general Malwa export. Special circumstances led to the discontinuance of this practice, and the Baroda traders having procured from Malwa the services of men who were skilled in the preparation of opium for the China market, arranged for the local manufacture of their own produce. In 1857 scales were established at Ahmedabad, to meet the emergency arising from the disturbed state of the country on account of the mutinies. From 1858 onwards Baroda grown opium was allowed to be weighed at these scales, and so far the direct export by sea of this opium was recognised. In 1878, however, further arrangements were made with Baroda with a view to give practical effect to the provisions of the convention of 1820 which had become inoperative, the necessity for this measure having been forced on the attention of the Bombay Government by the growth of a large smuggling trade in Baroda grown opium into or through British territory. In accordance with these arrangements the Baroda State has definitely established an opium monopoly, of its own, on the model of the Bengal monopoly, and is allowed to export its home-grown opium by sea on payment of the full pass duty. It is further required to limit its production to the actual requirements for the licit consumption within the State and for the export trade. By a subsequent understanding, arrived at in 1886, the minimum retail price within the State is to be the same as in adjacent British territory.

100. As in the case of Baroda, so in the case of the Native States in Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Cutch the opium arrangements now in force have taken their present form during recent years, but the special position of the Paramount Power towards these States, in regard to these arrangements, has grown up from the beginning of their political relations with the Government of India. British supremacy, as already stated, was established in Kathiawar and Cutch in 1820, and engagements, which will be found in our Appendices, were entered into by the Kathiawar States in 1821, by which they undertook to stop the import into their territories of any opium not covered by a British pass, the main object at that time being to prevent the passage of Malwa opium to the Kathiawar ports for export. They also undertook to obtain such opium as was required for local consumption from the British depôts. The right to prohibit poppy cultivation in these States is not mentioned in express terms in the agreements of 1821; but we have it in evidence that this right has been asserted and exercised for many years by the British Government. Similar engagements were executed about the same time by the States in Gujarat, and appear to have been made applicable, at a subsequent date, to Cutch, and when it was decided, in 1829, to withdraw from the attempt to limit the production of opium in Malwa it was expressly provided that the restrictions then in force in the Gujarat and Kathiawar States and in Cutch should be maintained. With the lapse of time, however, these engagements were largely lost sight of, and it was brought to the notice of the Bombay Government in 1869 and subsequent years that the greater part of the opium consumed in these States and in British districts was smuggled from Malwa and from Baroda. It was mainly the necessity of putting a stop to this illicit traffic, in the fiscal interests of the Government that, so far as the Bombay Presidency was concerned, led to the introduction of the Opium Act of 1878, and of the system of minimum guaranteed vend.

101. On the passing of the Indian Opium Act and the promulgation of the Bombay opium rules under its provisions, fresh arrangements were made, of which a summary is given below. They have been accepted by all the States in Gujarat and Kathiawar, and have been in force for some years past, though formal engagements have not been entered into in all cases. Some of the agreements that have actually been executed will be found in our Appendices.

- II. p. 362-5.
- IV. p. 356.
- (1.) The cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of opium are prohibited.
 - (2.) The Indian Opium Act and the rules framed thereunder by the Bombay Government are enforced throughout each State, as far as local conditions allow.
 - (3.) The Chief of each State is required to prevent export from, import into, or transport through his State of any opium, except that which is covered by a British pass and has paid the duty prescribed by the British Government.
 - (4.) Opium required for home consumption in each State must be procured either direct from Malwa, or by purchase in Bombay, or at a Government dépôt, under pass as above.
 - (5.) Retail sale within each State is regulated according to the rules for retail sale in force in the adjoining British districts.
 - (6.) Opium must not be issued to licensed vendors at a price lower than that at which it is issued to licensed vendors in the adjoining British districts; and, similarly, the licensed vendors may not sell by retail to the public at a lower price than that which prevails in such British districts.
 - (7.) In consideration of the fulfilment of the above obligations, the British Government has agreed:—
 - (a.) To pay to certain of the States a fixed annual sum as compensation for the loss of revenue on account of transit dues and cesses on the manufacture of opium; and,
 - (b.) To allow each State to import as much opium as it requires for its own home consumption, either from Malwa or from Bombay or from a British dépôt, either duty free or at a reduced rate of duty. It is understood that the difference between such reduced rate of duty, if any, and the full British rate will be levied and received by the State.

Nature of arrangements as to transit of Malwa opium through British territory.

102. We are now in a position, at the close of the historical retrospect contained in the preceding paragraphs, to state clearly the full nature of the existing arrangements for the transit of Malwa opium through British territory for export beyond the sea. These arrangements rest primarily on the geographical position of the opium-producing States, none of which have access to the sea. At the beginning of the present century, when the Malwa export trade first came prominently to notice on account of its competition with the Bengal opium, the British possessions on the west coast of India were limited to Bombay, Surat, and one or two other places of subordinate importance.* But by the end of the first quarter of the century, owing to the acquisition of fresh territory, and the establishment of an absolute suzerainty over Kathiawar and Cutch, the Company had dominated the upper line of the west coast; and with the conquest of Sind in 1843, the complete command of the littoral from Bombay to Baluchistan was secured. Since that date, therefore, the Government of India have been possessed of plenary power to regulate and tax the through trade in Malwa opium in virtue of their holding the whole of the intervening territory between these States and the seaboard. The right of transit, in the case of Baroda, is guaranteed under the convention or agreement of 1878, but in the case of the States in Rajputana and Central India it depends on long prescription and use. The right in their case was recognised as early as 1830, and has never been questioned since then, though the Government of India have been enabled to follow a different policy as to fixing the rate of the pass-duty from the time the entire command of the coast line was assured. That policy, of late years, may be briefly described as a policy of taking the highest duty that the trade can legitimately bear, the duty being assessed with direct reference to the prices realised for the Bengal opium at the Calcutta sales.

Production of Opium.

Production of opium in the States of Rajputana.

103. There are nineteen States in all in Rajputana, in five of which, according to the evidence placed before us, no opium is produced, while in six or seven others the production is relatively unimportant. The chief producing States are Meywar, Jhallawar, Kotah, Tonk, and Pertabgarh. Tonk has districts actually within Malwa, and the other States are contiguous to what has been called the table-land of Central India, and, in a greater or less measure, share its advantages in the way of climate and soil. Accurate statistics regarding the area under poppy cultivation and the yield of crude opium are not obtainable, but according to the figures specially prepared for the Commission, which may, no doubt, be accepted as approximately correct, the total area under poppy, on the average of the last five years, was about 134,000 acres, and the annual yield, which appears to have been over-estimated by several Native States, amounts to about †19,000 chests of manufactured opium. Details will be found in the table given below.

20,411.
IV. p. 391
(par. 6).

IV. 20,411.

* A clear presentment of the position at the beginning of the century, and after 1804, will be found in the maps facing pages 204 and 278 of "The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India," 3rd enlarged edition, 1894 by Sir Alfred Lyall.

† The out-turn is given as 37,524 maunds, and the figures in the body of the Report have been arrived at by allowing 160 lbs. (or two maunds) of crude opium for each chest of manufactured opium.

TABLE 9, showing the AREA, POPULATION, and APPROXIMATE AMOUNT OF POPPY CULTIVATION in the different NATIVE STATES in RAJPUTANA.

Name of State.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.	Percentage of Rajputs.	Approximate Acreage under Poppy Cultivation.
Jeypore	15,349	2,832,276	4.5	3,000
Meywar	12,861	1,862,478	7.4	50,000
Pertabgarh	959	87,875	Not known	8,383
Jhallawar	3,043	343,601	2.4	28,625
Kotah	3,803	526,276	3	22,765
Bundi	2,225	295,675	3.4	1,871
Tonk	1,415	198,314	5.6	14,010
Karauli	1,229	156,587	5.6	1,180
Banswara	1,505	180,916	7	950
Kishengarh	874	125,516	5.3	173
Dungarpore	1,440	156,000	6.7	2,285
Dholpur	1,156	279,890	9.6	268
Shahpura	406	63,646	3.5	570
Bhartpore	1,961	640,303	—	—
Bikanir	23,090	831,955	8	Nil.
Jaisalmir	16,039	115,701	24.5	Nil.
Marwar	34,963	2,521,727	9.7	Nil.
Sirohi	1,966	188,977	8.7	Nil.
Ulwar	30,512	767,786	3.6	Nil.
Total	130,268	12,016,102	—	134,080

104. In the opium-producing States poppy cultivation is entirely free, and the cultivators are at liberty to dispose of the produce as they may think fit. As a general practice, however, the crude opium, collected by them from the poppy plants, which is locally termed "chik," is purchased by village money lenders, known as Bohras and Manotidars, who are in the habit of advancing money on the crop. These village money-lenders sell the crude opium to traders who arrange for its manufacture, and who, in some cases, themselves deal direct with the cultivators. The opium is manufactured in the form in which it is sent to the China market at various places in Rajputana, the most important of which are Kotah, Patan in the Jhallawar State, and Udaipur in Meywar, but the greater part of the Tonk opium goes to Indore for manufacture. When the time for export arrives, the chests are despatched to the nearest scales; the Meywar opium, for instance, goes to Chittore, the Jhallawar opium to Ujjain in Central India, and the Pertabgarh opium to Mandsaur, also in that Province. The chests are then forwarded direct to Bombay. The amount of poppy cultivation in the opium-producing States, apart from ordinary fluctuations, varies with the rainfall. The tendency in most of these States has been to put as much of the irrigated area as possible under poppy, but the extent of this area varies with the amount of water in the wells, tanks, or streams used for irrigation purposes, and this depends on the character of the rainfall. The amount of poppy cultivation is also affected by marked fluctuations in the China market. The price paid to the cultivators, which is a matter of arrangement between them and the village money lenders, depends on the prices ultimately realised for the manufactured article in China, though the opium is not, as a rule, exported until it is two years old, and of late these prices have been consistently low. This has had the effect of increasing the stocks of manufactured opium in the hands of traders, who have held back in the hope of a rise, and has also had the effect, according to the statements of the representatives of several of the opium-producing States, of restricting, to some extent, the area of cultivation, the poppy crop having been given up on irrigated land of inferior quality. With the fall in prices the profit to the cultivators, as well as to the merchants and others engaged in the trade, has necessarily been reduced, but there is a large body of evidence to show that, notwithstanding this, the poppy is still the most valuable crop that can be grown on good irrigated land. The light in which it is regarded by the cultivators themselves depends not only on the pecuniary value of the crop, but also on the fact that opium represents to them ready cash, enabling them to pay off their loans and obtain fresh advances—a matter of no small importance in a country where the agricultural classes are, as a rule, constantly in the hands of the money-lender.

System of production and manufacture of opium in Rajputana.

IV. 27,035.

105. Under the Central India Agency there are numerous States, some of which are entirely independent, subject only to the suzerainty of the British Government, while

Production of opium in

the States of Central India. IV. App. XI. IV. 22,068. IV. App. XI. 21,869.

others have a less degree of independence. There are also numerous estates, as they are termed, which, in most cases, are under the control of one of the independent States. For the purposes of this inquiry, these States and estates have been arranged in three groups, in the first two of which are included all those that are situated within the limits of Malwa, 45 in number. For practical purposes, however, the 14 States which constitute the first group, may be said to comprise all the chief opium-producing States in Central India that have a substantial interest in the export trade. The area actually under poppy cultivation can only be given approximately, but the figures specially prepared by the States themselves to be placed before the Commission, are said to be more trustworthy than any information previously supplied by them. No restriction whatever is placed on the cultivation of the poppy, and all irrigated land capable of producing opium is assessed to land revenue on the assumption that this crop will be grown. In the more important States a fixed settlement of land revenue, for some term of years, is in force, so far as the land held direct from the State is concerned; but no record is maintained of the crops actually grown from year to year, and a large part of the total area consists, in almost all cases, of Jagir estates,* with regard to which the States themselves possess no accurate information. According to the approximate figures furnished to us, the total area under poppy cultivation may be put down at 292,000 acres, in round numbers, on an average of the last five years, and the yearly out-turn of manufactured opium at about 35,000 chests. Of this total area, 283,000, acres were in the 14 States already spoken of as the chief opium-producing States, and statistics regarding them will be found in the table below.

TABLE 10, showing the AREA, POPULATION, and APPROXIMATE AMOUNT OF POPPY CULTIVATION in the chief OPIUM-PRODUCING STATES in CENTRAL INDIA.

Name of State.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.	Approximate Acreage under Poppy.
Gwalior	29,047	3,378,774	113,711
Indore	8,400	1,099,990	76,25h
Bhopal	6,784	952,486	21,753
Jaora	591	117,650	10,847
Ratlam	729	89,160	9,051
Dhar	1,739	169,474	9,377
Estates subordinate to Dhar		10,486	
Narsingarh	720	117,280	11,038
Rajghar	642	119,189	9,174
Sitamaru	350	33,307	3,076
Dewas (junior branch)	134	69,684	5,639
Dewas (senior branch)	155	82,389	5,658
Sailana	123	31,512	3,315
Khilchipur	204	36,302	3,101
Piploda	60	12,792	1,446
	49,668	6,319,775	283,439

System of production and manu- facture in Central India. IV. 22,203.

106. The system under which the poppy is cultivated and opium manufactured is practically the same as in Rajputana. The opium juice, as extracted by the cultivators, is usually sold to a middleman or money-lender, who has often advanced money on the crop, and he, in turn, disposes of it to an opium trader, who, in some cases, may himself be the exporter. The manufacture is carried out locally, and, according to the custom of the trade, the opium for the foreign market is made up in balls of the weight of 1 lb., which are, therefore, less than half the size of those into which the Bengal opium is made up at the Government factories. The chief centres of the manufacture are at Indore, where, it is stated, some 6,000 chests are annually prepared from crude opium not produced within the limits of that State, and at Ujjain in Gwalior territory. Opium is manufactured also at Bhopal, Dhar, Jaora, and Ratlam, at each of which places scales have been established, and at some other towns. In a number of States, however, there is no manufacture of opium for the export trade, the produce being taken away in its crude or unmanufactured state, to one or other of these centres. The fall in prices of late years in the China market has had the same

* Jagir estates are estates with regard to which the right to receive land revenue has been wholly or partly assigned by the State to individuals, on conditions of military aid or service.

effect in Central India, as in Rajputana, in the way of curtailing the area under poppy cultivation in some of the States, and has also led to a steady increase in the stocks of manufactured opium held in Malwa. The general reduction, however, in the margin of profit is said, on the whole, not to have deprived the poppy crop of the special place which it holds, in virtue of its various advantages, as a very remunerative one to the cultivator. Opium was a staple crop in Malwa in the 16th century, and must, therefore, have been cultivated long before that period, the climate and soil are specially adapted to its production, and the experience of centuries has proved its value, and firmly established its popularity in the agricultural mind, always peculiarly tenacious of tradition in such matters. Throughout the opium-producing States, poppy is grown as a second crop in the year in succession to maize, and in this respect is said to occupy a unique position, while, apart from the price realised for the crude opium, the disposal of the poppy seeds and heads brings in money, and, during the growth of the plants, the young leaves that are thinned off are used as a vegetable. The value of the poppy to the cultivator is further enhanced by the fact that the opium, as extracted by him, commands an immediate cash price, and the crop is, therefore, regarded as a good security for the advance of money.

107. As already stated, an opium monopoly was introduced in the Baroda State in 1878, on the lines of what is known as the Bengal monopoly. Under this system the cultivation of the poppy, mainly with a view to secure proper control over it, is confined to the northern or Kari division of the State, which had from the first been the chief seat of production, and is only permitted under license. The cultivators are required to make over the whole produce to the State authorities, and the crude opium is stored and manufactured at the town of Siddhpur. No statistics can be obtained as to the extent of the poppy cultivation before the introduction of the present system, but it was, no doubt, considerable, as two or three thousand chests of Baroda-grown opium are said to have been exported annually. Of late years, however, there has been no foreign export because, with the State management of the trade, the pass-duty has been thought to be prohibitive. The area under poppy for the production of opium for local consumption is about 5,000 acres.

Production of opium in the Baroda State. 22,499-502.

22, 513. IV. App. XIV. p. 424.

CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM.

108. As regards the consumption of opium in Rajputana, little or no statistical information is to be obtained. In the States in which opium is produced, the cultivators are at liberty to dispose of the produce as they please, and to keep back as much as they think fit, and though various frontier customs and other duties are levied in different States, in none of them can an effectual system of excise be said to be in force. Of the nineteen States in Rajputana, sixteen are ruled by Rajput families; two, Bhartpore and Dholpur, by Jat families, and Tonk by a Mahomedan family. The total population at the last census in 1891 was twelve millions, of which the Rajputs, who are most largely represented in Jaisalmir and the Western States, constitute about 6 per cent. In point of numbers Brahmins and Jats, each caste exceeding a million, occupy the first place, and then follow Mahomedans and the Mahajan or commercial class, while the Bhil population is nearly the same as that of the Rajputs. No complete or satisfactory information has been obtained as to the extent of the consumption of opium among the different classes and castes of Rajputana, though many of the witnesses have given general per-centages of the opium consumers in the different States. Our experience, however, throughout this inquiry has been that very little reliance can be placed on per-centages of this kind, though the statements of witnesses regarding their own castes are probably entitled to some weight. Moreover, the difficulty of obtaining trustworthy evidence as to the personal habits of Natives of India, has been strongly felt in the case of the Native States. Dr. Hendley, who has been for twenty years in Jeypore and has placed before the Commission the results of a valuable statistical inquiry into the opium habit made by him in 1893, has particularly drawn our attention to the jealousy and suspicion that was aroused by this inquiry; and one of the Pertabgarh witnesses mentioned that, even on the occasion of the last census, the Bhil population in that State could not be enumerated, for fear of giving rise to serious misunderstandings. This will serve as an illustration of the practical impossibility of ascertaining, with any certainty, the habits of the forest tribes in the matter of taking opium. The chief consumers of opium are the Rajputs, the ruling race of the country, and more particularly the Rajput nobles or Thakurs, and the castes that are closely allied to the Rajputs, such as Charans and Bhats, the hereditary bards of Rajputana, who, however, are not a very important class numerically. As to the extent to which the opium habit prevails among them, the statements of the witnesses

General character of opium consumption in Rajputana.

IV. 20,627. V. 380. IV. App. I.

IV. 20,604.

IV. 20,649. differ, and there is, no doubt, some diversity of practice in different parts of the country. One Rajput landowner of the Bhati clan informed us that it would be quite the exception to find anyone in his caste who did not take opium; Dr. Valentine, the principal of the medical missionary college at Agra, who had had long experience in Jeypore up to 11 years ago, stated that 90 per cent. of the adult males, among the Rajputs, took opium in his time, a statement that received some confirmation as regards the Rajputs of the Shekhawati districts of Jeypore; and a number of witnesses from other States placed the per-centage of Rajput opium consumers at figures varying from 40 to 75 per cent. of the adult male population. On the other hand, Rajput witnesses from Ulwar and Marwar speak of consumers in their caste as not exceeding 10 or 15 per cent. What seems to be clearly established is, that the great majority of middle-aged men among the Rajputs habitually take opium, beginning the practice rather earlier in life than other classes of the population, and that a substantial percentage of the younger men also acquire the habit. There are, undoubtedly, cases of immoderate use among the wealthier Rajputs, but they are said to be exceptional, and less in number than they were some few years ago. This is attributed to the growth of enlightenment and education, and it has been specially mentioned that the training of young Rajput chiefs and nobles at the Mayo College has had, and is likely to have, a decided effect in preventing them from acquiring the habit. Passing now to the use of opium among the general population of Rajputana, we have first to deal with the middle classes. The most important of these are the Mahajans or Banias, the banking and trading class, rather more than half of whom are by religion orthodox Hindus, while the remainder are Jains. Members of this class from Rajputana are to be found in many parts of India, engaged in trade, and they are commonly known by the generic name of Marwaris, men of Marwar, though they may not have come actually from that State. In Calcutta and other places we have had evidence to the effect that the habitual use of opium in moderation is prevalent among these Marwaris without affecting their well-known shrewdness and business capacity, but the results of the inquiry in Rajputana itself can hardly be taken as conclusive on this point. In some States the Mahajans are said to be less addicted to opium than other castes, while in others they are placed next in order after the Rajputs and allied castes in the matter of opium consumption. It is also stated that those who are Jains by religion are in the habit of taking bhang, the hemp drug, rather than opium. As a general use opium is consumed by the members of this class as a restorative or stimulant after middle age, and a similar use prevails, more or less, among other castes, such as the Brahmins, which may also be included under the middle classes of the country. As to the consumption by the poorer sections of the population, witnesses from several States have spoken of opium being largely consumed by the Forest tribes, such as Bhils, but the evidence is of a very general character, while among the agricultural and labouring classes the habitual use is also as a restorative after the age when strength begins to decline, and rheumatism and other ailments, common to those who live a life of exposure, tend to become chronic. Among these classes an occasional use of opium, during the cold weather and at times of special fatigue and exposure, is well established, especially in the case of men who, like camel drivers, have to work in the Rajputana desert, with its great extremes of heat and cold. As regards all these classes the number of opium consumers who carry the habit to excess is said on all sides to be very small. As to the forms in which opium is consumed there is practical agreement that smoking is little known in Rajputana. In the Jeypore and Dholpore States the selling of smoking preparations is nominally penal, and a Rajput representative from the Kotah State said that in his part of the country any Rajput who smoked opium would be put out of caste. The drug is usually taken in the shape of pills, which among the rich are frequently mixed with spices. It is also largely drunk in a solution of water, especially on ceremonial and social occasions. This liquid form is generally known as *Amal pani*, opium water, or *Kasumbha*, though other local names are mentioned. The term *Kasumbha* is said to be derived from *Kasum*, the name of the safflower (*carthamus tinctorius*), and owes its derivation to the colour of the liquid. It should be added that *post* or a drink prepared from an infusion of poppy heads in water is much resorted to by the poorer classes, as being cheaper than opium.

IV. 22,57

Ceremonial and social uses of opium in Rajputana. 20,221.

109. Opium, also, occupies a special position in Rajputana in connexion with ceremonies and social usages. It is considered obligatory with the Rajputs as a matter of ancient custom to consume opium on the anniversaries of certain religious festivals, such as the Holi, the Dasera, and the Aksha Tij or Hindu new year, a festival peculiar to Rajputana, and also at the important epochs of family life,—

betrothals, marriages, the birth of sons, periods of mourning, and other occasions.* In the case of betrothals the use of opium has acquired a quasi-religious sanction. "This ceremony," we were informed by the representative of the Pertabgarh State, "has come to be called the *Amal ka dastur*, or opium ceremony, from the fact that it is not held "to be complete unless the bridegroom or his father or guardian has partaken of the "opium offered by the bride's father. In fact opium taking is as essential a part of a "betrothal as the *phera*, or seven perambulations round the sacred fire, are for the "marriage ceremony." The use of opium, again, is indispensable when feuds are settled and quarrels made up, and on these occasions it is regarded as the seal of the reconciliation. These ceremonial uses, primarily a Rajput custom, have been adopted by other castes, though the extent to which they are actually obligatory upon them is open to some doubt, and the line of distinction between obligation and habit may not always be easy to trace. The obligation is unquestionable in the case of Charans and Bhats, and of some few other castes closely allied to the Rajputs, and is said to extend to the Jats, the most important agricultural class in Rajputana, while several of the Marwar witnesses speak of the use of opium in the case of reconciliation and of the more important epochs in family life, as being binding on all castes with the exception of some sects of the Brahmins and Mahajans and of the Mahomedans. There is also evidence to show that among the Bhils opium plays an important part at solemn reconciliations, and is provided at certain ceremonies. Whether it is incumbent on the guests actually to take opium when it is offered on ceremonial occasions is a further question on which the evidence is to some extent conflicting. The practice probably differs among different castes, and even among different clans of Rajputs, but on the whole it appears to be true that a nominal compliance on the part of those who are not accustomed to take opium is sufficient at the present time to satisfy the custom. In social life opium is the mark of hospitality and good fellowship among the Rajputs, is provided at entertainments, and offered to guests on their arrival and departure, and in this respect, also, the custom of the ruling class has been followed by other castes. It should be added that several Native witnesses mention the fact that it is usual among the higher classes in Rajputana to begin letters with a complimentary formula, asking their correspondents to take a double allowance of opium, the Rajputana equivalent of wishing "a double health," as showing how closely the use of opium is bound up with the personal life of the people. We have already spoken of the influences at work in the direction of checking individual excess, and we find that there is a growing tendency to restrict the lavish use of opium, which in the past was considered essential to a character for hospitality, on these ceremonial occasions. This is part of a general social reform that is gaining ground with the object of preventing reckless and ostentatious expenditure, especially on the part of the Rajputs, and a good deal, no doubt, must be attributed to the greater necessity for economy caused by the higher price that has had to be paid for opium of late years in many States. It is also stated that the consumption of opium, at some of the less important epochs of family life, is being given up, particularly in towns, among the better educated classes of the community.

110. One other use of opium, the use during infancy, requires special mention. Many of the Native witnesses from the different States described the practice of giving opium to infants and young children as being an ordinary part of the domestic life of the country. In some instances their evidence was of general application, while in others they spoke more particularly as to the custom of the caste to which they belonged; but the whole tenor of the evidence makes it certain that the practice is common to all classes and castes in Rajputana, though it may be more universally followed among the Rajputs and Charans, for instance, than among other sections of the community. This is confirmed by the independent observation of British medical men with experience in this province, and by statistics regarding a hundred cases of infant life furnished by Dr. Hendley of Jeypore. The drug is given in minute doses, which are variously described by Native witnesses as being of the size of a millet seed, or a mustard seed, from the time the child is a few weeks old until it is weaned. The age at which the practice is discontinued is placed by most of them at the third year.

* The following is a list of these occasions as given by Thakur Bulidana, a Rajput landowner of the Jaisalmer State:—

"The occasions on which it is obligatory to partake of opium are:—1. Betrothals. 2. Weddings. 3. Visit of a son-in-law to his father-in-law. 4. Birth of a male child. 5. First shaving of a male child's head, among Rajputs and Charanas. 6. Shaving the parting of a beard, by Rajputs and Charans. 7. For 12 days after a death, among Rajputs and Charans, and for the same or a lesser time among other castes. 8. The Akhatij festival. 9. At reconciliations. It is also customary at other festivals, at temples on certain days, and at friendly gatherings."—IV. 21,150.

1V. 20,285.
20,992.
21,073.
21,555.

though in some parts of Rajputana, and among certain castes, the administering of these doses is carried on up to a later age. The objects with which the opium is given are said to be to ward off infantile disorders, such as colds and diarrhoea, to prevent pain and crying at the time of teething, and above all, especially in the case of the cultivating and labouring classes, to keep the child quiet, so that the mother may be free to discharge her household duties or undertake her share of work abroad. This practice is discussed in the Memorandum by Sir William Roberts attached to this Report, but we have thought it necessary to mention the matter specially here, because the evidence shows that the custom is more universal in Rajputana than elsewhere in India, and that it is one to which the people are firmly wedded.

Consump-
tion of opium
in the States
of Central
India.

1V. 21945.
21,963-65.

21,870.
21,877.
22,171.
22,278.

1V. 408.
22,084.
22,085.
23,061.

Consumption
of opium in
Baroda and
the Native
States of
Gujarat
Kathiawar,
&c.
1V. p. 117.

111. The consumption of opium in the States of Central India need not be treated at length, as in various respects it is similar to the consumption, already described, in Rajputana. In Malwa, or, in other words, throughout the real opium-producing region of Central India, there is no limit as to the possession of opium, and the cultivators can do what they like with the produce of their poppy fields, while, except in a few large towns, the States themselves make no attempt to realise revenue from the retail vend of opium. Outside Malwa proper, in the northern and north-eastern districts of the Gwalior State, and in the tracts known as Bandelkhand and Baghelkhand, an excise system is in force, the right to retail opium being sold by auction; but even as regards these districts and tracts no statistics can be supplied as to the quantities actually sold by the contractors. The general character, therefore, and the extent of the opium consumption can only be gathered from the statements of the witnesses who have appeared before us. The population of Central India is about 10 millions, of which the agricultural classes represent $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions, the forest and hill tribes $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, the military and dominant classes rather more than a million, and Brahmins nearly a million. The Rajputs form as large a part of the entire population as they do in Rajputana, and are chiefly to be found in Malwa where there are several Rajput States, and a number of Rajput landowners or Thakurs occupying a more or less independent position. The proportion of the Rajputs in Central India who are habituated to opium is as high as in Rajputana, and the special uses of the drug in connexion with ceremonies and social occasions, which have been described at some length in a former paragraph, are equally in vogue among them. Some of the Thakurs are described as using *Amal pani*, or the liquid form of opium, for regular drinking parties, and this custom is said to lead to cases of excess. Among the general population the practice of giving opium to infants, a practice mentioned in the Institutes of Akbar as being in force in Malwa during the sixteenth century, is followed by all classes except the Bohras, a Shia sect of Mahomedans, though it would seem not to be quite so universal as in Rajputana. In the case of the adult population opium is mainly used as a restorative and stimulant after middle age, especially among the labouring and agricultural classes, who are constantly liable to exposure and fatigue. These uses are more common in Malwa than in the rest of Central India, and the moisture of the climate in that region is very generally assigned as a reason for the prevalence of the opium habit. What proportion of the population is represented by the opium consumers is a question on which different views have been expressed, but by general consent they constitute a considerable per-centage of the adult males in Malwa, a per-centage that is placed as high as 20 to 30 per cent. by various witnesses, and the proportion is still higher in States where the Rajputs enter largely into the population. Everywhere moderation is said to be the rule and excess exceptional. Opium smoking is extremely rare, though one shop is licensed for the purpose at Jaora and another at Ratlam. This method of consumption is treated as a criminal offence in one of the divisions of the Gwalior State outside Malwa and in the cities of Gwalior and Indore, while *chandu* smoking is said to be punished with a small fine in the petty State of Diwas. Ordinarily, opium is consumed in the form of pills or in a solution of water, the latter being chiefly used among the Rajputs and those who follow their customs, while the poorer classes, as in Rajputana, drink a decoction made from poppy heads.

112. The consumption of opium in Baroda and in the Native States of Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Cutch, can appropriately be dealt with in one place. Part of the Baroda territory is situated in Kathiawar; Rajput influence may be said to be dominant in all these States, and the general uses of opium among their populations are characteristically the same. Baroda has an area of 8,226 square miles, and a population of nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and is in a position to give statistical information regarding the consumption of opium, as a regular system of retail sale is in force under State control. There are 428 shops licensed for the sale of opium, or one shop to every 20 square miles and 5,632 inhabitants, but consumption on the premises is not

allowed. The total amount consumed yearly was 63,040 lbs., or 288 grains per head of population, on an average of the last five years, but these figures must be accepted with some caution. The Baroda manufactured opium is held locally in high esteem, and is stated to have displaced the Malwa opium from the position of favour which it previously occupied. As a result of this, the inhabitants of the surrounding British districts and Native States are in the habit of resorting to the nearest Baroda shops for their supplies of the drug, and some allowance must be made on this account before the actual Baroda consumption can be fairly estimated. Statistics regarding the other Native States cannot generally be obtained, but the amount of opium imported from Malwa into the different agencies is known, and in some instances the number of consumers and the amount taken per head of population have been estimated. Throughout these States the consumption is, in almost all respects, similar to the consumption which has been already described in the case of Rajputana and Central India. Opium is a common domestic remedy among the people; the practice of giving it to infants is followed by most classes and castes, while the use, as a rule, among the adult population is after middle life. The largest consumers are the Rajputs and the castes allied to the Rajputs, the Kathis, a special caste chiefly to be found in Kathiawar, and certain Mahomedan communities. Among these classes, with the exception of the Mahomedans, opium occupies the same position in connexion with festivals, ceremonies, social gatherings, and reconciliations, as it does in Rajputana, and their customs have been adopted by other Hindu castes, especially by the well-to-do Kanbis. The proportion of opium consumers to the entire population is said to be small, on the whole, in Baroda, but in some of the Gujarat and Kathiawar States it has been placed as high as 25 and 30 per cent. of the adult males. Cases of individual excess are unusual, and there is a general concurrence of testimony that the consumption of opium, particularly on ceremonial and social occasions, has been declining of late years. This is due, in large measure, to the higher price of the drug since the introduction of the arrangements of 1878, and it has been pointed out that some of the classes who recognise the social obligation to provide opium on these occasions have been glad of an excuse for escaping a serious tax on their incomes. Other influences also must be taken into consideration. That part of the younger generation which growing up with an English education is said, as a matter of fashion, to prefer alcohol to opium, and various associations, the most important of which is the Swami Narain sect, are working in the direction of promoting entire abstinence from all stimulants, including opium. As to the prevalent mode of consumption, opium is usually taken in the form of pills or of *kasumbha*; but *post*, or the drink made by steeping poppy-heads in water, seems to be little used. Smoking opium has been a criminal offence in the Baroda State since 1861, and is said to be quite unknown there. In the other States the practice is rare, though it is mentioned that in Junagadh five small shops, which appear to be chiefly intended for religious mendicants, are allowed for the purpose of smoking *chandu*.

Export of Malwa Opium.

143. At the present time the opium for export from Bombay to China and the far East, is drawn entirely from the opium-producing States of Rajputana and Central India, as for several years past Baroda has taken no part in the foreign trade. When the opium is ready for export it has to be weighed, as already explained, at one of the various scales under the management of Government officials, and accurate statistics can be obtained as to the amount weighed for export, and actually exported from Bombay. A small quantity of opium, about 80 chests a year, from the petty State of Dungarpur in Rajputana, is weighed at Ahmedabad, but, with this exception, the whole of the Malwa opium for the China market passes the scales at Indore, or one of the eight other places, under the administrative control of the Agent to the Governor-General in Central India. According to the statistics presented to us in that province, which will be found among our appendices, the annual number of chests that passed these scales for export to China was 35,000 on an average of the last 15 years. No details are recorded at the scales to show from which State the opium is actually derived, but all the opium weighed at Chittore and Udaipur, which amounts to 5,000 chests annually, comes from Rajputana, and the opium sent by Jhallawar, Kotah, Tonk, and other Rajputana States to the scales at Ujjain, Mandsaur, and Indore is known, from local information, to amount to another 5,000 chests annually. The total contribution, therefore, to the annual foreign trade from the Rajputana States is 10,000 chests, and the remaining 25,000 chests represent the annual exports from the States in Central India. The average outturn for the year in manufactured opium is estimated at between 18,000

Export of
Malwa
opium to
China and
the far East.

1V. App. XI.

1V. 22,090.
22,091.

and 19,000 chests in the case of Rajputana, and at 35,000 chests in the case of Central India. More than half the produce, therefore, of the opium-growing States in the first-named province and two-thirds of their produce in the second case is sent to China.* This, however, does not represent the whole interest of these States in the foreign trade. Malwa opium is said to improve with keeping, and large stocks, which has been steadily increasing of late years, are held by local traders with a view to eventual export. These stocks in Central India are put down at 55,000 chests, of which number 48,000 are held in the Indore and Gwalior States. All the chief producing States in Central India, included in the first group, have a substantial interest in the export trade, whether they are manufacturing states or not, and as an illustration of the antiquity of this trade it may be mentioned that among the Gwalior witnesses was an opium-trader of Ujjain with the patronymic of Jahazwala, or shipowner, due to the fact that his great grandfather had exported opium to the far East from Broach in his own ship. As regards the Rajputana States, the representatives of Jhallawar and Tonk made it clear that for years past their production had been almost entirely for the foreign market. The manufacture of Malwa opium is carried on at a number of different places in Rajputana and Central India by various traders and small manufacturers; and though the requirements of the China market are, no doubt, well understood, the trade having been in existence for centuries, it is impossible, with this system, that the outturn should possess a uniform quality and consistence like the Bengal opium, which is manufactured with much care and under scientific supervision at two Government factories. The pass duty is the same in all cases, and only the best opium, therefore, is exported, but there are recognised distinctions in the trade between the produce of various districts, and, as a matter of fact, a good deal of difference exists in the quality of the exported opium, the price in China being said to vary by as much as Rs. 150 a chest. The opium is tested at the local centres of manufacture by agents of the exporting firms, and also at Bombay, where there are regular rooms for the purpose at the Government warehouse, and the price which it commands in the China market depends on the commercial reputation and position of the exporter. The trade has always been a speculative one, and liable to fluctuations, but of late years the exports have fallen off to a considerable extent. The average number of chests sent to China during the five years ending with 1892-93 was 29,000,† while the average number for the preceding five years was 38,000. This diminution of exports is due to the fall in prices consequent on the decline of the demand for Malwa opium in China, which is attributed to the increasing production and use of the Native-grown opium. The fluctuations, also, of late years in the value of silver have, no doubt, affected the trade, and the disturbance in exchange, with a country like China possessing a silver standard, caused by the closing of the Mints in India at the beginning of 1893-94, appears to have had a temporary effect in the same direction. The question of the rate of pass-duty which the trade can bear, must obviously depend upon the price ultimately realised in the eastern market, but it is clear, from the history of the Malwa trade, and from the nature of the political relations with these States, that the duty was never intended to operate as an indirect means of extinguishing a trade that was formally recognised as far back as 1830.

114. Some amount of opium, also, is exported from the producing States in Rajputana and Central India for consumption in British territory, and certain Native States. This opium has to be weighed at one of the established scales, paying the pass duty in the same way as the opium intended for export by sea; but a special rate of duty is chargeable, which, at the present time, is fixed at Rs. 725 a chest for opium weighed at Ajmer, and at Rs. 700 a chest for opium passing the scales at any other place. Bombay, Madras, the Hyderabad assigned districts, or Berar, and Coorg obtain their entire supply, and the Punjab part of its supply, for local consumption in this way, while the Native States using Malwa opium are Hyderabad, Mysore and the States under the political control of the Bombay and Madras Governments. The opium for the Punjab, on which, however, the full special rate of Rs. 725 a chest is not charged, passes the scales at Ajmer, and is said to be drawn from the Karauli State of Rajputana, and from Central India. The amount required by the British Provinces and Native States, mentioned above, is weighed at one or other of the scales under the Central India Agency, though three-fifths of the whole comes from Indore. Part of

Export of
Malwa
opium for
consumption
in British
territory, &c.
II. p. 347.

IV. p. 404,
IV. App.
VIII.

* Practically the whole of the Malwa foreign export goes to China, so far as the statistics of exports from Bombay show. See table on page 289, Vol. II.

† The figures here given in round numbers are taken from the table at page 347, of Vol. II.

this opium is weighed expressly for local consumption in the territories already described, and part, after having been weighed and passed for export by sea, is diverted to this purpose at Bombay on payment of the difference between the ordinary and special rates of pass duty. The whole of this supply amounts, on an average of the last 10 years, to about 3,000 chests annually. II. p. 317.

115. This opium trade, which, as we have seen, is one of very old standing, plays an important part in the agricultural and commercial economy of the opium-producing States, and is a valuable source of revenue to the States themselves, and, in a less degree, to the subordinate Chiefs and to the landowners. The advantages of the poppy crop to the cultivating classes have already been dwelt upon in the paragraphs dealing with the production of opium, which was described by the Minister of Gwalior as the black gold of Malwa. The money-lending and trading classes, also, have large interests in the whole trade, with which the prosperity of many towns in Malwa, and of places like Jhalrapatan in Rajputana is said to be closely bound up. Approximate estimates of the compensation that might be claimed on account of these various interests, should the cultivation of the poppy be prohibited, have been placed before us by the States, and a considerable amount of evidence has been recorded on the subject. It is clear, however, that the States are not willing to accept compensation, and the Maharaja Holkar has expressly said that he does not admit the right of the Paramount Power to require him to prohibit the growth of the poppy within his territories, a matter that will be discussed later. These claims involve questions of extreme difficulty and of infinite complexity of detail, and we found it quite impossible, with the time at our command in India, to make any adequate examination on the spot of the figures and statistics presented to us. The matter would only become one of practical importance should it be decided to enforce, throughout these States, such restriction as would involve the extinction of the export trade. We think it necessary, however, to offer a few observations of a general character upon these estimates. The claims may be classified under three main heads—compensation to the States themselves, the petty Chiefs and landowners; compensation to cultivators; and compensation to money-lenders, traders and others engaged in the opium trade. The compensation to the States is on account of the direct loss of land revenue, and of the income at present derived from various duties and imposts on the manufacture of opium, or on the import or export of the crude or manufactured product, and similar losses, on a smaller scale, would be incurred by petty chiefs and landowners, though these have not been included in the estimates by all States. Some indirect losses also would have to be taken into consideration. The Indore authorities, for instance, have represented that they expended large sums on irrigation works mainly with a view to protect poppy cultivation from drought, and that the prohibition of this crop would alter the conditions on which the capital had been invested and materially affect the return. The loss in customs revenue is capable of being ascertained with more or less accuracy, but the loss of land revenue opens up a wide field of inquiry. The poppy is everywhere regarded as the most valuable crop that can be grown on irrigated land, but is not assessed to land revenue in the same way in all cases. In some States specially high rates are charged on the actual crop, while in others, including the chief States of Malwa, the general rates on irrigated land have been fixed higher than they would otherwise have been fixed on the understanding that poppy will be grown, as a general rule, on all land capable of producing it. Everywhere, therefore, a reduction of land-revenue rates, with the incidental expense of a revision of assessments in some instances, is considered inevitable should the production of opium be forbidden. The extent of this reduction in each case depends mainly on the question of the crop that could be substituted for the poppy. This crop, according to the great majority of the witnesses, would necessarily be wheat. Such a change would involve a material reduction of the land-revenue rates; but no final conclusion on this point could be arrived at without the most careful consideration of a number of variable circumstances, such as the local peculiarities of soil, the period for which wells and tanks can ordinarily be used for purposes of irrigation, the existence of markets for the substituted crops, and, perhaps above all, the acquired knowledge and hereditary predilection of the cultivating classes. On such questions an opinion could only be pronounced by a body of experts thoroughly conversant with the conditions of Indian agriculture after a minute and protracted inquiry in each State. What we do feel justified in saying is that the sudden and complete prohibition of the production of opium would disorganise the finances of a number of the States, and necessitate a change in the system of agriculture in the opium-producing districts, which would deprive the cultivators of a very valuable

Importance
of export
trade to the
States of
Rajputana
and Central
India, and
question of
compensation.
IV. 22,167,
20,658.

IV. 20,791-
92.
IV. p. 102,
22,214,
21,873.

IV. 22,209.

crop and seriously affect their credit, a point on which most of the witnesses have laid great stress. The claims on behalf of the money-lending and trading classes include compensation for advances made on the security of a special crop that would no longer be permitted; for the value of the stocks of opium now held by them, and for the loss of capital and ruin of their business. On this part of the subject, also, it would be impossible to speak with any confidence without a far-reaching inquiry in each State, but in saying this we wish it to be understood that we do not express any opinion as to the admissibility of the claims put forward by some of Rajputana States under this head. It should be added that the Rajputana claim on behalf of consumers is not, in our opinion, in any sense tenable.

TABLE 11, showing CLASSIFICATION and approximate AMOUNT of COMPENSATION claimed by the PROTECTED STATES in RAJPUTANA and CENTRAL INDIA.

Name of States.	Classification of Claims.	Amount.
Rajputana States (See page 18, Vol. IV.)	Direct loss to States, petty Chiefs, and Jagirdars	Rx. 529,006
	Loss to cultivators	119,338
	Loss to money lenders, traders, and others	2,112,301
	Loss to consumers	56,517
	Total	Rx. 2,977,759
Central India States (See pages 89 and 90, Vol. IV.)	Direct loss to States	708,125
	Loss to cultivators	663,808
	Loss to money lenders, traders, and others	230,436
	Total	Rx. 1,602,369
Grand total		Rx. 4,580,128

If a policy of prohibition were to be carried out, as a matter of arrangement with the ruling States, on the basis of payment of full and equitable compensation, the negotiations would, obviously, have to be conducted in no illiberal spirit, and we are satisfied that the award that would finally have to be accepted would be a very substantial sum. The actual figures of the roughly prepared estimates, placed before us on the part of the States, are given in the table above, and a large part of the total sum is claimed as an annual payment.

116. We are now able to come to a conclusion on the second question referred to us by Your Majesty, regarding the Malwa export trade, namely, on what terms, if any, the existing arrangements for the transit of this opium through British territory can, with justice, be terminated. The situation appears to us to be practically the same as it was in 1830. We are of opinion that by paramount considerations of fair dealing and good faith—considerations that have acquired additional cogency from more than sixty years of uninterrupted usage—the Government of India is precluded from withdrawing the right of transit, except with the free consent of the Protected States. It seems probable that the more important States would not be prepared to accede to a measure of this kind. In any case, however, it is clear that any agreement that might be arrived at could only be arranged on payment of large pecuniary compensation, and would involve a heavy loss of public revenue to the Government of India. We are aware that it has been suggested that the present arrangements for the transit of Malwa opium to the sea might be ended, without direct interference on the part of the Government of India, by an enhancement of the pass duty up to a point that would be found prohibitive; but we consider it sufficient to say that the considerations on which our general conclusion is founded would, in our opinion, be equally valid against any such indirect method of extinguishing the export trade.

II.—Native States not connected with the Malwa System.

Introductory.

117. We have now to consider the opium arrangements in the other Protected States of India, which cannot be said to have any direct connexion with the Malwa export trade, or close association with its history. Some of these States are quite unimportant and only require a passing reference here. In the Manipur State on the borders of

Assam, in the Himalayan State of Tehri Garhwal, and in the Sindh State of Khairpur opium is produced for local consumption, but the outturn is insignificant. In the case of the small State of Koch Behar, under the Government of Bengal, the cultivation of the poppy was prohibited during the minority of the Chief in accordance with the policy that dictated the same course in the surrounding British districts many years before, and the prohibition was continued by him on his succession. Poppy cultivation has also been forbidden in the small Mahomedan State of Rampur under the Government of the North-West Provinces, under special arrangements which provide for a limited amount of Excise opium being supplied from one of the neighbouring British districts at a comparatively low rate to be issued to the licensed vendors at a comparatively high rate. For the purposes of our Report, the States under the political control of the Bombay Government have been divided into two groups. The arrangements in force in the first group, which falls under the Malwa system, have already been described in paragraph 101, and these arrangements are equally applicable to the second group of States,* with a population of 2,698,157, which have to be referred to here. The only States, therefore, with which the arrangements require to be described are the following: Kashmir and the States under the political control of the Punjab Government, which may be conveniently dealt with together; the Hyderabad State; Mysore, and certain States in the Madras Presidency. We have mentioned in the introductory Section of our Report that opportunity was found for holding sittings at places conveniently situated for the attendance of the representatives of the Punjab Native States. The Commission was unable to visit Hyderabad, but the general views of the Nizam's Government were stated in a communication from the Minister, and the whole subject of opium as affecting that State was fully described by the senior member of the Board of Revenue, an English official in the employment of the Nizam. The opium question is not in any way prominent in Mysore and the Madras Native States, so that the omission to include them in the scope of our local inquiry does not affect the general conclusions at which we have been able to arrive.

Arrangements for Provision of Opium.

118. In Kashmir, the poppy is grown in Jammu, the southern province of the State, cultivation being free, and the average area under this crop is roughly estimated at 1,700 acres a year. About one-fifth of the opium produced is said to be consumed within Kashmir, and the remainder is exported to the Punjab. The cultivators are required to sell their produce either to State contractors, or to licensed dealers from the Punjab, and half the price realised by them is said to be claimed by the State. A system of licenses for retail vend is also in force, and the annual income derived from these two sources is placed at Rs. 47,000. It appears that under Sikh rule no attempt was made to limit the production or consumption of opium, either in Kashmir, or in the Punjab, and when British rule was established in the latter province, it was not considered advisable to place any restriction on the import of opium from Jammu into British territory, nor was it considered possible to prevent the cultivation of the poppy in the Native States under the political control of the Punjab Government. The individual circumstances of these States differ widely, but for the purposes of this inquiry they may be grouped broadly into two classes; those in which opium is produced in excess of local requirements, and those in which production is comparatively small, and the import for local consumption considerable. In the first group the total area under poppy is believed to be not more than 6,000 acres, and the chief cultivation is to be found in the Hill States, especially in those under the Simla Agency. The amount of opium produced cannot be said to be large in any of these States, but the poppy cultivation is important to them, as their revenues are small, and no import duty is charged on the opium imported into British territory, either from them, or from Kashmir. In the second group the Sikh States, especially Patiala, Jind, and Nabha, are the principal importers of opium. They draw their supplies partly from the Hill States, partly from the British districts where opium is produced, and partly from Malwa. The opium from the last-named source is allowed to be imported in specified quantities, on payment at the Ajmer scales of a specially reduced rate of pass duty, the whole of which is refunded to the States. The reason for this arrangement will be found in the geographical position of the outlying districts of these States in relation to Northern Rajputana, offering as it does great facilities for

* The principal States in this group are Kolhapur, Sawantwadi, Janjira, Akalkot, and the Southern Maratha and Satara Jagirs.

Whether existing arrangements for transit of Malwa opium to the sea can with justice be terminated.

Course of the present inquiry regarding the remaining

Protected States.

IV. p. 499.

IV. pp. 359-60, 500-504.

Arrangements with Kashmir and other Native States in the Punjab.

V. p. 126.

V. p. 104.

smuggling Malwa opium, and making it necessary to give them a direct interest, and so to secure their co-operation in stopping this illicit trade.

Arrange-
ments in
force with
the Hyder-
abad State.

IV., p. 500.

119. We have next, to examine the opium arrangements with the State of Hyderabad, the great Deccan offshoot of the Delhi Empire. Up to the year 1879-80 this State had paid but little attention to the subject. The consumption of the drug was considerable, and the supply was obtained partly from cultivation of the poppy within the State, and partly by import from Malwa, no pass duty being paid on the amount so imported. As the revenue derived by the State from this source was insignificant, the difference between the price at which opium could be sold in Hyderabad territory and the surrounding British districts respectively was considerable, and this fostered a brisk contraband trade between the two tracts. This fact was brought prominently into notice during the inquiries instituted in the districts having a common frontier with Hyderabad, in connexion with the introduction of the provisions of the Opium Act of 1878. It was then found that the bulk of the opium consumed in the Madras Presidency, where it was till that date untaxed, had been introduced by way of the Nizam's dominions, the frontier of which was too long to be guarded effectively without an excessively numerous and costly preventive force. As no opium was produced in the Southern Presidency, and the cultivation of the poppy had just been prohibited in Berar and the Central Provinces, Hyderabad was cut off from any imported supply except from Malwa, and this supply could be controlled, because the drug was not mentioned in the subsisting agreement with the Nizam's Government providing for reciprocal freedom of transit between British and Hyderabad territory. Negotiations, therefore, were set on foot, which resulted in the prohibition of poppy cultivation in that State, and in the agreement that all opium required for licit consumption by the Nizam's subjects should be obtained from Malwa. This was on the understanding that the British pass duty, as levied at the scales, should be credited to the Hyderabad State, and it was expressly stipulated that the amount of this duty should not be less than Rs. 600 a chest, except as a matter of future agreement. This arrangement has led to a marked increase in the revenue derived from opium by the Nizam's Government, and to a material enhancement of the retail price in that State. Either of the parties to the agreement is at liberty to withdraw from it on giving twelve months notice of this intention, and it has been stated on behalf of the Hyderabad State, that should the Government of India prohibit opium within British territory, and cancel the existing arrangement, the Nizam would claim the right to re-introduce poppy cultivation in his own dominions.

IV., p. 511.

II., p. 370.

27,903.

Arrange-
ments in
force with
Mysore and
Madras
States.

II., p. 370.

120. The large State of Mysore was administered as a British Province for about half a century, during which period the small cultivation of the poppy, previously in existence in a few special tracts was discontinued. The opium required for use in the State was imported from Malwa, and, after 1879, the whole arrangements were conducted in accordance with the general provisions of the Opium Act, 1878. In the instrument of rendition, executed in 1881, a special provision was inserted, under which the Chief binds himself to comply with the wishes of the Governor-General in Council in the matter of the production and distribution of the drug, and the system in force up to that date has accordingly been maintained. The small States connected with the Madras Government do not produce opium, but are supplied from Malwa. There is this difference, however, between the arrangement in their case and that with regard to Mysore, that the duty, less cost price is credited in the former case to the Government of India, and in the latter, to the importing State.

Consumption of Opium.

The con-
sumption of
opium in
these Native
States.

II. p. 356.

V. p. 126.

III. 16,218,
16,272,
16,280.

121. The character and extent of the opium consumption varies very much in the different States with which we have just dealt. In the States under the political control of the Madras Government there can hardly be said to be any custom of taking opium. The use of opium is also limited in Mysore, and in the second group of the States under the Bombay Government referred to in paragraph 117. As regards Kashmir the total amount said to be consumed is small, and only the Dogras and Sikhs and others from the Punjab are believed to take opium, while in the Punjab hill States it is estimated that from 5 to 8 per cent. of the inhabitants are consumers. The case, however, is different in the Sikh States and Hyderabad. The annual rate of consumption in Patiala is 426 grains, or, if Sikhs only be taken, about 946 grains per head, 160 grains in Jind, and 366 grains in Nabha. These rates, moreover, are founded on the returns of taxed opium, and it would probably be unsafe to assume that this represents the whole amount con-

sumed. In Hyderabad the average yearly consumption is returned at 31 grains per head for the whole population, but in the city the rate is about 124 grains. Opium is generally taken in the form of pills, but the custom of drinking *Kasumbha* is not followed, either in the Sikh States or in Hyderabad, though in the former the decoction made by steeping poppyheads in water is used to some extent. The smoking of preparations of the drug is little known. The practice is authoritatively forbidden in the Patiala State, and the keeping of shops for this purpose is said to be prohibited by law in the Nizam's dominions, though it is admitted that in practice the police do not interfere with *Madak* shops, of which there are a large number, in the Hyderabad city.

V. p. 125.

IV. p. 501.

27,904.

III.—General Conclusions regarding the Protected States.

122. It remains for us to summarise our general conclusions regarding the use of opium in the Protected States. In some of these States, especially in the South of India, the opium habit has practically no existence, and these conclusions, therefore, are mainly applicable to the Sikh States in the Punjab; to the Rajputana and Central India States; to Baroda and the States in Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch, and to Hyderabad. It may be said broadly that in these States opium occupies the same place as in British India. It is used as a domestic remedy, as a protection, so far as the belief of the people goes, against fever and chills, as a stimulant in the case of exhaustion from fatigue and exposure, and as a restorative in the declining years of life. It is also used as an aphrodisiac. The practice of administering opium during infancy is common throughout these States, and in Rajputana and Central India, is more widely prevalent, and probably of greater antiquity, than in other parts of the country; while in the same region, and in the group of States where Rajput influence is dominant, the customary use of opium at ceremonies and in social life has its strongest sanction. We think that it must be recognised that the social obligation to offer opium on these occasions is weaker than it was, owing to the operation of various causes which have been already discussed, but the evidence has shown beyond doubt that these customs still possess a very real hold on important classes of the population. The taking of opium by young men is regarded with disfavour, though this feeling is less marked among the Rajputs than among other classes, and smoking preparations of the drug is not only popularly condemned, but has been made the subject of prohibitory legislation or regulations in a number of States, though it may be doubtful how far the prohibition is really operative, except perhaps in Baroda. We are satisfied that these popular uses of opium, whether judged by the character and scope of the evidence given before us, or by the broad lessons to be learnt from the growth of population, cannot be said to cause any general deterioration, moral or physical, and we say this in full knowledge of the fact that among some of the higher classes of the community cases of excess, though never common, are probably more frequent in Native States than in British India. The Foreign Minister of Patiala, the chief Sikh State, speaks of the practice of taking opium as being moderate and reasonable, while excess is "extremely limited." The Minister of Hyderabad has stated emphatically that the use of opium does not constitute a public evil in that State, and the view expressed by the Maharaja Holkar, with reference to Indore, that the consumption of opium is, as a rule, moderate, and that a moderate use is not prejudicial in any way, has received the fullest support and confirmation from the evidence regarding the other Native States in that part of India. We consider, moreover, that the remarks on this subject made by Mr. Crosthwaite, the Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, deserve special weight. Mr. Crosthwaite is not prepared himself to say that the use of opium is either necessary or beneficial to health, though he speaks with confidence as to this view being held by a large proportion of the Native population. He points out, however, that if the use of opium necessarily or even generally led to excess, and so to the degradation of the consumers, these results would certainly be traceable in the statistics of population and in the decline of the village communities of Malwa, where opium consumption is relatively widespread and is known to have been in existence for centuries. But, in reality, no such decline is to be found, and the figures of the Census of 1891 show an increase of 9 per cent. in the population of these States during the preceding ten years. As to the general disposition of the people of the Protected States and their rulers there can be no question whatever. A large majority of the population look upon the use of opium in the ways already described, as an ordinary incident of their daily life, not open, at any rate, to objection. Interference with their personal habits and social customs would assuredly arouse feelings of resentment and discontent, which would be intensified in the case of the States where the pecuniary interests of the cultivators

General
conclusions
as to the use
of opium
in the Protected
States of
India.

III. 16,219-
20.

IV. p. 499,
para. 3.

IV. p. 102.

21,817.

21,812.

III. 16,316. and other classes are vitally affected. The Chiefs of the Sikh State of Nabha and of the petty State of Malia in Kathiawar are opposed to any use of opium, so far as their personal views go, and would be prepared to accept a policy of prohibition, if adopted by the Government of India, but these views are quite exceptional. The Native representatives of the more important States, as well as Government officials, who speak from large experience and intimate knowledge of the people, have given weighty expression to their apprehensions of the embarrassment and danger that would be caused by an attempt to enforce a policy which would inevitably be regarded as harsh and unjust. We have elsewhere stated our conviction that it would be impracticable to limit the consumption of opium in British India to medical purposes, strictly so called, and we are strongly of opinion that such a measure would be even more clearly impracticable in the case of the Protected States. It could only be enforced, so far as any real enforcement might be possible, by the employment of an army of spies and informers, and by a constant intrusion into the domestic concerns of the people; and it seems to us impossible to contemplate the results of this action with indifference. We are deliberately of opinion, and we speak with a serious sense of our own responsibility in the matter, that no Government, situated as the Government of India is situated, can afford to disregard the representations that have been made on this subject.

Right of interference to prohibit the use of opium in Protected States. II. 2523.

123. Finally, we consider it incumbent upon us to express an opinion as to the right of the Government of India to require the Protected States to carry into effect a policy of prohibition. This seems especially called for, because some of those who advocate this policy are apparently prepared to recommend recourse to compulsion, if necessary. We do this, however, with some reserve, as we fully recognise that the question is one of great delicacy. It has been mainly discussed in our Proceedings, in relation to the Rajputana and Central India States, and the matter, of course, has special importance in the case of the States that have a share in the export trade, though so far as the consumption of opium is concerned, all the independent States are interested in it. The enforcement of a policy of this character necessarily means an interference in the internal administration of these States, and it seems to be placed beyond question that the right on the part of the Paramount Power to exercise such interference is limited, by Treaty obligations and well-understood usage, to the single case of intolerable mis-government. It is, no doubt, true that the Government of India has on various occasions exerted its influence by way of advice and remonstrance, which must always carry more or less authority, with the object of putting an end to offences against public morality within the territories of Protected States. These, however, have been offences universally admitted to be such by the civilised opinion of the world, and we feel bound to accept the views expressed by the Agents to the Governor-General both in Rajputana and Central India, that in the history of the relations of the Government with these States there has been no precedent for any such interference as the prohibition of the use of opium, except for medical purposes, and the stoppage of the opium trade would constitute.

IV. 20, 782,
21,858.

IV. p. 110,
para. 7.

124. The case of suttee, has been particularly urged upon our attention as being a justification for the contemplated interference in the matter of the opium consumption and trade, and we have thought it right to ascertain the nature of the action taken by the Government of India in that case. Lord William Bentinck made suttee a criminal offence within the limits of British India in December 1829, but there was no attempt to force the reform at once upon the Protected States. It was left to the political officers associated with these States to induce them, by encouragement and guidance, to follow the example that had been set by the Government of India. Six years after the introduction of the regulation making suttee penal in British India, the widow of a Bombay Chief in Mahi Kantha was burnt alive, notwithstanding the protests of British officers; and even in 1861, or 32 years later, the Government of India found it necessary, owing to the not infrequent occurrences of suttee in Rajputana, to issue* orders that the Native Chiefs should be informed that neglect on

their part to exert themselves to prevent the perpetration of this crime would be viewed with grave displeasure, and made a ground for reducing their salutes to show that they were held in diminished honour.

We are of opinion, however, that the case of suttee can be distinguished, by the clearest line of cleavage, from the habit of taking opium. The prohibition of suttee was based on broad ethical grounds. The burning alive of widows, whether under the sanction of religion or not, was repugnant to civilised humanity, and, it may well be inferred, opposed to the real instincts of the people of India as being inhuman. The practice, moreover, at any rate in modern India, was a strictly aristocratic and sacerdotal practice, never really prevalent among the population, and there is good reason for believing that Lord William Bentinck's action was strongly supported, if not suggested, by enlightened public opinion in India. It would obviously be impossible to place the habit of taking opium in the category of crimes like suttee, and we have had convincing evidence not only that the habit is not opposed to the popular sentiment in the Protected States, but that any attempt to suppress it would be in complete opposition to the wishes of the mass of the people, as well as to those of the Chiefs, with one or two exceptions. It seems to us, therefore, that if the Government of India were to impose on these States the obligation to prohibit the use of opium, it would be going beyond the line of interference marked out by Treaty obligations and public pledges, and abandoning the attitude which they have adopted even in the case of reforms carrying behind them the weight of civilised opinion. Nor do we think the argument a sound one that, because suttee and other practices, closely associated with the Hindu religion, could be repressed without causing general discontent, the apprehensions expressed by numerous witnesses as to the result of prohibiting the consumption of opium may safely be regarded as having no real foundation. These practices never touched the home life of the people, but the opium habit, quite apart from the question of justification for interference, stands on ground of its own as being intimately bound up with the personal and domestic customs of the general population, and the effect of prohibition would, therefore, be proportionately far reaching.

* "It should be plainly stated to the Chiefs that, although as regards the occurrence of sati (suttee), the past year admits of a favourable comparison with preceding years, yet that of late years the Governor-General in Council has reason to know that in some Native States the chief authorities have not used that diligence to repress and punish the crime which the Governor-General in Council has a right to expect from them."

"It should also be stated that punishment by fine be resorted to, and that whenever local means of imprisonment are not available, the imprisonment should take place in a British gaol when the law admits of it."

"Further, it should be stated to the Chiefs that in any case in which the Government of a Native State shall neglect to exert itself to stop the perpetration of a sati, or to bring the offenders to punishment, the Governor-General in Council will consider the propriety of reducing the number of guns with which the Chief of the State is saluted, in order that it may be made plain to all India that the Queen's Government view such neglect with grave displeasure, and hold those who are chargeable with it in diminished honour."—*Letter from the Foreign Dept. Govt. of India to the Agent Governor-General, Rajputana, Nov. 12, dated the 20th December 1861.*

SECTION IV.

THE EXPORT OF INDIAN OPIUM TO CHINA AND THE STRAITS.

125. We have now to deal briefly with the question of the production of opium in India as affected by the moral and political considerations arising out of the connexion of the opium trade of India with China. The question of China was not explicitly referred to us by Your Majesty, but it is obvious that our inquiry would have been incomplete had we not devoted some considerable attention to it.

126. Of the Bengal opium manufactured at the Government factories of Patna and Ghazipur, that which is intended for export is technically known as "provision opium," and that reserved for consumption in India is called "excise opium." The relative amounts of the two manufactured in the year 1892-3 were 40,506 chests of provision opium, as against 2,109 chests of excise opium. Taking the average of the last 10 years, the respective quantities were 52,419 chests of provision opium, as against 4,023 chests of excise opium.* Of Malwa opium, the figures for 1892-3 are 27,268 chests passed for export by sea, as against 3,348 chests passed for consumption in India. Taking the average of the last 10 years, 33,758 chests were passed for export, against 3,093 chests passed for consumption in India.

127. The quantity of both Bengal and Malwa opium exported to China and the Far East is thus far larger than that consumed in India, to which it bears the proportion of about 12 to 1. It is plain, therefore, that the financial interests of India are far more deeply concerned in the export trade than in the home consumption of opium. The financial aspects of the question are discussed in the next Section of our Report, together with the effect of the stoppage of the export trade upon the question of exchange.

128. The following table, which is based on the return presented to us by the Government of India, gives the number of chests (of about 140 lbs. each) exported to different countries during the last 10 years. Of the total number of chests exported from India during the year 1892-3, 59,771, valued at Rx. 7,317,577, were despatched to China direct.

TABLE 12, showing the Number of Chests (of about 140 lbs.) exported.

Country to which exported.	1883-4.	1884-5.	1885-6.	1886-7.	1887-8.	1888-9.	1889-90.	1890-1.	1891-2.	1892-3.
China	83,728	75,391	76,115	83,124	76,815	72,891	70,102	70,855	70,805	59,771
Straits Settlement	7,320	10,134	10,728	11,896	12,368	13,995	13,719	13,915	15,035	12,609
Cochin China, &c.	771	910	1,000	1,150	670	725	1,050	480	880	2,170
Java	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	125	450
Philippines	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	280	470	170
Ceylon	83	167	77	94	102	90	119	103	113	127
Mauritius	44	25	19	38	67	5	60	55	53	53
Réunion	3	4	7	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
East Africa	11	7	7	16	19	18	16	17	6	10
Natal	3	—	2	1	1	13	2	1	6	5
United Kingdom	—	—	—	19	54	51	48	47	61	17
Other countries	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	4	1
Total exported	91,963	86,578	87,956	95,839	90,096	87,789	85,166	85,753	87,558	75,384

129. We may point out that according to information before us the amount of opium here returned against the Straits Settlements is far too large, and that against Java too small.† Opium is shipped from India to the former for distribution to Siam,

* The figures of excise opium are given by the Government of India in maunds. For the purpose of comparison, they have been reduced to provision chests at 1.70 maunds per chest.

† The totals in the above table are no doubt accurate, but the exporters do not appear in some cases to give the details of distinction correctly. The French and Siamese Governments have State monopolies of the import and sale of opium. The former Government imports to Saigon direct from Calcutta. The latter takes from 1,000 to 1,200 chests annually from Singapore. There is a large consumption of opium not only in Java, but also in the Dutch possessions in Sumatra, Borneo, the Celebes, and the Moluccas. In some of these tracts the Dutch Government, reserving to itself the right of import, brings opium from India and the Levant and supplies both kinds to the licensed vendors. In other tracts the licensed vendors are allowed to procure their own opium, which they appear to get mainly from Singapore. The total amount of opium legitimately imported in these ways into Dutch possessions in 1893 seems to have been equal to about 3,900 chests. In addition, the amount smuggled is admitted to be large. Some Dutch writers estimate it to be equal to the licit supply.

II. 5369-72.
V. p. 160.
V. p. 146.
V. App.
XXVII.
V. p. 344.
Friend of
China, XII.,
p. 61,290.

Tonking, and the Malay Archipelago. Witnesses informed us in Calcutta that the great bulk of the recorded imports into Singapore probably left the Colony again for other ports. In the Dutch possessions the drug is a State monopoly. The French Government in Tonking and Cochin China, again, has established a State monopoly of the manufacture of the smoking preparation mentioned under the title of *Chunda* in the Second Section of this Report and described in Sir William Roberts' Memorandum. The opium used in this manufacture is obtained from Calcutta.

130. We now proceed to discuss the moral and political aspects of the question as affecting China. In considering this branch of our subject it is obviously impossible for us to arrive at so definite and conclusive a judgment with regard to China as with regard to India. The moral and physical results of the use of opium in China must be gathered from the evidence of witnesses, and with few exceptions we had no opportunity of seeing these witnesses and of cross-examining them upon their statements. The political aspect of the question must depend largely on the view taken of some much controverted events in history. Subject to these necessary limitations, we proceed to give a brief summary of the results of our inquiry.

131. Prior to our departure from London, we took the evidence of 17 missionaries, representing various Societies, who had been resident in China for longer or shorter periods, and of Mr. B. Broomhall, the general Secretary of the China Inland Mission. The evidence of these witnesses was practically unanimous as to the evil effects of opium-smoking upon the Chinese, though that of Dr. W. Lockhart, a medical missionary of the London Missionary Society, was less pronounced than that of the others. We also took the evidence of one medical man who had been in private practice for 18 years in Canton and Hong Kong, and of a retired Government medical officer, who had been in the Straits Settlements for 25 years. The evidence of these two witnesses was considerably less adverse to the practice of opium smoking than that of the missionaries. We heard, also, the testimony of four gentlemen connected with commerce, of whom two were strongly adverse to opium, and two took a more favourable view of the practice. The other witnesses, with regard to China and the Far East, were Sir Thomas Wade and Mr. Lay, who gave evidence principally with regard to the negotiation of the Treaty of Tientsin and the Convention of Chefoo. Mr. S. Lockhart, the Protector of Chinese in Hong Kong, also gave evidence, stating that in his opinion it would be no more possible to enforce the prohibition of opium in Hong Kong than that of drink in the United Kingdom. We received, also, communications in writing from Sir G. Des Vœux, late Governor of Hong Kong, Sir Hugh Low, formerly Administrator of Perak, both of whom were opposed to any further interference, and from Mr. Duff, a merchant in China of 30 years' standing, whose opinion is—

"that in the circumstances of their living, food, climate, and habitations, opium has no deleterious effects upon the Chinese; indeed, quite the contrary, for it is a positive need, and they could not do without it."

A Note on the history of opium and the poppy in China, by Dr. Edkins, formerly a missionary, and now in the China Customs Service, at Shanghai, will be found in the Appendices to our Report. The author shows that the poppy (*papaver somniferum*) was cultivated in China as early as the 8th century.

132. We subsequently addressed circular letters of interrogatories to the Governments of the Straits Settlements and Hong Kong and to Your Majesty's Minister in China, the replies to which are given in the fifth volume of our Proceedings. We may briefly summarise the results of these inquiries.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

133. From the Straits Settlements reports were forwarded to us from several medical officers. The majority hold that opium, taken in moderate quantities, is not deleterious. If taken in excess the effects are degrading. The list of witnesses so reporting, includes Mr. Haviland, M.B., the curator of the Raffles Museum; Dr. W. C. Brown, J.P., private practitioner, Penang; Mr. T. S. Kerr, M.B., principal civil medical officer; Mr. W. Gilmore Ellis, M.D., M.R.C.S., superintendent of the lunatic asylum; Mr. J. C. Mugliston, colonial surgeon, Singapore; and Surgeon-Major D. O'Sullivan, stationed at Penang.

134. Two missionaries, the Rev. A. Lamont, of the English Presbyterian Church, and Mr. Shellabear, late R.E., working in connexion with the Methodist Episcopal Church of America, agree in the view that the effects of the opium habit are degrading. They strongly condemn the habitual use. The reports from officials of the Government

Scope of the inquiry as regards China.

Evidence taken in England.

I. 1668.

I. 1772.

I. 790, 1751, 1618, 2012.

I. 1394.

V. p. 143.

I. p. 111.

I. p. 146.

Summary of opinions as to moral and physical effects of opium.

V. pp. 146-184.

V. p. 118

of the Straits Settlements as to the effects of the use of opium in moderate quantities are mainly favourable. Mr. Maxwell, the Colonial Secretary, in summing up the replies which he has transmitted to us, agrees with those who think that opium-smoking does no harm to the Chinese, if practised in moderation, observing that moderation is the rule amongst the Chinese in that colony. In the case of Malays the injurious effects, physical and moral, are by general consent more evident. Following Dr. Brown, the obstetrical private medical practitioner in Penang, Mr. Maxwell, estimates that, of the Chinese adult males, about one-half are consumers. Three per cent. are slaves to the habit.

V. p. 173.

135. We may, in conclusion, quote from a communication received from Mr. John Anderson, J.P., merchant, Consul for Siam, and 32 years resident in the Straits, dealing with the habit of smoking opium. He writes as follows:—

"If its use be abused by excessive indulgence, the effects morally, physically, and socially, must decidedly be prejudicial to the consumer. Its use in moderation, as a stimulant to the system of men who engage in constant hard and trying physical labour, in my opinion, helps to the maintenance of the working powers."

"Some of the best and most capable Chinese artisans at the dock and machine-shop works and foundries in Singapore (blacksmiths, boiler-makers, riveters, &c.) are opium users."

"If it were desired, and if it were possible, to stamp out the use or abuse either of alcohol or of opium, I should certainly urge the stamping out first of the use or abuse of alcohol. Of the two, the latter, in my opinion, is productive of the greater harm and misery."

We may add that in this last observation the majority of the witnesses from the Straits Settlements concur.

HONG KONG.

Summary of
opinions as
to moral and
physical
effects of
opium.

V. p. 181-
212.

V. p. 143.

136. The interrogatories addressed to Hong Kong elicited replies almost identical with those received from the Straits Settlements. The Rev. John Chalmers, of the London Missionary Society, Ho Kai, a Chinese non-official doctor, and Tong Sing, a Director of the Tung Wa Hospital, strongly condemned the opium habit. The official opinion was favourable to the moderate use, and the list of such witnesses was long. It included men whose position should certainly ensure independent and honest judgment. The names are given in the foot-note below.*

137. Sir George Des Vœux, late Governor of Hong Kong, gave his opinion on the favourable side.

"For the consideration of the opium question the Colony of Hong Kong furnishes an object lesson the value of which could hardly be surpassed. Of its 220,000 inhabitants some 200,000 are Chinese, and wages, as compared with those of the mainland, being high, they are thus enabled to indulge more freely in the habit of opium-smoking, and they certainly do not fail to avail themselves of this ability. . . . All things considered it is probable that the population of Hong Kong smokes more opium than any other of equal number in the world, and yet relatively to the conditions of its existence, it is extraordinarily healthy, while for activity and industry it could scarcely be surpassed."

V. p. 192.

138. We may also quote the following extract from a communication received from Mr. Wodehouse, police magistrate at Hong Kong:—

"The social effects are more domestic than social, and are not characterised by any of the peculiarities which make a drunkard a nuisance to society at large as well as to his own domestic circle. They lie in the direction of impoverishment of the family, neglect of household duties, and other such tendencies. The general effects are in the nature of an individual given to the use of opium, are a general shiftiness of character, secretiveness, capricious memory, nervelessness, want of energy, and incapacity in the discharge of his avocations. The physical effects are in keeping with these symptoms, hollow drawn features, emaciated form, vacant looking eyes. All these characteristics however that I have mentioned are found noticeably only in the confirmed smoker, and if existing in the germ in the moderate consumer are not necessarily apparent, nor are they of necessity developed by a continuance of moderate consumption. Taking the Chinese population of Hong Kong in its entirety, although it is probable that the great majority of the male adults are consumers of opium, and although they have as much opium at their command as they may desire, there is nevertheless an entire absence of any general appearance of either moral or physical deterioration. The appearances are those of a busy, thriving, cheerful, well-to-do population, without a trace of any of the characteristics that one would find in a community debilitated by some known cause such as scarcity of food, epidemic of sickness, and so forth."

CHINA.

Summary of
opinions as
to moral and
physical
effects of
opium.

V. p. 214.

139. The replies we received from China, like the evidence tendered to us in London, were of a conflicting character. By the majority of the missionaries of every Christian communion in China the use of opium is strongly condemned. Other missionaries take a less decided view. Of these last two may be quoted. The Rev. W. Ashmore, of the

* J. Clarke, Chief Justice. Edward Ackroyd, Puisne Judge, Supreme Court. H. G. Mitchell Inner, Treasurer, Hong Kong. ("Effect of moderate smoking, nil.") R. Murray, Rumsey, R.N., harbour master. ("Physical effects not apparent to ordinary observer.") PH. B. C. Ayres, C.M.G., colonial surgeon, as above. W. Stanton, police inspector, as above. Alexander Turnbull, M.D., R.N., Deputy Inspector-General, as above. G. O. Preston, M.B. Surgeon Col., as above. James Cantlies, M.A., M.B., F.R.C.P., Department Public Health, as above. J. M. Atkinson, Government Civil Hospital, as above.

American Baptist Mission, 43 years a missionary in China, states that some men will use opium for years and not show marked results. The Rev. A. Bone, an English Protestant missionary, says:—

"The effects of opium vary, but it appears to me, that the ordinary Chinese have but a poorly developed moral sense on many matters, in regard to which the Christian nations of Europe hold decided opinions. The effects of opium, also physically, cover a wide range of experience. Many who smoke but twice or thrice a day do not appear to suffer any physical weakness. I question frequently men who tell me they have smoked for years, and no marks of physical deterioration are very manifest."

V. p. 218.

140. In the British Consular service in China the prevailing opinion is that opium-smoking in moderation is not harmful, and that moderation is the rule. The evil effects of excess do not thrust themselves prominently on the notice. A minority of the Consular service condemn the use of opium in any form as essentially bad. The medical opinions were in general accord with those of the Consular body. We may quote, for instance the statement of Dr. Rennie, referring to the Island of Formosa, where he resided for seven years; he writes that—

"By a high principled Chinaman, the use of opium would be pronounced degrading; but I do not think such is at all the general opinion. . . . A new arrival usually finds that his ideas, moulded on statements current at home, are immensely exaggerated; he seldom comes across that type of the degraded opium victim with the description of whom we have in our earlier days been so familiar. Still, after more mature experience and looking into the question with an unbiassed mind, he must admit that the habit is an evil. But what race has no pleasant vice? Opium is a solace to the wretched and luckless, and a stimulant to the hard-working and poorly-fed breadwinner, too often handicapped by malaria in the struggle for existence. As with most of nature's gifts to suffering humanity, abuse often converts the blessing into a curse. But look at the matter how we will, whether or not in its use or abuse it is a danger to the individual, to society, or to the State; we most unhesitatingly declare that the opium habit is in every respect a lesser evil than the consumption of alcohol."

V. p. 218.

We may also quote the following from Dr. Matthews, a medical missionary:—

"It occurs to me to add in connexion with the above answers that, upon my arrival in China, I was naturally prejudiced with regard to the opium habit, and that it is only on conviction that I now speak. To emphasise my position it is right to add that, apart from the interest I have taken in this matter for some years past and the constant desire to avail myself of all practical information, is the fact that as editor of the only medical journal in China, I have had more extended facilities for examining into the question than ordinarily falls to the individual medical man. Such being the case, I, though in all diffidence, state that it is my firm conviction that the evils of the opium habit, though they are many and great, have been exaggerated, and the good derived from it but little recognised. With regard to contrasting opium and alcohol, it seems to me but the conflicting of essential requirements of the eastern and western worlds."

V. p. 331.

We may also refer particularly to the answers of Dr. Myers, who, like Dr. Matthews, has made the effects of the opium habit the subject of special observation and inquiry.

V. p. 324.

141. On a review of the whole evidence in regard to opium-smoking among the Chinese, we conclude that the habit is generally practised in moderation, and that when so practised, the injurious effects are not apparent; but that when the habit is carried to excess, disastrous consequences, both moral and physical, inevitably follow. Assuming this conclusion to be well founded, we may fairly compare the effects of opium-smoking among the Chinese population to those of alcoholic liquors in the United Kingdom.

General conclusions as to the effects of the opium habit on the Chinese.

142. We now turn to the political aspect of the question. References to past history are a prominent topic in the speeches and pamphlets of those who are working for the prohibition of the export of opium from India to China. We do not feel that we are called upon, as a Commission, to pass a judgment on the disputed facts of history, nor are we qualified to do so. This aspect of the question has been dealt with in a Memorandum by our colleague, Sir James Lyall, supplemented by Notes prepared for us by Mr. Dane, of the India Civil Service, which are appended to our Report. We wish to express our general concurrence in the conclusions at which our colleague has arrived, that opium was exported from India to China before European nations appeared in the Indian seas; that opium-smoking was a habit in existence in China before British rule began in India, and at a time when British merchants took little or no part in the opium trade, and that to speak of opium as having been forced upon the Chinese is, to say the least, an exaggeration.

Political and historical considerations.

VII. p. 64.

See infra, p. 120.

143. It is less necessary, however, to review the history of the past, because the present relations of the trade between India and China are regulated by the Chefoo Convention, which was ratified as recently as the year 1885. Opium had been legalised as an article of import into China by the Regulations supplementary to the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858, the duty of 30 taels* per chest, which was then imposed upon the

Present position of Chinese Government in respect to imported opium.

* A tael is a piece of silver weighing 1½ oz.

China 3 of 1882, C. 3395, p. 15. Do., p. 56.

China 3 of 1886, C. 4735, p. 5.

China 3 of 1882 (C. 3395), p. 16.

VII. App. D.

144. Under clause 2 of the Additional Article to the Convention of Chefoo, the *li-kin* duty was finally fixed at a uniform rate not exceeding 80 *taels*, and the consolidated duty of 110 *taels* per chest is levied by the Imperial Maritime Customs at the port of entry, before the opium can be taken out of bond. In a despatch addressed to Lord Granville, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, by Sir Thomas Wade, British Minister at Peking, dated the 15th of June 1881, it is stated that although his Excellency Tso had, in the first instance, recommended a *li-kin* duty of 120 *taels*, Grand Secretary Li, after a little fencing, had reduced his colleague's demand to 80 *taels*. This was the amount at which, after protracted negotiations, it was finally fixed in 1885, and Lord Kimberley, then Secretary of State for India, in his despatch to the Government of India, dated the 22nd of January 1885, used the following language :—

" You will observe that the Chinese Minister's Memoranda of March 12th, 1883, and of September 27th last, * admit unreservedly that the agreement now under negotiation is of the Chinese Government's own proposing and includes all that they desire."

Additional Article, C. 17, 1886, p. 61. Treaty, C. xxviii. Extra Orders, 1890, p. 351. Regulations, C. 1 and 2. Extra Orders, 1892, p. 316.

145. The existing regulations, therefore, must be taken to be in accordance with the wishes of the Chinese Government. The Convention is terminable by either Government at 12 months' notice, in which case the provisions of the Treaty of Tientsin would revive, and the Chinese Government would be at liberty to levy *li-kin* at any rate they might think proper. In 1897 the Chinese Government could give notice of a revision of the Tariff and Commercial Regulations under the Treaty of Tientsin, to take effect from 1898. They would then be at liberty to raise the import duty to any rate they think fit, or to include opium in the category of contraband, as ammunition and salt are included under the existing provisions. With regard to the future, we have the declaration of Sir James Fergusson, as Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, made in the House of Commons on April the 10th, 1891 :—

" That if the Chinese Government thought proper to raise the duty to a prohibitive extent, or to shut out the article altogether, this country would not expend ££ in powder or shot, or lose the life of a soldier in an attempt to force opium upon the Chinese."

146. We come, therefore, to the conclusion that at the present time there is nothing in the attitude of the British Government that can fairly be described as forcing opium on the Chinese.

Discontinu-
ance of
exports from
India imprac-
ticable and
useless.

Consular
Decentr.
Reports,
1893.

Consular
Dec. Report,
pp. 415, 483.

147. We now return to the general results of our inquiry. We have pointed out that the evidence as to physical and moral injury caused by the consumption of opium by the Chinese is conflicting, and we are of opinion that to stop the trade in Bengal opium would have no practical result in reducing the use of the drug. We are satisfied that the place of the Bengal opium would be taken either by Chinese-grown produce or by that from Malwa or other countries. As to the amount of home-grown opium in China, it is impossible to obtain accurate statistics; by some witnesses it has been stated to be five times the amount of the imported drug; by others it is placed at a smaller amount. From the Consular Reports, however, we gather that the poppy is cultivated in 16 out of the 18 provinces of the Empire, that its cultivation is increasing, and that the produce has completely driven the Indian article out of many parts of China. The importation of the latter, accordingly, is diminishing, and, except in certain coast provinces and in the Treaty Ports, its use is chiefly confined to the upper classes. In the third Section of our Report we have shown that it is impossible for the British Government, consistently with its position as Paramount Power in India, to stop the export of Malwa opium, which constitutes more than a third of the whole export from India,† and it is certain that if the Government were to stop the export of Bengal opium, the production and export of Malwa opium would be proportionately increased. It may be added that Persian opium already competes seriously with that from India in some provinces. The Financial and Commercial Returns published by the Government of India in 1894 (p. 67) show that in 1893 about 12,000 chests of Persian and Turkish opium were imported into China. It is reported by the Consuls that in Formosa the Indian opium has been almost completely superseded by the supply from those countries.

148. Upon the whole matter, we adopt as our own the conclusions of Mr. O'Connor, V. p. 229. Your Majesty's Minister at Peking :—

" If the use of the drug in China depended upon the supply received from India, it might be a practical question what measures could or ought to be taken to discourage its importation. But, in my opinion, this is not the issue. The quantity of opium produced in China is increasing enormously; even the nominal prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy no longer exists throughout, I may say, the whole Empire; and were the importation of Indian opium to be stopped, China would, in a few years, so increase her production as not only to supply her own wants, but probably to export opium to foreign countries."

149. We may add that this view is shared by most of the missionaries who have answered our interrogatories. We quote the following replies to our question: " If the supply of Indian opium were cut off, what would be the effect on opium-consumers in China?" The Rev. Dr. Dudgeon :—

" At present it would be without any effect; the smokers would smoke more of the native." (V. p. 230.)

Dr. Atterbury :—

" The stoppage of the Indian supply would lead to increased use of the native article." (V. p. 232.)

The Rev. Dr. Griffith Johns :—

" The opium-consumers in that case would resort to the Chinese-grown opium, that is, unless the growth of the native article were effectually stopped by the Chinese Government." (V. p. 265.)

The Rev. J. Macintyre :—

" We are already independent of Indian opium in Manchuria. The Chinese article has run out the foreign. Now that the Chinese Government has legalised the growth of native opium, the quantity cultivated is already more than suffices for local consumption." (V. p. 272.)

* Given as the 30th September in Return, C. 4418 (5 of 1885).

† Average of last 10 years: Bengal, 52,000 chests; Malwa, 33,000.

SECTION V.

FINANCIAL CONSIDERATIONS.

150. In dealing with the subject before us, it is evident that great weight must be attached to financial considerations. We have to consider not only the actual loss of revenue, but also the collateral expenditure that would be necessary, first, in the direction of maintaining an effective system of preventing illicit production and sale of opium, and, secondly, by way of compensation to various interests concerned in the British Provinces and the Protected States of India. Each of these points will be treated in succession.

151. As regards the direct loss of revenue we have before us a comprehensive statement furnished by the Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Finance and Commerce, showing for the last 14 years the gross and net revenue derived from opium, whether under the head of Opium or Excise. For the last year of the series, 1893-94, the Budget Estimate alone was available at the time the figures were compiled. The information thus provided is summarised in the following statement:—

TABLE 13, showing REVENUE from OPIUM between 1880-1 and 1893-4.

Head of Account.	1880-81.	1893-94 (Budget Estimate.)	Averages.			
			1880-81 to 1883-84.	1884-85 to 1888-89.	1889-90 to 1893-94.	1880-81 to 1893-94.
REVENUE.						
CREDITED TO OPIUM:—	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
(a.) Bengal sales -	7,683,558	5,463,000	7,210,759	6,183,398	5,978,476	6,403,743
(b.) Malwa Pass-duty -	2,526,236	1,645,000	2,403,732	2,360,464	1,758,243	2,157,748
(c.) Cost of Excise opium -	225,046	199,000	202,545	197,108	212,001	203,980
(d.) Miscellaneous -	15,211	9,200	32,611	11,978	8,079	17,552
TOTAL, OPIUM -	10,480,051	7,316,200	9,849,647	8,755,948	7,956,799	8,783,023
CREDITED TO EXCISE:—						
(a.) License fees -	213,648	241,595	231,211	252,165	262,677	250,789
(b.) Profit on opium issued -	553,191	669,589	602,070	657,198	718,680	663,512
(c.) Punjab acreage duty -	3,076	3,000	3,969	3,327	3,772	3,592
TOTAL, EXCISE -	769,915	914,184	839,979	912,990	985,129	917,890
TOTAL REVENUE -	11,249,966	8,230,384	10,689,626	9,668,938	8,941,928	9,700,916
EXPENDITURE.						
UNDER OPIUM:—						
(a.) Bengal -	2,026,411	2,250,000	2,052,808	2,748,393	1,896,125	2,245,273
(b.) Malwa -	1,917	3,900	2,023	3,711	3,862	3,283
TOTAL, OPIUM -	2,028,408	2,253,900	2,054,831	2,752,107	1,899,987	2,248,556
UNDER EXCISE -	9,505	8,180	8,467	6,512	8,003	7,603
REFUNDS -	109	100	760	170	63	300
EXPENDITURE IN ENGLAND -	106	1,100	1,227	3,064	1,057	1,822
TOTAL EXPENDITURE -	2,038,128	2,263,280	2,065,285	2,761,853	1,909,110	2,258,281
NET REVENUE -	9,211,838	5,967,104	8,624,341	6,907,085	7,032,818	7,442,635

152. The net revenue from opium, on an average of the 14 years, as shown in the last column of the above table, is Rx. 7,442,635. During the last five years, however, the average has been only Rx. 7,032,818. For the year 1893-4 this revenue, according to the Budget Estimate, was Rx. 5,967,104, and according to the Revised Estimate presented to Parliament in April, 1894, was considerably less. It was affected, amongst other causes, by a fall in prices following upon the closing of the Indian mints, but later reports show that this fall was of a temporary character, that prices

in Calcutta have again risen, that it has consequently been possible to increase the rate of pass duty on Malwa opium,* and that there is a prospect of a larger revenue for the current financial year.

153. Into the details of Indian finance it is neither our wish nor our duty to enter. The general position is ascertainable from statements presented to Parliament. We must, however, point out that opium is at the present time one of the largest sources of revenue to the Indian Government. The average figures for the last five years are given in the table below. We may further point out that, owing to various causes, notably to the necessity of discharging sterling obligations in a depreciated currency, the resources of the Indian Government are at the present moment strained to the utmost. The difficulty of increasing their revenue from any fresh sources of taxation is at present being illustrated by the efforts of the Indian Government to make up the existing deficit by the re-imposition of the cotton and other import duties. The contraction of expenditure imposed upon the Government by the present state of the public finances prevents them from providing funds for objects admitted on all sides to be important. The general development of the country is thus materially retarded, even with the existing revenue. It is hardly possible, therefore, to exaggerate the difficulties that would result from the curtailment of its resources to the extent involved in the abandonment of the receipts from opium, or to suggest any means by which the gap in its revenue could be filled up.

Importance
of the opium
revenue.

II. 2058,
2072.

TABLE 14, showing the AVERAGE NET REVENUE under the PRINCIPAL HEADS, for the five years ending 1893-4.

(Compiled from the Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India up to 1892-3, and from the Budget Estimate for 1893-4.)

Heads of Revenue.	Net Revenue.	Per-centage on total Net Revenue.
	Rx.	
Land	20,517,972	40·87
Salt	8,028,861	16·00
Opium	7,032,820	14·01
Stamps	4,072,223	8·11
Excise	3,878,122	7·73
Provincial rates	3,502,292	6·98
Assessed taxes	1,603,297	3·19
Customs	1,460,182	2·91
Forests	661,171	1·32
Registration	188,025	0·38
Tribute from Native States	775,180	1·54
Total	51,723,445	103·04
Deduct assignments and compensation	1,526,445	3·04
Net Revenue	50,197,000	100·00

154. We have next to consider the indirect results upon the finances of India of the proposed prohibition of the production and sale of opium except for medical purposes. In the third Section of our Report we have given strong reasons for holding that the British Government cannot, with due regard to the obligations which regulate its relations with the Protected Chiefs, extend a measure of prohibition to their territories, or withdraw the right of transit of Malwa opium for export by sea. We assume, therefore, for the purposes of argument, that the measure in question would be introduced into British Provinces only, and that opium would accordingly continue to be produced in Native States. The establishment necessary to form a line between these States and British territory, in order to stop the introduction of opium into the latter, would be numerous and costly, while it would be vain to expect that it would be effective, though, no doubt, the prevention of the transit of opium, in large quantities, through British territory for export by sea would not be beyond the power of the Government of India. Some establishment also would be required especially in Bengal, to restrict the cultivation of the poppy in British territory, and to exercise those powers of search and of apprehension which would be necessary to prevent consumption for other than medical purposes. No approximate estimate of the cost of these measures has been presented to us.

Indirect
loss of
revenue:—
(1.) on
account of
cost of
preventive
measures.

* Gazette of India Notification of the 11th December 1894.

(2.) On account of compensation to interests in British Provinces.

II. 5306,
5567, 6271.
III. 11,420.

II. 5305.

III. 10,795,
10,813,
10,965,
11,129,
12,175,
12,346,
12,375,
13,693.

III. 14,363
14,397,
19,459.

II. 5251, p.
400 (map).
III. 11,522,
10,802,
10,815.

III. 13,694,
14,914,
19,535-41,
V. p. 98.

e.g. Assam.
II. p. 454.

IV. p. 512,
(par. 12).

155. On the same assumption, there would arise the question of compensation payable to landowners and cultivators of the poppy in British Provinces. On this question we have received no direct expression of the views of the Government of India. The subject is an intricate one, and the evidence given before us was of a conflicting character. In the first place, the terms of assessment of the Government demand on account of Land Revenue differ in the different Provinces where the poppy is cultivated. In the districts under what is known as the Permanent Settlement, introduced by Lord Cornwallis in 1793, it seems clear that the landowners could have no claim to a reduction of their assessment in the event of poppy cultivation being prohibited. There is no doubt, however, that such a measure would reduce the profits of the large body of tenants who have hitherto been allowed to cultivate the poppy in these districts. The evidence given before us conclusively proves that to the smaller cultivators in particular, and to those who have no good market for garden crops, the advances and the fixed price obtained from Government for the crude opium are a valuable resource. Whether it would be necessary on equitable grounds to compensate these cultivators is a difficult question upon which we are unwilling to express a decided opinion. We do not think that the landowners could be compelled to grant them reductions of rent. In the other Provinces periodical revisions of the assessment are carried out, and here the question stands on a rather different footing. It was stated before us by several Settlement Officers that, though the assessment is based in theory on the class of soil and existing rentals, not on the particular crop ordinarily grown, yet, practically, both the rentals and the classification of the soil are largely influenced by the crops which have been usually raised in the past. The general view, therefore, was that in estates where the cultivation of the poppy has hitherto been permitted, tenants' rents would have to be reduced, and the landowners would be equitably entitled to claim a reduction of their assessment to Land Revenue. Neither landowners nor tenants would be compensated fully by such reduction. It may be noted that the districts where the poppy is cultivated are the most densely populated in India, and it was confidently stated that the effect of prohibition on the poorer class of cultivators, in particular, would be that they would be reduced to a still lower condition of life. The Settlement Officers of Lucknow and Rai Bareilly roughly estimated the reduction of Land Revenue which would be required in those districts, at Rupees 100,000 and Rupees 200,000 respectively. On the other hand, it is certain that poppy cultivation has in the past been prohibited without payment of compensation in several Provinces, and also, from time to time, in different districts of Bengal and the North-west Provinces. It should be added, however, that in the case of the Central Provinces, where poppy cultivation was prohibited in 1878, it has been found, in the course of the revision of assessments now in progress, that the rents for land formerly under that crop had been allowed to remain too high. These rents have therefore had to be reduced, and this has involved a reduction of the Land Revenue demand.

Our general conclusion, therefore, is, that the sudden discontinuance of the cultivation of a crop which occupies so high a place in agricultural economy cannot fail to be productive of very great hardship to the community. We do not consider that the Government could justly issue an order of prohibition in periodically re-settled tracts, where the poppy had previously been grown under State licence, without allowing to the landowners some reduction of the State demand, on the condition that a proportionate reduction should be made in the rent charged by them to their tenants. The extent of such compensation could only be ascertained after a minute inquiry by officers familiar with the local Land Revenue system and administrative arrangements. It would be obviously beyond the province of Your Commissioners to frame an estimate of the amount that would have to be abated from the current demand on the considerations above mentioned.

156. Assuming, however, that it were possible to interfere in the Protected States, either by the prohibition of production or by the stoppage of transit of Malwa opium for export by sea, a second case for compensation would arise on behalf of the Chiefs, cultivators, and other interests in the Protected States where the poppy is now cultivated or opium is consumed. We have referred to this subject in the third Section of our Report. It was there made clear that in none of the cases where the question is of great importance to the State, either socially or financially, does the Chief show any disposition to regard pecuniary compensation as an equivalent for the curtailment of his privileges. The loss likely to result from the prohibition was estimated before us by the representatives of the States of Rajputana and Central

India at Rs. 2,977,790 and Rs. 1,602,370 respectively, a large proportion being in the form of an annual payment. There are, no doubt, items in these statements which would be considered inadmissible, if the matter came to be regarded in the light of a formal and definite claim. The details would, necessarily, have to be scrutinised and checked by those well acquainted with the administration and general circumstances of those States, after an exhaustive local investigation. So far as the present inquiry is concerned, we find that in the case of these claims the detail of the estimate is too great and the ground to be covered is too wide for us to attempt to reduce the statement of possible loss to figures. We have ample reason, however, for concluding that the amount of the claims that would inevitably find place in any award based on the liberal terms that, in the circumstances, would have to be adopted, could not fail to be a serious additional strain on the financial resources of India.

157. We have not considered it necessary to call upon the Government of India to furnish us with any statement or suggestion as to the means by which the loss of the revenue from opium could be supplied, or the sources from which funds could be provided for additional preventive establishments and for satisfying the large claims for compensation that would have to be accepted. We may quote, however, the following from the evidence of Sir David Barbour, Financial Member of the Governor General's Council on the subject:—

"We may fairly take the total net revenue from opium at Rs. 6,000,000 yearly at the present time. I have no hesitation in saying that it would be impossible to carry on the administration of India if the revenue was reduced by Rs. 6,000,000. As it is, there is considerable difficulty in making revenue balance expenditure; and for my part I would positively refuse to attempt the task if the revenue were reduced by Rs. 6,000,000. Some revenue could, of course, be raised by additional taxation, but not Rs. 6,000,000. I have no doubt that the people in this country would bear some additional taxation, if the taxation were imposed in consequence of some disaster which we could not have avoided; but the imposition of heavy or perhaps of any considerable amount of taxation on the people of India, in order to make good the loss of revenue caused by interference with the consumption or export of opium, would cause most serious discontent among the people of India. I should be most unwilling to face the consequences of taxation imposed for such a purpose."

II. 2058.

There is one other consideration that has been put forward as regards the loss of revenue, that if the export of opium from India were prohibited, the measure might be spread over a series of years, say, 30, so that the loss of revenue would be gradual and Indian revenue and expenditure would have time to adjust themselves to the altered conditions. Against that proposal I desire to protest in the strongest terms. It would throw on posterity a burden which we are unable and unwilling to take upon ourselves, and there is no good reason to suppose that posterity will be in a better position to bear the burden than we are."

We may quote, also, from the evidence of Mr. R. Steel, representing the Bengal Chamber of Commerce:—

II. p. 160.

(5753.) "I have not been concerned in any way in the opium trade to China."

(5755.) "On the financial position the commercial community consider that it is impossible for us to do without the opium revenue; that no substitute can be found for it. They consider that it would be bitterly resented by all classes throughout India if an attempt were made to take away the opium revenue."

(5762.) "I should view any substantial change in the policy of the Government in relation to the opium revenue with great regret. In my opinion, any proposal to do away with the opium revenue would be met by such a tremendous agitation throughout India that no responsible Government would venture to go on with it."

The evidence of the Honourable Mr. Macdonell, President of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, and member of the Legislative Council of the Governor of Bombay, is as follows:—

IV. p. 314.

(27,539.) "My firm is not interested in buying or selling opium; we have nothing to do with it as merchants."

(26,841.) "In the last three years the annual average of the exports (of opium) was Rs. 9,250,000. It is one of the largest trades in the country. It is an extremely important trade, and if at one blow you sweep it away, you must destroy the livelihood of the very large number of people who are engaged in it."

(26,848.) "It would be possible by doubling the salt tax to make up for the loss of revenue which would arise from the prohibition of opium; but that, I take it, would be considered an extremely harsh measure, as affecting the very poorest classes throughout the length and breadth of India."

(26,850.) "There are only two new taxes I have seen suggested—taxes on tobacco and sugar. But there, again, arises a difficulty. You grow these articles all over India, and the cost of preventive measures would be so great that the taxes would be unworkable."

It is clear that the required amount could only be obtained by an addition to the taxation of the country of a nature to reach down to the masses. The evidence as to the disposition of the people in regard to this point is discussed in the next Section of our Report. It may be considered unanimously adverse to the imposition upon India of the cost, either wholly or in any part, of the prohibitive measures which have been proposed.

Suggestions
in relief
of the
financial
difficulty.
II. 2572-S.

II. 2073-6,
5760.
5782-4.
IV. 26,867-9,
26,856.

II. 2070.

158. We proceed to consider a suggestion which has been made as a set-off to the financial difficulty. It has been pressed upon us by some witnesses, favourable to prohibition, that the direct loss occasioned to the Indian finances by the discontinuance of the production and sale of opium would in all probability have a very beneficial effect on raising the gold value of silver, by stopping the drain of that metal from China to India, in payment for the opium sent from the latter country. This argument will be taken for what it is worth by experts in problems of currency and finance. We can only point out that it finds no support in the evidence given before us by Sir David Barbour, as representing the Government of India, and by the representatives of the chief mercantile bodies of Calcutta and Bombay. Mr. Macdonell stated that the opium crop constitutes about one-tenth of the entire exports from India, and Sir David Barbour, speaking of the effect of the stoppage of the opium exports upon the balance of trade and the question of exchange, expressed the following views:—

"Apart from the question of losing revenue which at present I can see no means of replacing, the destruction, or serious reduction, of one of the most valuable articles of our export trade would have consequences on the rate of exchange which might prove disastrous at a time when we are attempting to introduce a gold standard into India. The success of that measure depends very largely upon the proportion which is maintained between Indian exports and imports, and anything which would materially reduce our exports would have injurious consequences, and might produce evils which would prove irreparable. * * * I have served for thirty years in India; I have been connected with the Finance Department for more than twenty-one years; I was a member of the Royal Commission on Gold and Silver which sat in England for two years, and I have made a special study of the Exchange question; and I wish to give this Commission the most solemn warning as to the probable consequences of destroying the Indian opium revenue. * * * My connexion with India and with the Government of India will come to a close before another week has passed, and I desire to place this deliberate opinion on record as the outcome of experience which, I think I may fairly say, is of its kind not surpassed by that of any other living Indian official."

159. There is an alternative method of supplying the Government of India with the requisite funds on which we think it desirable to record some observations, although the subject does not fall within the Order of Reference. It has been suggested by the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, and the suggestion was referred to on several occasions in evidence before us, that the Exchequer of the United Kingdom might come to the aid of the Government of India in meeting the loss of revenue which would arise out of the prohibition of the production and sale of opium for other than medical purposes. We have no official statement on the part of the Society of the extent to which, in its opinion, the Home Treasury should contribute towards the cost of carrying out that measure. As to the disposition of the British Government towards such a proposal we have only the evidence of the reply given to the deputation from the Anti-Opium Society in November, 1892, by Lord Kimberley, then Secretary of State for India:—

"I am bound to say that I have not the slightest reason to suppose that there will be any disposition on the part of the Treasury to place a heavy burden upon the taxpayers of this country, for the purpose indicated. I do not think there is any warrant for this. I am speaking as the Minister responsible for India, now, and I do not think that such a proposition to the Treasury, no matter what the Government in power, would be likely to meet with a favourable response."

I. p. 163-4.
II. 2116,
2467,
2561-9,
2733.
III. 12,548
-50, 13,957
14,769-67,
18,308.

SECTION VI.

THE QUESTION OF PROHIBITION.

160. The Order of Reference shows that the main question we have to answer, to which all the rest are subservient or subsidiary, is that of prohibition. This may, we think, be formulated as follows:—

(I.) What is the weight of the moral objections urged against the system by which the Indian opium revenue is at present raised; and are those objections so strong as to make it advisable, having due regard to political, financial, and administrative obstacles, to prohibit the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in British India, except for medical purposes? The question formulated.

(II.) If prohibition were adopted in British India, could it be extended to the Protected States?

(III.) If prohibition could not be extended, then, on what terms, if any, could the existing arrangements with certain States for the transit through British territory of Malwa opium be with justice terminated?

Of these three questions, the second and third, which are subsidiary to the first, have been already dealt with in our third Section, because the answer to them depends directly upon the history of the Malwa opium system, and the relations of the Protected States to the Government of India which are there described. It will be useful, however, to give here a brief summary of the conclusions at which we have arrived.

A.—PROHIBITION IN THE CASE OF THE PROTECTED STATES.

161. As to the extension to the Protected States of the prohibition of the growth of poppy and manufacture and sale of opium except for medical purposes, we found it proved that the Rulers of those States are not prepared, of their own free will, to follow the example of the Government of India in such a policy. To attempt to impose prohibition authoritatively would be a breach of the well-understood limitations of the right of the Paramount Power to interfere in matters of internal administration. We find no precedent which makes the opium question an exception to the general rule. It is true that the Government of India has from time to time used its influence and its opportunities to induce certain States to prohibit production of opium, and the transit of Malwa opium through their territories and to make other internal arrangements in support of the system of opium excise prevailing in adjacent British districts. They, however, are States in which opium has never been produced in considerable quantities, and the special arrangements rest upon Treaties or Agreements whereby a supply of opium from outside is secured for the internal consumption of the States, and for the realisation by the Chiefs of an excise revenue from their subjects. If that supply were to be cut off or restricted, the Chiefs would cease to be bound by these Agreements, and many of them have taken care to have it asserted before us that such is their view of the position. No grounds for authoritative prohibition.

162. Nor did we find anything which could justify the British Government in making a new departure or creating a new precedent towards the Protected States in connexion with the policy of prohibition. We are satisfied that the opium habit, even in the States where it is most prevalent and where there is no restriction, cannot be said to be causing extensive moral or physical degradation. In the States where the consumption is large, the habit is of long standing, and is often connected with old social customs or religious observances; but even in these States the tendency of the present day is not towards increase. The imitation of European manners, and the diminishing force of religious commandments and tribal customs, due to English education, tend to make alcohol more popular as a stimulant with those who set the fashion to the rising generation.

163. Even if authoritative prohibition had been shown to be desirable, the difficulties in the way of enforcement are, we believe, insurmountable. There is no class in these States in favour of prohibition whose goodwill would support the Government of India in such a stretch of its authority. On the contrary, the measure would be resented by Chiefs and subjects alike, even in the States where the opium habit is not common or where the drug is not extensively produced. In such circumstances it is highly improbable that prohibition, if imposed, would be effectually enforced, even though establishments were maintained by the Government of India for inspection and for detection of breaches of the law. The Government of India would be obliged to Enforcement of prohibition impracticable.

compel the Ruler of the State, not only to enact laws to punish the cultivation of the poppy and sale of opium, but also to make his courts enforce such laws. For these reasons we come to the conclusion that the policy of prohibition in the Protected States is inadvisable.

164. As to the further question, on what terms, if any, the existing arrangements with certain States for the transit of Malwa opium through British territory for export by sea, can, with justice, be terminated, our conclusions were as follows: We found that the trade was of old standing, long antecedent to British rule in India, and that its stoppage would impose serious loss and trouble on the Rulers of the States and upon great numbers of their landowners, cultivators, bankers, and merchants. We held, therefore, that the right of transit could not now be withdrawn with justice, except by voluntary agreement with the States, which, if obtained at all, would involve payment by the Government of India of large pecuniary compensation to the Chiefs and their subjects, in addition to the direct loss of about Rs. 2,000,000 of revenue from transit duty.

165. There is a further consideration to which much weight must be attached, namely, that if the transit of Malwa opium to the sea for export were stopped, without the enforcement in the States concerned of the prohibition of production and internal consumption, it would be a matter of the greatest difficulty, if not of impossibility, to prevent extensive smuggling into British territory. Even at present, with the legitimate outlet afforded by the sea trade and by the demand to meet the consumption of a large part of British India and of many Protected States, there is considerable smuggling of Malwa opium into British Provinces. With all legitimate outlets closed, this smuggling would, no doubt, greatly increase, and the present co-operation on the part of the Native Rulers could no longer be relied on. The Government of India might possibly succeed in stopping the exit of opium in chests or packages suitable for shipping, but it would be impracticable to prevent a vast number of small parcels from entering British districts from every side, except by the permanent employment, for a long period, of an enormous protective establishment.

166. The moral objections which have been raised to the export of the Malwa opium, rest upon the assertion that the habit of smoking opium which prevails in China and other parts of the Far East, causes extensive moral and physical degradation. We have reviewed the evidence on this point in the fourth section of our Report, and have agreed that the effects of the use and abuse of opium in China are fairly comparable with those of intoxicating liquors in England. Such effects do not, in our opinion, constitute an objection to the Malwa export trade which makes it morally incumbent upon the rulers of the Protected States to put a stop to what is a private industry. The attitude of the Government of India towards the trade is purely restrictive. It imposes as high a transit duty as the trade can bear. It must be remembered, that in the similar case of the export of alcoholic liquors from England, by manufacturers and merchants, no check is exercised, and no duty is imposed.

B.—PROHIBITION IN THE CASE OF BRITISH PROVINCES.

167. We now come to the question of prohibition in British Provinces. We think it can be most conveniently treated by dealing first with the export trade in Bengal opium, and afterwards with the consumption of opium in India. The moral objections to the present system, so far as the export trade in Bengal opium is in question, are, first, the effects in China, which we have considered in the preceding paragraph, and, secondly, the fact that the Bengal opium exported to China and elsewhere, is manufactured and sold to the exporting merchants by officers of the Government of India. It is not considered right that the Government should have any connexion with the export of a drug which is believed to have evil results, or that India should derive revenue from what is said to be injurious to China.

168. It is evident that the position of the Government of India in relation to the trade in Bengal opium is to some extent invidious. But so long as the importation of Indian opium is allowed by the Chinese Government, and is not imposed upon it by intimidation or pressure of any kind, we are not of opinion that the objection based upon the effects of the opium habit in China, or upon the peculiar relations of the Government of India with the trade, are, from a moral standpoint, sufficiently strong to call for interference on the part of the British Government. If the Government of India maintains a restrictive attitude to the export of Indian opium by taxing the Malwa drug, and by limiting the amount of Bengal opium put on the market, and so keeping the price high, we think its position is defensible, and that with

reference to its duties to the people of India it cannot be justly required to go further and to extinguish the trade. In regard to the admission of Indian opium, China is now, at all events, a perfectly free agent. The Convention of 1855, by which the trade is now regulated, is based on principles specifically proposed by the Chinese Minister who conducted the negotiations, as being those most favoured by the Court of Peking. It contains all the provisions which the Chinese Government had pressed upon that of Great Britain, and, in the words of the Marquis Tseng,* those provisions "find their strongest guarantee in the moral obligation imposed upon his Government by the consideration that the arrangement was of that Government's own proposing." Lord Kimberley, then Secretary of State for India, in announcing to the Government of India his acquiescence in the terms proposed by the Chinese, gave one of his reasons for so doing in the following words:—

"6. Finally, the Anti-Opium agitation in this country, already serious, and likely to be yet more formidable in a new House of Commons, is a factor in the present question to be taken into grave consideration. For some time past, the leaders of that movement in Parliament have been chiefly insisting upon the injustice of preventing China from doing what she desires as regards the taxation of Indian opium. If the present Chinese proposals are accepted, the answer to this argument will be obvious and conclusive. You will observe that the Chinese Minister's Memoranda of March 12th, 1883, and of September 27th last, admit unreservedly that the Agreement now under negotiation is of the Chinese Government's own proposing and includes all that they desire."—*Desp. No. 7 of 22nd January 1885.*

It may be added that there is no evidence from China of any popular desire that the import of Indian opium should be stopped.

169. But even if the objections to the trade with China were stronger than they are, there are many and great obstacles to the abandonment by the Government of India of their present position. We have shown, in the fifth Section of our Report, that the financial results to India of the withdrawal from the production and sale for export of Bengal opium would be disastrous. Amongst the people of India there is no party in favour of the surrender of the profits of the opium monopoly for the sake of a problematical benefit to China. The stoppage of the cultivation of the poppy, which now supplies the export trade, would be highly unpopular amongst the large number of industrious and skilful cultivators who have for generations looked upon the crop as affording them the means of employing a small portion of their holding to the best advantage, and enabling them to make a decent livelihood without the necessity of placing themselves in the clutches of a usurious money lender.

170. There is another practical and weighty consideration which has been placed prominently before us by a unanimity of testimony which it is impossible to disregard. So far as the main object of the prohibition is concerned, all our evidence is to the effect that the withdrawal of the Bengal supply of opium would have no lasting result whatever. The whole quantity of this opium is only a small part of the total consumed in China. Its use is confined to certain classes and to a few special localities, and is unknown to the majority of the consumers. We have already given our reasons for holding that interference is uncalled for and impracticable in the case of the Protected States of India, and the whole China demand for the Indian article could be met by Malwa, without an ounce of Bengal opium leaving the country. Failing Malwa, Persia and Asia Minor are prepared to fill the gap left in a market in which they have long had a considerable foothold. The main competitor, however, is the home-grown produce of China itself. According to the evidence we have received from China, the withdrawal of Indian competition would only result in an increased stimulus to the cultivation of the poppy, the improvement of the manufacture, and the attempt by the Government to put heavier taxation on the native drug in order to make up for the loss of import duty and *li-kin* on the Indian article. For all these reasons we consider that no case is made out for prohibiting the export trade in Bengal opium.

171. There are two arguments which have often been used in favour of prohibition of the export of Indian opium to which we have not referred, but which must, we think, be noticed. The first is, that the stoppage of the export of Indian opium to China would set free large sums of Chinese money, which sums would probably be applied in part to the purchase of English manufactures. This argument was proposed in part to the House of Commons on the 10th April 1891, and again on the 30th June 1893. Mr. David McCaren, the President of the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, addressed his evidence before us mainly to the same point, and admitted

* This is quoted as the Memo. of the 30th September in the Parliamentary Return C.—4118.

Marquis Tseng's Mem. No. 29, of 12th March 1883. Do. do. Mem. of 30th Sept. 1884. China, 5, of 1885 (C. 4449).

VII. p. 215.

Financial and political objections to withdrawal from the export trade.

16,797, 10,873, 10,949, 11,002, 11,117, 11,329, 11,415, 12,518, 12,923, 16,781 5.

Withdrawal would have no practical effect on consumption in China.

Decennial Consular Reports, 1892, pp. 49, 176, 200, 449, 642, &c.

Statistics of Government of India, 1894, p. 61. Decennial Consular Rep., pp. 12, 34, 50, 88, 137, 669. Y. pp. 238, 245, 257, 265, 266, 268, 284, 287, 295, 301, 307, 313, 341, 232, 273, 293, 284.

Consideration of two special arguments for withdrawal. Hansard, 352, Debates XIV., p. 339.

I. 1791, 1840, 1856.

that he expected that the commercial gain would be to England and the loss to India. We fail to see that any increase in purchase by China of English manufactures would actually result from the measure. As we have just said, we have evidence of a unanimous kind from China, which seems to us to prove that the money would simply go to buy more Chinese and more Persian, Turkish, or other non-Indian foreign opium. We think it right, however, to remark that, if prohibition of export of opium to China was imposed on India with any reference to this argument, it would be only just that England should make good the loss of revenue. As, moreover, this argument has been put forward prominently, it seems certain that, if prohibition were to be imposed by England, it would be difficult to disabuse the people of India of the belief that this consideration was the main ground of the measure.

172. The second argument is, that the opium habit and the connexion of the British Government with the opium trade are impediments to the conversion to Christianity of the Natives of China. We are not agreed in thinking this assertion proved. The evidence before us from China on the point is conflicting, though the majority of the missionaries support the statement. In any case, it is not an argument with which we can expect the Natives of India to sympathise, or to which they would admit the right of the British Government to attach weight, unless England were prepared to bear the cost.

173. We have finally to estimate the weight of the moral objections to the present system so far as it relates to the use of opium by the population of British India, and to consider the obstacles to the proposal to prohibit the production and consumption of opium in British India except for medical purposes. We exclude from the scope of this inquiry the province of Burma, where the conditions of the question are so different from those in the rest of the country that we have decided to discuss them in a separate Section. The moral objections to the system with which we have here to deal are the same as those which we have already had occasion to mention in connexion with the export trade, namely, the alleged deleterious effects of the opium habit on the consumer, leading to his moral and physical degradation, and the position of the Government as manufacturer of the Bengal drug and supplier of the retail vendors. We have stated our conclusions as to the weight of the first objection in our second Section, and the subject has been fully discussed from a medical point of view by our colleague, Sir William Roberts in his Memorandum. Those conclusions, put briefly, are, that while almost everywhere in India, opium is the common domestic medicine of the people, the habit of using it as a stimulant for non-medical or quasi-medical purposes, as alcohol is used in Europe, also prevails extensively in many places, and among some of the leading races of India. As regards the use as a stimulant, we found that the common practice of taking the drug in pills or infusions is of old standing, and is generally followed in moderation and without injurious consequences, moral or physical. There are, no doubt, cases of excess, as with all stimulants, but they are not frequent, and the effects in such cases are not so bad physically or morally, as those of excess in alcohol are in India. As to the quasi-medical habit, the evidence of the medical witnesses led us to the conclusion, that in the circumstances of India in respect to climate, diet, mode of living, and medical aid, this use is probably, on the whole, beneficial. We did not find it proved that the use of opium promotes crime, suicide, insanity, or abnormal infant mortality.

174. The second objection refers to the position of the Government of India as manufacturer and supplier of Bengal opium for consumption in India. On this point we must begin by remarking that it is now generally admitted that the limitation of cultivation and the monopoly of manufacture and wholesale supply, which the Government of India enforces through the Bengal Opium Department, practically constitute the most restrictive position, short of prohibition, which the Government can adopt towards internal consumption. In the second place, it must be observed that while in the greater part of the Bengal Presidency the Government manufactures the opium locally consumed, this is not the case in the other parts of British India. In the Punjab, Belochistan, Ajmer, Coorg, and the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, the Government has nothing to do with the growth or manufacture of the drug, and only taxes and regulates the consumption as it does in the case of alcohol. As to the regulation of consumption in British India, we have given a general description of the rules and the statistics of the number of shops allowed, and of the consumption, in the second Section of our Report. Having come to the conclusion that the use of opium cannot be regarded in India as less legitimate than that of alcohol, we consider, that from this point of view, the excise regulations, at present in force in respect to opium, are highly restrictive.

175. In the two preceding paragraphs we have given our reasons for the conclusion, that the moral objections which can be urged against the present system are not of such weight as to require the prohibition of production and sale except for medical use. We need not, therefore, discuss at great length the obstacles which would stand in the way of enforcing such a policy in British India. If we are right in concluding that it would be impossible to extend prohibition to the Protected States, it is evident that the difficulty of preventing extensive smuggling into British territory would be immense. As regards the financial difficulty, we may point out that the direct loss due to the attempt to limit the consumption in British districts to that required for medical use cannot be estimated, as it would depend upon many circumstances, but it would no doubt be considerable; and the cost of large preventive establishments to keep out smuggled opium would have to be added.

176. A serious obstacle in the way of prohibition is the practical difficulty of carrying out that policy. It is obviously out of the question for a Government to accept a scheme which it would be impossible to enforce. This, however, is the case with the measure we are now considering. The suggestion, it should be borne in mind, is, that production should be limited to the quantity necessary for medical use in India. As to the dispensing of the drug, we may take as an authoritative exposition of the view of those who make the suggestion, the memorial of the Anti-Opium Society to Lord Kimberley in November 1892, in which it is demanded—

"That discretionary powers for its sale should be entrusted to responsible and carefully selected persons who possess adequate knowledge of the deleterious properties of the drug, and who can be readily called to account for the improper use of the discretion conferred upon them, and whose remuneration in no degree depends upon the amount of their sales."

The first observation we have to make in connexion with the scheme is, that one of the facts most clearly brought out in the evidence as regards the opium habit in India is, that no distinct line is drawn in popular opinion between the medical uses of the drug and those which cannot be strictly so called. In point of fact the two uses are so interwoven that even professional men of the same school of medicine would frequently disagree in attempting to discriminate between them, whilst between practitioners of different schools disagreement would constantly occur. The persons to whose discretion it is proposed to leave the decision must possess two main qualifications, first, adequate medical training, and secondly, integrity, so as to ensure that the discretion vested in them should be properly exercised. They would also have to be numerous, in order to supply the drug at once in case of sudden necessity, and to allow of doubtful applications being tested by personal inquiry. As to the classes in India from which an agency having the required qualifications could be recruited, the views of those who advocated the scheme were as divided as upon the question of what might and what might not be correctly termed medical purposes. The principle was formulated, indeed, but the means of applying it in practice were left undetermined.

177. It was suggested by some witnesses that opium should only be obtainable on the prescription of medical practitioners, qualified under the European system. This is to go beyond the existing practice in the United Kingdom and beyond the proposals of the Anti-Opium Society, and would be impracticable in the present conditions of India. It must be borne in mind that the population of the British Provinces is over 220 millions. The number of hospitals and dispensaries under European supervision in those provinces in 1893 was only 1,800, with an average daily attendance of patients numbering 94,000. European non-official practitioners are only found in the Presidency and Provincial capitals. The supply of Native medical men, trained under the European system, though much increased of late years, is still confined to the larger towns, or to the district head-quarters. The head of the Indian Medical Department told us that not one in five of the population ever sees a practitioner on that system during their whole lives. Another witness, who had enjoyed good opportunities of forming an opinion on this point, stated that three-fourths of the deaths occur without the opinion or professional advice of any sort. In most households, domestic or traditional treatment is the rule, in consultation generally with relatives of the invalid. If professional medical aid be sought at all, the people who can afford it commonly resort to practitioners on the Vedic or Yunani methods, who still command the confidence of great masses of their countrymen, and who are in the habit of freely recommending the use of opium. Failing these, recourse is had to exorcists, herbalists, and others, who have not the slightest claim to the possession of a knowledge of medicine. Some of the Vedic and Yunani practitioners are hereditary physicians,

Financial and administrative obstacles to policy of prohibition in British India.

Enforcement of prohibition impracticable.

I. p. 163.

e.g. 2514-5, 4341-8625, 9057, 10,570-9, 12,007, 13,435, 13,148-9, 15,335-6, 18,934, 19,046, 20,111, 20,150, 27,845.

Want of medical agency.

e.g. 2674, 3000, 5448, 5918, 9551, 13,191, 19,277, 27,846.

Home Department statistics, 1894.

II. 2147.

II. 3535.

and have studied the system they practise, but all are self-appointed, and have undergone no test of qualification. The majority, as most of the advocates of prohibition admit, are not qualified by knowledge for the exercise of the discretion with which they would have to be invested, nor are they deemed sufficiently beyond reach of temptation to be entrusted with this responsibility. The same objections would apply to the lower class of Native practitioners trained on the European system even if this agency could be sufficiently multiplied.

178. The suggestion that this duty should be entrusted, as in England, to licensed and qualified druggists, has also to be considered. On this we must observe that we have ample evidence that druggists, in the sense of chemists, are practically unknown except in the very largest cities and the cantonments of British troops. Regular druggists of the Native school are numerous enough in some large towns, but are rarely to be found in small towns and never in villages. The remarks we have made above as to the qualifications of the uncertificated practitioner apply with still greater force to the class of persons who, under the name of druggists, would be invested with a discriminating and discretionary power in dispensing opium. It was generally agreed that, looking to the wide use of opium as a stimulant in India, there would be no security that the drug could be restricted to medical purposes, whilst it would be certain that unscrupulous men would take advantage of the abundant opportunities that would be offered for enriching themselves at the expense of the community at large.

179. It is relevant to this part of our subject to point out that the regulation of the sale of poisons long ago engaged the attention of the Government of India. In some of the Municipal Acts, indeed, provisions for this purpose have been included, and in a municipal town such sales can be efficiently supervised. Bombay, however, is the only province in which an Act of general application is in force. In 1866, when this local enactment came into operation, the opinion of other Governments and Administrations was not favourable to such a measure. In 1881, when the question of the use of certain poisons for criminal purposes came under consideration, Lord Ripon's Government held that the 15 years' experience in Bombay showed that regulation could only be effectual if made very stringent and far-reaching. No general enactment on the subject has, therefore, been passed. In the case of the poisonous substances specified in Part I. of Schedule A. of the English Pharmacy Act of 1868, it is very doubtful if the Act has been effective as regards opium in parts of the country where laudanum is in demand for other than medical uses. Still less would it be practicable to apply the provisions of an Act of this character to the sale of an article in such general use as the evidence before us proves opium to be in India.

180. The chief obstacle, however, to the enforcement of prohibition, is to be found in the disposition of the people of India, a matter on which we are specially required to report by the Order of Reference. From the evidence we have taken we are convinced that the great mass of Native opinion in British India is entirely opposed to the proposal, as an unnecessary restriction on individual liberty, and an interference with established Native habits and customs. We believe that even those who are not addicted to the opium habit, and who do not belong to the races which commonly use opium as a stimulant, regard the proposal with dislike and suspicion from this point of view. The use of alcohol is admitted by all Mahomedans and, with few exceptions, by all Hindus, to be directly prohibited by their religion. On the other hand, the use of opium is generally considered to be permissible by Hindus, and by all but a few Mahomedans in India. Many able and leading members of the Native community, Hindu and Mahomedan, not themselves addicted to the opium habit, expressed in their evidence an apprehension that prohibition of the non-medical use of opium would result in an extension of the consumption of alcohol. We cannot say that we think this apprehension unfounded, and it is clearly established by the evidence that, apart from the religious question, the Natives of India generally consider the use of alcohol to be more open to objection in itself, more likely to prove injurious physically and morally, and more disgraceful, when carried to excess, than the opium habit. As to the Rajputs and Sikhs, two of the most martial races in India, with whom the use of opium is more or less of a race custom, they would strongly resent the proposed measures. In India, alcohol is regarded as the national stimulant of Englishmen, and its use as permitted by the Christian religion. Exaggerated views prevail among Natives of India as to the extent to which the English use alcohol. It is natural, therefore, that Rajputs and Sikhs and other Indian races should question our right to prevent their using opium as a stimulant according to their customs, and

the feeling of resentment would be intensified among the Sikhs by the fact that they are debarred by their religion from the use of tobacco. We are confident that it would be politically unwise to enforce a measure which would have the effect of bringing into strong contrast the position of the Englishman, with regard to alcohol and tobacco, and that of the Sikh, cut off, as he would be, by a law of alien origin from a customary stimulant, unquestionably permitted by his religion.

181. There is no doubt a considerable minority among the people of India who disapprove in theory, and probably in practice, of all stimulants, including opium. The Indians generally are inclined to be thrifty and abstemious in matters of diet as compared with Europeans; by their religions, also, they are specially disposed to regard asceticism as a virtue, and to think that a man is morally defiled by what he eats and drinks. But the more responsible and representative witnesses of this class who came before us, while condemning the habit in a more or less decided way, did not give evidence in favour of the policy of prohibition except for medical purposes. We apprehend that they were deterred by anxiety as to the inquisitorial and punitive measures which repression would involve, and as to the financial results of that policy. We gather that, though they would approve on moral grounds of the supply being cut off if possible, yet the policy of repression by making indulgence in opium an offence punishable by the magistrate would not have their sympathy. Almost the only Native witnesses who went further than this belonged either to the Brahmo Samaj, a Bengali sect of about 3,000 adherents who are generally pledged to total abstinence, or to certain total abstinence associations which have been established to fight against intemperance in alcohol. A few Native Christians and a few other men who have received a European education may be added to the number. Almost all of these witnesses, however, qualified their acceptance of the policy of prohibition by stipulating that the cost should be met either by a subvention from the English Treasury or out of the existing revenue. We believe that the number of Natives of India who are willing to bear even in part the cost of prohibition, or who would support the proposal on that understanding, is exceedingly small.

182. It is a most significant fact that no organised body of the Natives of India, except some of those leagued together wholly or chiefly for the purpose of advocating total abstinence from stimulants, has declared itself in favour of the measure we are now discussing. The political associations springing up all over India, have refrained from committing themselves to the approval of such a policy. The influential body representing the upper classes in Bengal, known as the British Indian Association, opposed prohibition by memorial to the Government of Bengal, and some of its leading members appeared before us in support of that view. We must specially note the reticence of the Indian National Congress, a body which claims to represent the people of British India. This association has come to a definite conclusion on the subject of alcohol, but has never found it necessary to discuss that of opium. It is well known that friends of the Congress in England suggested that the opium question should be included in its programme, but this has not been done. This attitude of a body which has never shown itself backward in criticising the Government, or in adopting the suggestions of European reformers, affords conclusive proof that at all events the Congress considers opium a lesser evil than alcohol, and is not prepared to recommend a policy of prohibition. On this point we quote in full the answers of Mr. Jaishi-Ram, one of the chief representatives of the Congress in the Panjab. We believe he expresses the views which are held on the question by the great majority of the educated men not themselves addicted to the habit.

Question.

(18,614.) Looking at the subject with the eye of a moral reformer, what do you say as to the possibility of dealing with any of the evil results of the use of opium by legislative interference?

(18,615.) Will you justify that?

Answer.

I do not think there should be any legislative interference whatever.

My grounds are; in the first instance, people do not want it at all. Up to the present time there has been no representation on the part of the people that there should be any legislative interference; and, of course, if there be any legislative interference, it would be quite uncalled for. My second ground is, that it is not necessary; it is not called for at all; and it is interfering with the domestic lives of the people. It will certainly create disaffection. My third ground is, that, if there be any legislative interference, it will simply remain as a dead letter, because it must be allowed as medicine under any circumstances.

c.g. 6876, 5003.

18,142, 18,218,
24,507, 26,885,
27,816.

17,974, 20,000.

8072, 14,075,
15,608, 15,254,
11,705, 14,189,
3831, 9442-6,
9449, 9504,
23,455, 23,359,
15,532, 20,011,
2821-30, 20,110,
14,700-7, 18,398.

Attitude of
Indian
political
associations.

II. p. 313.

III. 14,789.
See "Abkari,"
Oct. 1895.

III. 13,260
14,783-5, 15,588-9,
16,724, 18,632.

Question.

(18,616.) Develop your views as to the practicability of that limitation?

(18,617.) You say if there has been no restriction on much more injurious things, why should there be legislative interference with regard to a less harmful thing?

(18,618.) We have had many witnesses before us who have practically recommend that there should be prohibition of the use of all stimulants excepting under medical advice: do you believe in the possibility of a policy of prohibition of all stimulants except for medical use?

(18,619.) You prefer to rely upon the cultivation of a wholesome popular sentiment upon this question, rather than recommend a restrictive policy by the Government, involving vexatious and harassing action by the police, and other consequences which you think would be disgraceful to the people: is that your view?

(18,620.) Have you any other ground?

Answer.

I think that the idea up to the present time is that it may be allowed as a medicine but disallowed otherwise. I do not think it will be practicable for the Government to look after the people when they are using it as medicine and when not: so that if there be any prohibitive legislation in any way it will remain simply a dead letter. My fourth ground is that there are a good many other things, such as *ganja* and *charas*; there has been no interference in those matters, and why should there be any in the case of opium?

That is my opinion. My fifth ground is this: if you remove opium, more or less, it will be superseded by liquors or other things which are really much more harmful with special reference to the climate of this country.

I think that none should be prohibited by the Government. These matters should be left entirely for the people themselves.

Yes.

My sixth ground is this: there are thousands of people who are now engaged in this cultivation and trade. If there be any prohibition or any legislative interference, the result will be that those people will in sudden be left entirely without occupation. They will raise an outcry certainly; and of course there will be some consequences which might turn out seriously. My next ground is, that it is a new departure altogether. There are a great many practices which exist in this country which are called vices, and they exist in other countries too, but with which no Government has interfered at all. It is an established policy, and I do not see that there is any reason why there should be a departure in the case of opium.

III. 12,502-59. As an example of the opinions of a man holding a higher rank and more important position in the Congress movement, we quote the following from the evidence of the Honourable Raja Rampal Singh:—

Question.

(12,526.) I suppose there is a temperance party in India who would like to do away with all alcohol, opium, hemp, and everything?

(12,527.) Some of them?

(12,528.) There are some, but they are few?

Answer.

Alcohol of course; I never heard of opium and other things. But since the European abstainers have joined them, they are becoming converted to this faith.

Yes. Formerly I did not hear of it, but now I find some. The movement has entered a different phase. They are very few.

183. On the subject of the disposition of the people of India the Indians themselves are the best witnesses. We think it right, however, to notice the opinions expressed by European witnesses in India on the question of the desirability and feasibility of prohibition except for medical purposes, and as to the way in which such a measure would be accepted by the masses of the Indian people. The only class which appeared in any considerable number before us to advocate the measure, and to declare that it could be enforced without causing discontent or political danger was that of the European and American missionaries. But though their number is far greater than that of witnesses of any other class presented on behalf of the Anti-Opium Society, we are bound to observe that these witnesses represent but very partially the general body of missionaries in India. They belong chiefly to American or Canadian denominations of the Methodist, Presbyterian, or Baptist churches, which contain little more than 7 per cent. of the total number of Protestant converts, and which are believed to make total abstinence a rule of church discipline. Their views are not shared by the members of other denominations who gave evidence before us, and are specifically disclaimed by missionaries and clergy of the Church of England which comprises between 50 and 60 per cent. of the Protestant community. The marked abstention from advocacy of the

Evidence of Europeans in India on the subject of prohibition.

273, 283, 2792, 11,018, 11,070-80, 14,988-5, 21,401, 21,400, 23,310, 23,381, 23,427.

Missionary statistics, 1890.

III. 12,909-12, 11, 438, V. 138, IV. 25,563.

17,157, 17,253, 16,925, 16,900, 5479, 9009, 5737.

measure on the part of the Roman Catholic and Syrian Churches, the oldest and largest in the country, which contain over 70 per cent. of the Christians of India, has also to be taken into consideration.

184. Irrespective, however, of the comparatively small extent to which the missionary witnesses in favour of prohibition represent their fellow labourers, we have had occasion to note the inadequate experience on which the opinion of some of these witnesses is based. We fully recognise the sincerity of their purpose, and there are no doubt, amongst them men who have given sufficient time and study to the subject to entitle their opinion to respect, but in many cases the witnesses had only short experience in India, and it would seem that their attention had not been directed to the effects of opium until a recent period and in connexion with the movement against its use in India. Dr. McKee stated plainly what many of the witnesses of the class to which he refers confirmed in their testimony before us, namely, that until special attention had been called to the matter, it had not forced itself upon the notice of missionary workers.

185. In considering the European opinion which has been expressed on the question of prohibition, we have to take into account the views of important classes, such as the leading mercantile bodies in India, the Chambers of Commerce of Bengal, Upper India, and Bombay, and the community of planters, who are necessarily in close contact with large classes of the Native community. These are emphatically adverse to the proposed restrictive measure. A number of Government officials, with long and varied experience of the country, also gave evidence to the same effect. Some of these occupy posts of the highest responsibility under the Crown, and cannot therefore be held to speak without due knowledge and deliberation. We quote, for example, from the testimony of Sir Charles Crosthwaite, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces and Oudh:—

Question.

14,888. * * * May I ask in what way an expression of popular opinion would be likely to occur in this country?

Answer.

I understand the President to mean an expression against opium; that if there had been a strong feeling against the use of opium there would have been a popular expression of that feeling. I think it would have come to light much in the same way as the agitation against cow-killing and so on comes to light. There would have been movements of the people. As I said before, I think the popular feeling of this country is much more felt than heard. The public opinion or popular feeling that you see in the newspapers may or may not be public opinion, but the real public opinion of the mass of the people, who have no means of making themselves heard, is always felt.

The same authority went further in expressing the opinion, that to fine and ultimately commit to gaol a very considerable number of people for what they would not regard as a crime, would cause great discontent. This opinion is confirmed by Sir Denis Fitzpatrick, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. He warned us that the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of opium would be a hazardous experiment, and would create an amount of discontent which the British Government could not afford to arouse. This deliberate opinion of high officials entrusted with the responsibility of governing between 60 and 70 millions of Your Majesty's subjects in India is corroborated by the great mass of the evidence given by private individuals and officials, by Europeans as well as Natives of the country.

186. The conclusions at which we have arrived in this Section of our Report, may be summed up as follows:—The moral and physical effects of the opium habit in British India and the Protected States are not of such a character as to call for the enforcement of prohibition except for medical purposes. The effects in China, judging from the evidence, are comparable to the effects of the alcohol habit in the United Kingdom. Nor would the prohibition of the export of Bengal opium permanently or materially diminish the opium habit in China. The moral objections which have been raised against the present system do not, therefore, in the existing circumstances, appear to be strong. On the other hand, the obstacles, administrative, financial, and political, to a system of prohibition, appear to us to be at present insurmountable. Prohibition could not be extended to the Protected States; nor could the existing arrangements for transit of Malwa opium for export to China and the Far East be terminated with justice. On the other hand, prohibition applied to British Provinces only would be

II. 4325-9.

17,252, 8659.

III. 11,584-86, 11,618, 15,961-95, 14,790, 11,083, IV. 21,380, 21,405, 21,405, 21,506-7, 23,309, 23,333-7, 23,404, 23,362, 26,286, 26,309, 26,351, 26,436, 26,498, 26,514, 27,003, 27,178-204, 27,615-640, 28,197, 28,169.

II. p. 430-525.

10,638, 10,099, 10,145, 10,208, 11,117, 12,348, 12,708, 5,787, V. p. 136, II. p. 430, 525, IV. 26,850, II. 3,191, 4,999, III. 10,785, 10,847, 17,233, 10,099.

III. 14,888.

III. 14,852.

III. 18,147.

Summary of conclusions regarding prohibition.

ineffective and exceedingly troublesome; for the Protected States which export Malwa opium could before long produce enough to take the place of the Bengal supply now sent to China, and the production of opium in all Protected States, for the purpose of being smuggled into British districts for illicit consumption, would be greatly encouraged. It would be impossible to provide in British India a dispensing agency which could supply the medical and check the non-medical demand with the necessary promptitude and discrimination.

The results of reducing the production of Bengal opium to the quantity required for medical purposes would be disastrous to the finances of British India and injurious to a large number of the poorest cultivators.

Prohibition of opium would probably lead to the increased use of other stimulants more likely to prove deleterious to the people of India.

Finally, the great mass of Native opinion is entirely opposed to the measure, and we consider it established by the bulk of the evidence, European and Native, official and non-official, that the authoritative imposition of prohibition by the British Government would be keenly resented by the races among whom the use of opium is customary; would be generally regarded with dislike and suspicion as an act of unnecessary interference, and would be followed by widespread discontent.

SECTION VII.

CHANGES SHORT OF TOTAL PROHIBITION.

187. The last head of the Order of Reference left for our consideration is the fourth, which runs as follows: "Whether any change short of total prohibition should be made in the system at present followed for regulating and restricting the opium traffic, and for raising a revenue therefrom."

188. The question of substituting private enterprise and an export duty for the official agency and State monopoly by which the cultivation, manufacture, and wholesale sale of Bengal opium are now controlled, is one which must be noticed, but we think it unnecessary to argue it at length. The same question has been carefully considered on former occasions and always with the same result. In the Appendices to our Proceedings will be found a paper giving an account of previous proposals in this direction, including extracts from a Despatch addressed to the Secretary of State by the Government of India during the Vice-royalty of Lord Ripon, dealing with this particular question of the substitution of private enterprise for State agency. We quote from the Despatch the following passages, showing the conclusions at which the Government of India had arrived, and in which we concur:—

Substitution of private trade for the Bengal monopoly. II. p. 381-82.

No. 312, of 19th Dec. 1881. Parl. Return, 1337 of 882.

"27. We shall revert to this question* later, when we come to deal with the possibility of substituting any other system for that which is at present in force in Bengal. In the meanwhile we hold that the following positions have been made good:—

"(1.) The objections of the Anti-Opium Society, so long as their policy is confined to a mere change in the manner under which the opium revenue is raised, are purely theoretical.

"(2.) In order that that policy should have any chance of effecting some practical good, it must embrace, within its scope, not only the cessation of any direct connexion between the Indian Government and the manufacture and sale of opium, but the total suppression of the cultivation of the poppy in India.

"(3.) The economical objections to the present system under which the opium revenue is raised may be admitted, but the moral objections will be increased if the economical objections are removed. Nothing would so much tend to the further demoralisation of the Chinese as free-trade in opium.

"(3.) As to whether it is more immoral to raise a revenue by the direct action of Government than to raise it indirectly by taxing private individuals, the question is one on which considerable differences of opinion may exist. It is certain, however, that the mere substitution of the latter for the former system, whilst it would probably be injurious to the interests of the Indian tax-payers, would do no good, and would almost certainly do a great deal of harm, to the population of China.

"77. * * * * *
"V. The substitution of private agency in Bengal for a Government monopoly would be possible. The change is, however, to be deprecated, inasmuch as the consequence would inevitably be either to involve a loss of revenue, which the Government of India would be quite unable to afford, or to extend the cultivation of the poppy and to intensify those evils which it is proposed to remedy. It would involve, moreover, a serious risk that the use of opium would become far more prevalent than at present in India itself. We cannot, therefore, recommend that so hazardous an experiment which would almost certainly do a great deal of harm, and which it is very improbable would effect any good, should be tried at the expense of the Indian tax-payers."

Private enterprise and capital are now so ready to turn to any industry which shows a chance of profit that it is possible, and by many believed to be certain, that the abolition of the monopoly would result in greatly increased production. It must be remembered that if private enterprise were allowed it would have to be treated fairly. Moreover, the formation of new vested interests in the production of Bengal opium would shackle the Government, which under the present system is in the freest possible position to change its policy to meet any alteration in the attitude of the Government of China or in the circumstances and disposition of the people of India. Our conclusion therefore is that the Bengal Opium Department, which by its Behar and Benares agencies, controls the cultivation and manufacture of Bengal opium, should be maintained.

189. We pass on to the consideration of such improvements as have been suggested in the working of the Opium Department. We think it right to mention here that at Calcutta, Mr. Alexander, the Secretary to the Society for the suppression of the opium traffic, informed us that he had received information which led him to believe that

* That is, to the relative morality of the direct connexion of the Government with the opium trade and the mere taxation of the exports of the drug.

the ryots of Behar were carrying on the cultivation of the poppy at a loss, under some pressure exercised by the officers of the Opium Department. We recorded such evidence as could be produced at Patna and elsewhere on this point, and having made inquiries from many independent witnesses in a position to speak with knowledge and authority on this subject, we have come to the conclusion that the cultivators are free, and are perfectly well aware that they are free, to engage to cultivate poppy or not. There may be here and there cases in the Behar Agency in which pressure has been exercised by subordinates, but we believe them to be quite exceptional. It must be remembered that we are dealing with more than a million cultivators, and if there had been any substantial grounds of complaint, it is certain they would have been brought more prominently to the notice of the Commission. The evidence shows that, as a fact, large numbers of cultivators have from time to time given up cultivation. On the whole, poppy cultivation is decidedly popular with the class of tenants who usually engage in it, and is more profitable to them than the cultivation of other crops which could take its place. It is a favourite crop in particular with the small tenants of the lower castes, whose women and children take part in field work, and if, as sometimes happens, licenses are refused to any of them who are accustomed to the cultivation it is considered a serious hardship. We do not think that the representations made to the Commission by comparatively few cultivators, that the price paid by Government for the crude opium is too low, seriously militates against this conclusion. It is only natural that the feeling, that the price is too low, should influence so large a body of cultivators unable to sell except to the agents of a State monopoly, and bound to accept the price which the State chooses to offer. But the feeling seemed to be shared by many disinterested people, officials and non-officials, and we apprehend that it may be well founded, as the price of the crude opium has for many years remained stationary, while the prices of other produce, the cost of cattle and the value of labour have been rapidly rising. We think therefore, that the Government of India should be left a perfectly free hand to fix, from time to time, the price to be paid to the cultivators, and we understand that since we left India the price has been raised.

Our colleague, Mr. Haridas Voharidas, has recommended that the Government of India should be asked to issue a general notification throughout the poppy growing districts in British provinces to the effect that no one is bound to cultivate this crop, unless he may wish to do so. We are of opinion, as already stated, that the cultivators, as a body, are fully aware that the matter is within their own discretion, and a formal notice does not appear to us to be necessary, though we see no objection to its issue, if the Government of India should consider it desirable.

Policy of Government as regards limitation of production.

Hansard, 352, pp. 323, 343.

II. p. 344.

II. 2086.

190. With regard to the area under cultivation, there appears to have been some not unnatural misconception on this subject, which finds expression in the Resolution of the House of Commons, praying Your Majesty to appoint the present Commission. It appears that in the Debates of the House of Commons in April 1891, statements were made by Mr. W. H. Smith, at that time the Leader of the House, and Sir James Fergusson, temporarily representing the India Office, to the effect that it had been the settled policy of the Government to diminish the area under poppy cultivation. It appears from the papers presented to us by the Government of India, that there had been large variations in acreage during the years 1883-84 to 1892-93, and the actual acreage in the year 1889-90 was 482,557, as against 505,843 in 1883-84 and 594,921 in the year 1885-86. We were informed, however, by Sir David Barbour that:—

“The real reason was, that we had very good crops for a number of years, and, as we did not want to sell more than a certain amount, and a considerable quantity of opium had accumulated in the reserve, it was not necessary, in order to supply the ordinary amount, that the usual area should be put under cultivation.”

Hansard, 352, pp. 1152-3.

The Moral and Material Progress Reports on India, annually presented to Parliament, confirm this view, and an explanation to the same effect was given in the House of Commons by Sir J. Gorst a few days after the discussion above mentioned. A passage from the Indian Financial Statement for the year 1891-92 had been quoted as indicating that a rise in the revenue was to be expected, upon which he remarked that “the statement of Sir David Barbour no doubt expressed correctly the policy of the Government of India.” It appears, therefore, that on the part of Sir J. Fergusson and the late Mr. W. H. Smith, a temporary fiscal expedient was regarded as indicating a new departure in the direction of a fixed policy of restriction.*

191. We do not feel called upon to express any opinion on the course adopted by the Government of India or the motives by which they appear to have been actuated. Had we considered that the use of the drug in China depended upon the supply received from

* A Note on this subject is appended to our Report (p.).

India, and had it been shown that consumption of opium in China was the cause of such moral and physical degradation to that country as to make it incumbent upon the Government of India to put a stop to it at all hazards, we should have made a recommendation to this effect. Taking the view of the question that we do, we are content to leave it to the administrative experience of the Government of India to decide, from time to time, the area which shall be put under poppy, having regard to the interests of the cultivators, and the desirability, in the case of a drug specially liable to abuse, of raising revenue by a high restrictive price, rather than by a large and cheap supply. The limitation of the area for production of Bengal opium will tend to keep up the price of Indian opium generally, and so obviate the necessity for reducing the transit duty on Malwa opium, which would arise in the case of a fall of the price in China and elsewhere.

192. Before leaving the subject of the Bengal Opium Department, we wish to make some further remarks as to the system upon which it is worked. We came to the conclusion on the whole that the system was good, and that it was well worked by a humane and careful body of officers. But some irregular and objectionable proceedings on the part of subordinates were brought to our notice at Patna. These were not serious, but they indicated a certain amount of laxity in the management of the working of the Behar Agency, and in connexion with this subject we think it desirable that the Government of India should again consider the recommendations made by a Commission appointed by them in 1883, after a thorough examination of the working of the Department. Some of those recommendations have been carried into effect more or less completely, particularly in the Benares Agency; but others, though not rejected by the Government, appear to have been held over for one of two reasons, either because they would increase the cost of establishment, or because they would involve the revision of the existing law. The full development in the Benares Agency of the system of dealing direct with the cultivators; the extension of the same system to the Behar Agency, and the better payment of the inferior Native officials, known as the Kothi establishments, seem to be the reforms most required and most likely to benefit the cultivator.

193. We have no proposals to make for the alteration of the special local systems for the production and supply of opium which prevail in the Punjab, and in the small territory of Ajmer-Merwara. We have explained in the second Section of our Report what those systems are, and the reasons for their being exceptional. Nor have we any changes to suggest in respect to the Malwa opium trade, but we wish to say that we are not sure that the transit duty has not sometimes been imposed or maintained at rates higher than is compatible with equity. We think the Government of India should not be in any way prevented from lowering the rate of duty, whenever it thinks that course necessary in justice to the States and individuals concerned in this trade. It is not to the interest of the Government of India to reduce the rate unnecessarily.

194. Some changes in the system of retail vend have been proposed in the course of our Proceedings. A suggestion has been made that the sale of the drug should be intrusted to salaried vendors, having no direct interest in the quantity sold. We have considered this suggestion with care, and do not think it practicable to adopt it. It would not be possible to secure the services of trustworthy agents, and the trouble and cost of checking their sales, and recovering from them the money due and opium unexpended would be immense. They would be as likely as the present vendors to sell smuggled opium, and would not have the same motives or the same power as vendors of the commercial class for helping Government to check smuggling. To explain this last argument we must repeat that at present opium is taxed twice before it reaches the vendor. Bengal opium is taxed first by the artificial price at which it is issued to the vendors by Government. Malwa opium, whether used in Bombay, Madras, or the Punjab, has to pay the transit duty; while, in the last-named province, the local-grown opium is subject to acreage duty. The licensed vendors are everywhere also subject to a second tax in the shape of the heavy sums which they pay to Government for their monopolies of retail vend; and this they cannot evade under the present system by using smuggled opium. Under the proposed system the vendors would not pay this second tax at all; the Government would everywhere be obliged to supply opium direct to the salaried vendors, and the price to the public would depend entirely on the rate fixed by Government, which would necessarily be very high. It would, therefore, be extremely profitable to these vendors to sell smuggled

Suggestions as to the Opium Department. III. 12,079, 12,396-454, 12,052. V. pp. 140, 354. V. App. I. pp. 6, 19, 22, &c. III. 12,124-48. II. 2948. III. 12,326.

Question of employing vendors on fixed salaries. I. p. 163.

opium; and even if they refrained from doing this themselves, they would have no motive for finding out whether other persons dealt in such opium, or for incurring the risk and odium of giving information against them. Other reasons might be given, but we do not consider it necessary to go into the question at greater length, as we consider that the arrangements for retail vend of opium in India are sufficiently restrictive, and that looking to the medical and non-medical requirements of the people and their disposition in the matter, it is unadvisable to attempt to make the regulations more severe.

Suggestions
regarding
smoking
preparations
of opium.
III. 19,593.
V. p. 87.

195. The remarks we have hitherto made, refer to the ordinary uses of opium in India. We think, however, that a distinction must be drawn between the common and old-established habit of taking opium in the form of pills or infusions, and the comparatively rare and novel habit of smoking preparations of opium, known as *chandu* or *madak*.

Though opium-smoking is regarded as disreputable, we doubt whether public feeling in British India would approve of severe and inquisitorial measures of repression. Moreover, a law aimed at opium-smoking in private houses could only be made effective if it permitted domiciliary visits by the police, and any system involving such visits would be liable to abuse in a much greater degree in India than in Europe. Public opinion would not, perhaps, be opposed to legislation against the use of rooms as smoking saloons, either by the public generally or by so-called clubs. We think this is a measure which might be considered by the Government of India, but we understand that experienced officers think that it would be difficult to suggest legislation which would be effective and yet not open to many objections. We believe that the same difficulty has been experienced with regard to the lower kinds of clubs, where liquor is sold, in the United Kingdom.

While we are not prepared to recommend measures of restrictive legislation, we are in favour of making it difficult for smokers of *chandu* and *madak* to indulge in the habit. We recommend that the Government should abandon in all provinces the licensing of shops for the manufacture and sale of these preparations, showing, thereby, that they are in sympathy with public opinion. In the Panjab, Bombay, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, this has already been done, and in those provinces, individuals, though they may manufacture the preparations for their own use, are not permitted to possess a larger amount than 180 grains weight. We recommend that these provisions be extended to the other provinces of British India. The manufacture of small quantities by private persons is wasteful, and the process tedious. Only confirmed smokers, therefore, are likely to incur the expense and trouble. The general adoption of this system, which is undoubtedly repressive, so far as it can be enforced, will tend to prevent the spread of the habit, and lead, it may be hoped, to its ultimate extinction.

IV. 26,218,
26,988.
III. 13,785,
19,566.

REPORT.

SECTION VIII.

OPIUM ARRANGEMENTS IN BURMA.

Introductory.

196. When certain members of the Commission were deputed to hold sittings in Burma, the system of excise of opium in that province was in a state of transition. In the part of the country known as Lower Burma, which had been under British rule for two generations or more, what may be called the ordinary Indian system of opium Excise had been maintained from the first with some varying differences of detail. When, however, Upper Burma was annexed in 1885, a special system was provisionally imposed, founded on the custom under native rule, and this, in respect to people of Burmese race, was of a prohibitory nature. In 1891-3, the Local Government, with the sanction of the Government of India, decided to strengthen and maintain the new or prohibitory system in Upper Burma, and to extend it with some modifications to Lower Burma.

Scope of the
inquiry
made in
Burma.

197. Although the new system had not actually come into force in Lower Burma when the deputation arrived, yet an immediate date had been fixed and all necessary measures had been taken for its introduction. It was therefore the new system which had to be considered and reported on; and having regard to the intention of the order of reference, it was evident that the principal point on which an opinion was required from the Commission in Burma was whether the new system appeared to go far enough in the direction of prohibition and restriction, and whether it would be better to make the prohibitive provisions apply to non-Burmans as well as to Burmans.

In accordance with this view of the position, the deputation came to a resolution, as to the evidence which it was desirable to take, which was expressed as follows by the officiating Chairman at the commencement of the first sitting in Burma:—

“We consulted together on our way here, and before beginning our proceedings I think it will be convenient to put upon record what our intentions, as at present advised, are as to the scope of the inquiry we are about to conduct in Burma. We do not intend to go into the arguments for or against the total prohibition of the use or possession of opium by Burmans in Upper Burma, or for and against the same prohibition in Lower Burma modified by the exceptions in the case of habitual consumers holding certificates. We accept the fact that that policy has been adopted and will have to be tested by experience. We do intend to go into the arguments for and against the exclusion of non-Burmans from the prohibition, and to take what evidence is available as to the effect on them of the moderate and immoderate habits of opium smoking and opium eating, and as to how far continued moderation in either habit is usual or the reverse. We want this evidence more particularly in the case of the Chinese. We also want to inquire into the prospects of opium being successfully smuggled into Upper and Lower Burma from China or India, and as to the existing or proposed arrangements to prevent it; also as to the degree to which prosecutions for illicit possession or other breaches of the Opium Act have been lately necessary and are likely to be necessary in future under the new system.”

198. In examining witnesses, the purport of the above resolution was generally kept in mind, but evidence which witnesses came prepared to give as to the particular effect of the opium habit on Burmans was not excluded, and was seen to be wanted for the proper consideration of the different treatment of non-Burmans and other questions on which an opinion had to be formed, and the important correspondence containing the inquiry made in 1891, which led to the adoption of the new system, was put in by the Government of India after the deputation arrived in Burma, and was found to contain statements and counter-statements upon which it was desirable to cross-examine some of the officers concerned in that inquiry who appeared before the Commission.

199. The deputation held altogether eight sittings in Burma, six at Rangoon, and two at Mandalay, and examined 38 witnesses, among whom were Mr. Fryer, the officiating Chief Commissioner, and Mr. Smeaton, the Financial Commissioner. Of these 38 witnesses 25 were selected to attend by Mr. Fryer in the way described in his

Course of
proceedings.

8371-3.

evidence. Mr. Scott, Your Majesty's Minister at Bangkok, and Mr. Warry, the Adviser on Chinese affairs to the Local Administration, who were unable to appear before the deputation, were requested by the Chief Commissioner to forward statements of their views. These statements were received and are printed in our Appendices. Mr. Scott was employed in the Shan States for several years, and there made a special study of the opium question, and Mr. Warry was said to be a particularly competent witness as regards the Chinese. A similar statement was obtained, at the request of the Chairman, from Mr. Hildebrand, who was pronounced by Mr. Smeaton, the Financial Commissioner, to be the officer most competent, in his judgment, to give an opinion upon the question of opium consumption among the Shans. This statement, also, appears in our Appendices.

II. pp. 523-4, 536.

II. 524-5.

II. App. XXXVII. XXXIX. XLI. to XLIII.

200. In addition to this evidence, certain Memoranda were submitted by the Local Government. In these the new system of Excise on opium in Upper and Lower Burma is described, and information is supplied regarding the routes by which opium can be and is at present smuggled into the country, with details of the cases in which convictions have been obtained in criminal prosecutions for smuggling from China, the Shan States, Eastern Karenni, and Siam, in the three and a half years between January 1st, 1890, and 30th June 1893; an account is also given of the policy of the Local Administration in regard to opium in former years; and statements showing the existing Excise Establishment in Upper Burma, and the existing and proposed Excise Establishments in Lower Burma; and the number of persons arrested, convicted, and imprisoned under the Opium Act in Upper Burma in each year since 1889-90, and the number of persons brought to trial and convicted for offences against the Opium Act in Lower Burma in each year from 1884 to 1892.

II. App. XXXVIII. XL. I.

Copies of the correspondence between the Government of India and the Chief Commissioner regarding the decision to extend to Lower Burma, with some modifications, the prohibitive system that was in force in Upper Burma, and the Rules under the Opium Act, which have been framed to give effect to that decision, were presented to the Deputation on behalf of the Government of India, and will be found in our Appendices.

Historical Account of Opium Excise Systems in Lower Burma.

Opium in Lower Burma, before British rule.

VII. p. 30-32.

VII. p. 34.

201. Before proceeding to describe the new system it seems necessary to give a short historical account of the opium question in Burma, and of the systems of Excise on opium which have been enforced from annexation in Upper and Lower Burma respectively. The use of opium was known in Lower Burma before the introduction of British rule. It is on record that Caesar Fredericke, a Venetian merchant, traded in opium to Pegu, the central and most important part of Lower Burma, in the latter half of the 16th century, and remained there selling opium for two years apparently without any hindrance or concealment. Barbosa, also, mentions that opium was an article of trade between Cambay and both Pegu and Ava. Ralph Fitch, the first Englishman who visited Burma, mentions that Cambay (i.e., Malwa) opium was one of the few Indian commodities that was in demand at Pegu in 1583-91, and that Turkish opium was also brought to the port of Cirion in Pegu from Mecca. The records of the Dutch East India Company also show that Pegu was regarded as a profitable market for opium in 1613. It seems probable, therefore, that at this time the use of opium as a stimulant must have existed in Burma as it did in the surrounding countries of Asia. The special condemnation of the habit by the Buddhist priesthood and the prohibitive edicts issued now and again by Kings of Burma, or of parts of Burma, seem, as in China, to belong to some later date. All we know is that the Buddhist religion treats the use of all intoxicants as a breach of one of the great commandments; that that Church was a great power in the Burmese States; that it has in recent times specially denounced the opium habit, and has now and again been supported in so doing with spasmodic energy by the Burmese Kings in proportion to the influence exercised over them by the Buddhist hierarchy.

But there is no evidence that the import of opium into Lower Burma was ever prohibited before its annexation by the British Government, or that the prohibition of consumption was ever more than a religious law enforced upon the Buddhists of Burma by the Church and State rule of Buddhist Kings. In the inquiry of 1891, Mr. Norton, Commissioner of the Irrawaddy Division, stated that, though shortly before the

II. p. 563-4.

annexation of Pegu in 1852 the punishment of death was there proclaimed against Burmans using opium, yet the drug could then easily be obtained at a cheaper rate than at present. More than one of the older Burmese gentlemen consulted in 1878, when special inquiries were first instituted regarding the history of the habit, admitted that it had always existed among Burmans, but said that before annexation it was confined to a vicious class who practised it in a more or less concealed way.

II. 8004.

202. Turning now to the history of the subject in Lower Burma under British rule, the Provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim in Lower Burma were annexed in 1826, after the first Burmese war. They were at first attached to the Bengal Presidency, and administered by the Deputy Governor of Bengal, subject to the control of the Governor-General in Council. Pegu was annexed in 1852, after the second Burmese war, but this Province was not placed under the Bengal Government. It was administered by a Commissioner and Governor-General's Agent in direct subordination to the Governor-General in Council, Sir Arthur, then Captain, Phayre being the first Commissioner appointed. In 1854 the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William was made a separate province under a Lieutenant-Governor, and in determining his territorial jurisdiction it was decided to exclude Tenasserim and to place the local administration of that Province, like Pegu, under the direct control of the Governor-General in Council. In 1862 the three divisions of Arakan, Pegu, and Tenasserim were formed into the united Province of British Burma, and Sir Arthur Phayre was appointed Chief Commissioner.

Early excise arrangements in Lower Burma under British rule.

203. At the time of the annexation of Arakan and Tenasserim in 1826, the retail sale of opium in Bengal appears to have been generally conducted under the farming system, the privilege of sale for specified tracts or districts being let by tender or auction to selected individuals. These farmers were bound to sell only Excise opium manufactured at the Government factories, issued to them at a fixed price which included a duty over and above the cost price of the opium. Under this system opium was taxed in two ways, first by the price the farmer paid for his monopoly, and secondly, by the price he paid for the opium. The same system was extended to the territory acquired in Burma, and Bengal Excise opium was sold there in the same manner as in other parts of the Bengal Presidency. This seems to have been done in ordinary course without discussion, and without protest from any quarter. The number of shops allowed appears to have been limited, and the sale to have been confined to seaport towns and places where a demand for the drug was found to exist.

II. p. 426.

204. In 1847, in order to check the traffic in illicit or smuggled opium, which was found to be prevalent and uncontrollable, the farming system was abolished in Bengal, and licenses for the retail sale of Excise opium were granted, free of charge, to respectable and responsible persons throughout that part of India. This made licit or Excise opium cheaper, as the only duty levied on it was included in the price at which it was issued to the vendors. These arrangements weakened the inducements to smuggle in other opium. Arakan, being closely connected by land and sea with Bengal proper, and, therefore, specially open to smuggling, was subsequently brought under the new system of free licenses. On the other hand, Tenasserim, being at a distance, and separated by what was then the Burmese Province of Pegu, was left under the old system. Pegu, when annexed, was treated in the same way. In both Pegu and Tenasserim it may be said that the opium was always highly taxed, and the number of shops strictly limited, but in Arakan the unfortunate issue of licenses free of charge for the sale of opium was no doubt one of the causes which led there to a large increase in the consumption of the drug. It was probably of this system, and its abuses, that an old native resident of Arakan was thinking when he told Colonel Stroyer, as reported by that officer in the inquiry of 1891, that he had seen Government opium hawked about the streets of Akyab in the early days of British rule.

Introduction into Arakan of system of licenses for sale free of charge.

II. p. 426.

The subject attracted Sir Arthur Phayre's attention shortly after his appointment as Chief Commissioner of the Burma Province, and in 1854 he strongly condemned the change of system which had been introduced in Arakan. "The Chief Commissioner," he wrote, "left Arakan in 1852. At that time the old system of farming out the various Abkari shops existed. A high price was paid for the privilege of selling opium, ganja, and spirits by different farmers. The price of the drug or liquor was high to the consumer; the consequence was that, although a fair amount of revenue was derived from the Abkari, the number of consumers, especially of opium, was small; they were also principally persons in the seaport town of Akyab. The Chief Commissioner had Arakan placed under him in 1862. He

II. p. 556.

Parliamentary Return 266, of 2nd June 1881 (Commons).

then found that since he was last in that Province an entirely new Abkari system had been introduced. Whatever the intention in doing so may have been, the effect thereof can only be deemed deplorable and disastrous. Drinking spirits and smoking opium he found had become almost universal among the Arakanese young men."

Re-introduction of farming system in Arakan, and Sir A. Phayre's Excise policy.

205. Measures were at this time taken to check and discourage the use of opium in British Burma; free licenses were abolished in Arakan, and the system of selling the shops by auction was re-introduced. In the Akyab and Kyaukpadaung districts of Arakan the number of shops was reduced in 1863-64 to four, two in each district, and in Sandoway all licenses were withdrawn. In Tenasserim, also, a practice which had grown up of permitting spirits and opium to be carried from the shops at Maulmain to the teak forests was put a stop to. A code of Excise Rules considered suitable for the Province was drawn up by Sir A. Phayre in 1865, and was brought into force with effect from the commencement of the financial year 1866-67. The principles upon which the administration was to be conducted were thus stated in the preamble of the rules.

II. p. 514.

"The object of the Abkaree or Excise Department in British Burma is to raise for the public benefit the greatest possible amount of revenue from the smallest possible consumption of spirituous and other liquors and intoxicating drugs used by the European and the native population. It is not desired to extend the consumption of spirituous liquors and drugs into the interior of the country. At the seaport towns and at large stations where there is generally a considerable foreign population already accustomed to the use of stimulants, the right to sell by retail for consumption on the premises intoxicating liquors and drugs may be farmed or leased out annually as herein-after provided. At no places in the interior of the country is the unrestricted sale of liquor or drugs allowed except on the extreme northern and southern borders of the Province, where it has been found impossible, except by the enforcement of measures which would be vexatious to the whole population, to prevent the illicit sale of opium brought from other countries."

See also Provincial Excise Report for 1867-68.

With the object of preventing the lessees of the right of retail vend from selling cheap smuggled opium, they were required by the rules to take from the Treasury Deputy Commissioners upon the figures of actual sales as ascertained for previous years.

Opinions of Colonel Fytche, Sir A. Eden, and the Government of India (1867-1872) as to discouraging use of opium by Burmans.

206. Colonel Fytche, who succeeded Sir A. Phayre as Chief Commissioner in 1867, was as strongly impressed as his predecessor with the necessity for discouraging the consumption of opium in Burma.

"The extensive consumption," he wrote in the Excise Report for 1867-68, "of opium among the inhabitants of this Province is to be deprecated in every way. Any addition to the general Imperial revenues, which an extensive increase in the consumption of this drug could bring, would assuredly be ill compensated for by the increase of crime which such increased consumption among a race, where gambling and dacoities are a pastime, would bring in its train."

II. p. 516.

207. In 1870-71 the attention of the Local Administration was drawn to the subject of smuggling; and the licensed vendors were themselves suspected of importing and selling illicit opium. District officers were accordingly directed by the Chief Commissioner, Sir Ashley Eden, in the Excise Report for 1870-71 to use every endeavour to put a stop to smuggling. The evils arising from the consumption of opium by Burmans were at the same time recognised, and the necessity for discouraging the use of the drug was insisted on. "There is no sort of doubt," wrote Sir Ashley Eden, "that the consumption of opium and intoxicating drugs has an injurious effect upon the excitable self-indulgent Burman which it has not upon the Indian or Chinese. Wherever its use has been adopted in this country, it has led to the immediate demoralization of the people. 'Opium eater' has become among the Burmans themselves a term synonymous with that of thief. When they have said that a man eats opium, they think that nothing more is required to establish the proof of his belonging to the criminal classes. Obviously then the establishment of new shops under license or farm in the interior of the country is to be avoided as far as it possibly can be without giving an uncontrollable impulse to smuggling opium from the town circles."

Sir Ashley Eden's views were accepted by the Government of India. "The Governor-General in Council," wrote the Financial Secretary in July 1872, "cordially agrees with you that the consumption of opium ought not to be encouraged in

"Burma. The importation of opium cannot perhaps be altogether prohibited, but it should be restricted as far as may be practicable."

208. Act X. of 1871, the Indian Excise Act, was extended to British Burma in April 1872; and in the rules framed under this Act a change of system was introduced. Farms of districts (i.e., of the shops allowed or to be allowed in a district) were abolished for the second time, and in their place licenses for single shops were issued. The practice of requiring vendors to take a stipulated quantity of Excise opium was abandoned, but with the same object of preventing the use of cheap smuggled opium vendors were bound by their licenses to account to the satisfaction of the Deputy Commissioner, if the quantity of opium taken fell considerably short of the quantity hitherto sold. The licenses, like the farms, were disposed of by auction. The object of the policy of Government, as again stated in the Rules under this Act, was "to raise as large an amount of revenue from intoxicating liquors and drugs as is compatible with the greatest possible discouragement of their use." An extract from the despatch of July 1872, containing the views of the Government of India regarding opium in Burma, was published in the Excise Report for 1871-72; and district officers were directed by the Chief Commissioner to "use their utmost endeavours to prevent the spread of the consumption of this narcotic, bearing in mind that, as stated in the concluding paragraph of the despatch above quoted, no purely fiscal considerations should be allowed to interfere with the arrangements which may be thought best for the interest of the people committed to their charge."

Abolition of farming system and introduction of system of licensing single shops.

II. p. 516.

209. Smuggling by sea appears to have been principally complained of at this time; but in December 1872, the Political Agent at Mandalay reported to the Chief Commissioner that opium was produced in the Shan States, in the Kachin hills, and in the Yunnan Province of China, where the cultivation appeared to be on the increase; that it was freely imported into Mandalay, via Bhamo and Theinni, and was subject to a high customs duty only on entering Burmese territory; and that he believed that this opium was smuggled into British Burma, to a considerable extent.

II. p. 518.

210. Notwithstanding the injunctions issued by Sir A. Eden, the introduction of the new system in 1872, was followed by a considerable increase in the number of licensed shops, especially in the Pegu Division, where the number of shops was raised from 8 in 1871-72 to 28 in 1877-78. It was probably thought that the new shops were required to substitute an open and licit for a secret and illicit supply; in other words to check smuggling from Upper Burma, and what Sir A. Eden called the smuggling of opium from the town circles. The issues of Excise opium also continued to increase; and in 1878 the attention of the Chief Commissioner, Mr., now Sir, Charles Aitchison, was drawn to the subject when he was reviewing the report on the Administration of Criminal Justice in the Province for the year 1877. A petition was about the same time presented to the Chief Commissioner at Akyab, in Arakan, by a deputation of influential natives of the town, describing the evils arising from the use of opium, and asking for the adoption of stringent measures of repression. Inquiries were instituted, and the opinions of British officers and of educated natives of the country were collected in regard to the extent of the evil and the possibility of remedial measures; and Sir Charles Aitchison, in a memorandum, dated the 30th April 1880, reviewing the results of these inquiries, recorded his conclusion that opium-smoking among the Burmans was spreading, that it caused great moral and physical deterioration, and was one of the most fertile sources of misery, destitution, and crime. "Probably," he wrote, "a variety of causes have contributed to the spread of this vice. Burma is intellectually in a transition state. The people are becoming emancipated from many restrictions of their old creed; the inevitable tendency of the education we give and of the new sense of personal liberty which our Government creates among an Oriental people is to weaken the sanctions of religious belief and break down the restraints of social customs. Such results ought neither to surprise nor alarm us. However much the old-fashioned among the population may regret it, or blame us for it, we can as easily put back the shadow on the sun-dial as arrest the disintegration of old-world customs." Though strongly of opinion that measures should at once be taken to further restrict and discourage the consumption of opium, Sir Charles Aitchison considered that prohibition of its use was impracticable, as the habit of opium-smoking among certain classes of the Burmese had existed for many years, and there were in the country large numbers of Chinese and natives of India, "constituting perhaps the most thriving and industrious section of the population," to whom, as

Memorandum by Sir C. Aitchison on consumption of opium in Burma.

H. of Commons Return, 266, 2nd June 1881.

he said, the drug was a "necessary of life," and by whom it was "rarely abused." He recommended therefore:—

- (1.) That the number of shops licensed for the retail sale of opium should be reduced.
- (2.) That with the object of bringing consumers under the ban of public opinion, a rule should be introduced providing that opium should be consumed only upon the premises of licensed shops, and making the possession of opium in any quantity outside the shops illegal, except under a pass from a district officer; and
- (3.) That the Code of Criminal Procedure should be altered so as to admit of habitual opium smokers being placed under restraint and required to furnish security for good behaviour as bad characters.

At the same time the restriction of the quantity of opium issued to licensed shops from district treasuries was suggested as a possible measure that might be adopted at any time if it should be thought advisable.

Proposals of
Sir C.
Bernard.

211. Two months later some remarks in the report of the Revenue Administration of British Burma for the year 1878-79, regarding the evils resulting from the increasing consumption of opium, more especially in Arakan, attracted the attention of the Secretary of State; and, in July 1880, he applied to the Government of India for information in regard to the steps which it was proposed to take for checking the evil.

H. of Commons
Return, 266,
2nd June 1881.

212. Sir Charles Bernard succeeded Sir Charles Aitchison as Chief Commissioner in 1880, and at the close of the year submitted, at the request of the Government of India, a note containing the impressions and conclusions which he had formed after personally inquiring into the opium question and visiting Akyab and other places where the effects of the consumption of the drug were reported to be most marked. Like his predecessor, he found a remarkable consensus of opinion among Europeans and natives in Arakan, that the use of opium was spreading, and that much injury had been caused to the people in that part of Burma by its abuse; and although he personally had not been able to find much tangible evidence of the injurious effects said to be caused, he was satisfied that the complaints made had substantial foundation and that remedial measures were called for. He considered that the closure of all shops for the sale of opium was not desirable; but deprecated the adoption of Sir C. Aitchison's proposal to enforce by law the consumption of opium upon licensed premises. To discourage consumption, he recommended that the number of shops for the retail sale of opium should be reduced, and that the price of Excise opium on issue from district treasuries to licensed vendors should be raised.

Orders of
Government
of India and
Secretary of
State on
these pro-
posals.

213. These recommendations received the approval of the Government of India in January 1881. The number of shops licensed for the retail sale of opium in British Burma was reduced with effect from the commencement of the financial year 1881-82 from 68 to 28, and in 1882-83 the number was further reduced to 18; and the price of opium issued from the treasuries was raised with effect from the commencement of the year 1881-82 to Rs. 28 in Arakan, and Rs. 32 in the rest of the Province. The rate in Arakan was fixed lower than in the rest of the Province on account of the proximity from that province. The policy of discouraging as far as possible the consumption of opium in Burma was approved by the Secretary of State in a despatch dated 30th June 1881; but a stoppage of the supply of opium and prohibition of its use were not considered desirable, as persons accustomed to the drug were unable with safety of India in Burma had to be provided for.

214. It may be mentioned here that the official inquiries which had been instituted in regard to opium in Burma in 1879, and Sir Charles Aitchison's memorandum attracted attention in England; and a resolution was adopted at the meeting held at the Mansion House on 25th October 1881, declaring that the results of the sale of opium in British Burma were a disgrace to our government in India.

System introduced into Upper Burma.

Excise mea-
sures adopted
on annexa-
tion of
Upper
Burma.

215. The measures taken by Sir Charles Bernard apparently checked consumption for a time, but an evasion of the law was easy and the demand for opium was strong. A system of illicit sale of opium, at places other than the licensed shops, was organised throughout the country, and the quantity of opium issued from the district treasuries

began again to rise. In 1884-85 the subject was further discussed, and was under the consideration of the Chief Commissioner when Upper Burma was occupied in November 1885. The question of Excise arrangements for the Upper Province was at once considered, and in the instructions for the guidance of civil officers in the administration of the recently-acquired territory issued by the Chief Commissioner, Sir Charles Bernard, in a Regulation, dated 19th March 1886, the sale of opium and liquor to Burmans was forbidden, but the establishment of a limited number of shops for the sale of opium to Chinese was permitted. In the same month the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade submitted a memorial to the Secretary of State, in which they referred to the opinions expressed in regard to opium in Burma by Sir Charles Aitchison in his memorandum of 30th April 1880, by Mr. Hodgkinson, the Commissioner of the Irrawaddy Division, in the Provincial Excise Report for 1883-84, and by Mr. Copleston in the Provincial Excise Report for 1884-85. They urged that the policy of discouraging the consumption of opium in Lower Burma should be carried further in the direction of the total prohibition of the sale or use of the drug, and that a similar policy should be adopted in the newly-acquired territory in Upper Burma. The memorial was forwarded by the Secretary of State to the Government of India for information, under cover of a despatch dated 18th March 1886. "I have no doubt," wrote Lord Kimberley, "that full attention will be paid by the Government of your Excellency to the important subject of the consumption and sale of opium in Burma, especially in the newly-acquired territories, and I shall be glad to be informed in due time of the arrangements which may be decided on."

On receipt of this despatch, the Chief Commissioner was requested, in May 1886, to ascertain and report the real state of the case in regard to the consumption of opium and liquor by Burmans in Upper Burma.

216. The facts as to Upper Burma in the time of the Burman Kings may be gathered from a report submitted to the Government of India by Sir C. Crosthwaite, who had succeeded Sir C. Bernard as Chief Commissioner. In this letter, under date 20th March 1888, it is stated as follows: "On our taking over the country stringent rules were enacted, and somewhat rigorously enforced against the sale of opium. Many Chinese were flogged and otherwise punished for engaging in a traffic, which, although it may have been nominally prohibited, was allowed to go on under the Burman Government."

In a second report, dated the 20th April 1888 the evidence is quoted of a high official of the late Burmese Government, U. Pei Sei, magistrate of the city of Mandalay, under both King Mindon and King Thebaw. It was as follows: "The Burmese Government never openly recognised the opium and liquor traffic in Upper Burma; those persons only were punished who sold opium and liquor to Burmans. The Burmese Government admitted the existence of the traffic by levying customs dues through an officer called Dáwun Akunwun, on all liquor and opium imported into Upper Burma." On this subject we have, also, the evidence of the Rev. J. S. Adams, of the American Baptist Mission, who gave evidence before the Commission in London. He was in Upper Burma from 1874 to 1879, that is, in the last years of King Mindon Min, and in the first year of King Thebaw, whom we deposed in 1885. According to his evidence, the prohibition of the use of opium and liquor by Burmans was at that time strongly enforced by the native authorities in Upper Burma, the Buddhist priests actively co-operating with the King and his officers in the matter, acting as spies upon the people in this and other actions contrary to the Buddhist law, and themselves bringing accusations against the offenders. But this was, so to speak, a law personal to the Burmans, not a territorial law; for Mr. Adams also says that the Chinese, Shans, and Kachins were not interfered with. They bought their opium and opium-pipes with them, and smoked without restriction. It has been noted above, that in 1872 (two years before Mr. Adams was in Mandalay), the British Political Agent there was reporting to the Government of India that much Yunpan and Shan opium was imported into Upper Burma at a low duty, and was, he thought, smuggled into British Burma. Mr. Adams believed the prohibition to have been effectual in the case of the Burmans, and it may have been so in Mindon Min's time, but there is evidence to show that the effect was spasmodic and very far from complete at any time. Mindon Min was a great zealot in religion, much under the influence of the priests, and constantly exerted himself to compel the Burmans to conform to the Buddhist law of abstinence from intoxicants. His father, Tharawaddi, is said to have gone mad from intemperance, and he himself was a priest before he became King. These

Parl. Return,
C.—6562, of
1892, pp. 41, 42.

Facts regard-
ing con-
sumption of
opium in
Upper
Burma
before an-
nexation.

Parl. Return
C.—338, of
1888, p. 9.

Parl. Return
Commons 338,
9th August,
p. 12.

I. 308.

I. 312-14.

II. 7611, 7692.

II. 8013.

* See pp. 118, 126, Vol. I., "Burma Past and Present," by Lieut.-General Albert Fytche, C.S.I.

facts may explain his special activity in supporting the priesthood in enforcing the religious law of abstinence. Under his successor, King Thebaw, according to Mr. Smeaton's evidence before the Commission, Mindon Min's prohibitive edicts were almost altogether neglected, and even some of the priesthood took to the use of intoxicants. When our troops occupied Mandalay in 1885 enormous stores of opium were found in the Chinese merchants' quarters, and they admitted that they supplied many Burman consumers. This is proved by the report of Mr. Carter, Deputy Commissioner, in the inquiry of 1891, and was confirmed by Mr. Smeaton in his evidence before the Commission. The Rev. Dr. Cushing also stated that opium was secretly consumed, to some extent, by Burmans when he was in the country before annexation, and Mr. J. E. Bridges gave similar evidence. The religious law remained the same, but the degree to which it was enforced in each reign by the secular arm varied according to the character of the King. It should be added that Chinese, Shans, and Kachins were always allowed to possess opium and to import it for their own use.

II. 8004.

8003.

6926.

7536.

6923, 6932,
6934, 7351,
7540.Excise ar-
rangements
sanctioned
for Upper
Burma in
1888.Parl. Return
(Commons),
dated 9th
August 1881,
p. 9.

217. Meanwhile the subject attracted further attention in England during the summer of 1887, and on 22nd July, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, the Under Secretary of State said that whatever Excise regulations were made in Upper Burma would be "for the purpose of restricting the sale of spirits and opium in the interest of public order, and of preventing their sale to Burmans, and most certainly not with the view of raising money thereby." The necessity for taking the strongest precautions to prevent the sale of opium and spirits to Burmans in Upper Burma was subsequently impressed upon the Government of India in a despatch dated 18th August 1887. In the report of March 1888, already quoted, Sir Charles Crosthwaite, who was then Chief Commissioner, supported the proposal to continue to prohibit the sale of opium to Burmans in Upper Burma, and recommended that the Opium Act should be extended to the Upper Province with the exception of the Shan States to enable Government to control the traffic in opium and to check consumption by non-Burmans by raising the price of the drug; that an import duty of 15 rupees a viss (3.65 lbs.) should be imposed on all opium brought into the country, and that shops for the retail sale of opium to non-Burmans should be licensed in specified localities. Rules under the Opium Act were at the same time submitted to give effect to these proposals. The measures proposed met with the approval of the Government of India; the Opium Act was extended to Upper Burma and the draft rules submitted were sanctioned and issued. Some reduction in the number of shops which it was proposed to license for the sale of opium to non-Burmans was however suggested as desirable, and the number was finally fixed at 18 instead of 21 as at first recommended. The correspondence was communicated to the Secretary of State in a despatch from the Government of India dated 16th June 1888, and on 9th August 1888 the Secretary of State replied that he had given careful consideration to the arrangements and accepted generally the conclusions which had been arrived at. The settlement of administrative details was left to the Chief Commissioner and to the Government of India, but attention was drawn to the injunction contained in the despatch of 18th August 1887, and in another despatch regarding Excise arrangements in India generally, dated 19th April 1888, "to the effect that a demand for opium must not be created or stimulated at places or in tracts where such demand does not exist or is at present very restricted and that such demand is everywhere to be discouraged."

Policy in
Lower
Burma,
1885-90.Parl. Return,
C.—6562 of
1892, pp. 35,
36.

218. No material change was introduced into the Excise administration of Lower Burma, but the policy of reducing the number of shops licensed for the sale of opium was continued, and in 1887-88 the total number was reduced to 15. In Arakan only one shop had been allowed in the whole division since 1885. But in spite of these arrangements, there was no signs that the habit was diminished in Arakan, and in other divisions there were large tracts without shops where much opium appears to have been consumed in an illicit way. Sir Charles Crosthwaite, therefore, in the review of the Provincial Excise Report for 1887-88, expressed an opinion that the policy had been pushed too far, and that it was not possible to prevent the use of opium in districts where there was a large actual demand for it by refusing to license shops for its sale. On the principle, therefore, that a demand for opium should be regulated rather than ignored, five additional shops for the sale of the drug were licensed with effect from the year 1889-90, bringing up the total number of shops licensed in the Lower Province to 20.

Circumstances in which present System was introduced throughout the Province.

219. In the memorial regarding the consumption of opium and drugs in India, which was presented to the Secretary of State in 1890, the Anti-Opium Society expressed satisfaction at the closure of two more shops in Lower Burma since the submission of their previous memorial to Lord Kimberley on the 4th March 1886, but observed that they could not regard this as a satisfactory rate of progress in the diminution of temptations to vice. They repeated, therefore, the arguments already put forward in favour of prohibition in Lower Burma, and referred to the supposed success of the prohibition of *ganja* in 1872 as an additional argument in favour of the prohibition of opium. In respect to Upper Burma they quoted the passages in their former memorial, which urged that total prohibition would be easier than regulation and would be more in accordance with the religious and moral sense of the people, and expressed regret that this view had not commended itself to the Government of India; and that fourteen shops for the sale of opium, professedly to the Chinese and Shan population, had been opened in the province.

The Anti-Opium Society's Memorial of 1890, C.—6552, p. 110, and Sir A. Mackenzie's first proposals.

220. The memorial was referred to the Chief Commissioner for any remarks he might wish to offer regarding Burma; and Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who was then Chief Commissioner, replied to the following effect in a letter dated 2nd February 1891. The increase in the consumption of opium in the province during the preceding four years was not thought to indicate any serious extension of the practice of opium eating and smoking among the Burmese, or to be greatly disproportionate to the increase of population. In his opinion, however, the reports which had from time to time been submitted showed that the consumption of opium by Burmans in some districts of Lower Burma was already very considerable and that it was increasing, though not to any very serious extent, save in special tracts such as Arakan, the seaport towns, and the delta of the Irrawaddy. The existence also of traffic in smuggled opium made it impossible to accept the figures showing the quantity of opium issued by Government to licensed vendors as a correct indication of the total quantity of opium consumed. The use of opium by persons of Burmese race was denounced by all respectable Burmans and by every European authority in the province, official and non-official, as deleterious and harmful in a very special degree, and the measures taken to discourage consumption by reducing the number of shops for the retail sale of the drug had produced very little effect upon the quantity of opium issued from the Government treasuries. Sir A. Mackenzie therefore declared himself willing to see the possession of opium in any quantity by natives of Burma declared illegal, except under medical or special certificate. To provide for the case of Burmans of the present generation who were too old to break themselves of the habit with safety, it was suggested that men of not less than 40 years of age who were accustomed to the use of opium, might be permitted to register themselves as foreigners for the purpose of the Opium Act and Rules, a certificate being granted on registration authorising the holder to purchase and possess the ordinary legal quantity of opium. Absolute prohibition of the use of opium in the province was not, however, recommended. Such a prohibition would, it was thought, be an unjustifiable interference with the habits of the Chinese, Shans, and other foreign residents in the country, who, as had been frequently explained, were in the habit of using opium without "ill effects or even with beneficial results," and would be quite impossible to enforce. The prohibition of *ganja*, which was at one time supposed to have stamped out the use of the drug in Burma, was admitted to have been ineffectual, and the prohibition of opium would be even more difficult. Failing prohibition of the possession of opium by Burmans, Sir A. Mackenzie declared himself "an advocate for the absolute closing of opium taverns to men of Burmese race," as he was satisfied from his experience in the Central Provinces "that it was desirable to put a stop to the temptations of gregariousness in vice;" he had "no faith in the check supposed to be exercised by public opinion," which was the main argument relied on by those who advocated the restriction of consumption to licensed premises.

Parl. Return, C.—6562, of 1892.

221. On receiving this memorandum the Government of India expressed themselves willing to sanction the proposal for the prohibition of the use of opium by Burmans in Lower Burma, if they could be satisfied, (1) that the evil to be removed was as great as was depicted; (2) that it would be practicable to enforce the prohibition, and (3) that its enforcement would not be accompanied by evils as great as that which it was desired to remove; and they informed the Chief Commissioner that the possible loss of revenue involved would not be allowed to stand in the way of

Orders of Government upon Sir A. Mackenzie's first proposals.

facts may explain his special activity in supporting the priesthood in enforcing the religious law of abstinence. Under his successor, King Thebaw, according to Mr. Smeaton's evidence before the Commission, Mindon Min's prohibitive edicts were almost altogether neglected, and even some of the priesthood took to the use of intoxicants. When our troops occupied Mandalay in 1885 enormous stores of opium were found in the Chinese merchants' quarters, and they admitted that they supplied many Burman consumers. This is proved by the report of Mr. Carter, Deputy Commissioner, in the inquiry of 1891, and was confirmed by Mr. Smeaton in his evidence before the Commission. The Rev. Dr. Cushing also stated that opium was secretly consumed, to some extent, by Burmans when he was in the country before annexation, and Mr. J. E. Bridges gave similar evidence. The religious law remained the same, but the degree to which it was enforced in each reign by the secular arm Shans, and Kachins were always allowed to possess opium and to import it for their own use.

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11. 8004.

8003.

6926.

7536.

6923, 6932,
6934, 7351,
7510.Excise ar-
rangements
sanctioned
for Upper
Burma in
1888.Parl. Return
(Commons),
dated 9th
August 1887,
p. 9.Policy in
Lower
Burma,
1885-90.Parl. Return,
C.—6562 of
1892, pp. 85,
34.The Anti-
Opium
Society's
Memorial
of 1890, C.—
6552, p. 110,
and Sir A.
Mackenzie's
first pro-
posals.Parl. Return,
C.—6562, of
1892.Orders of
Government
upon Sir A.
Mackenzie's
first pro-
posals.

the adoption of the measure if they were satisfied that it was practicable and desirable. The existence of practical unanimity of opinion among respectable Burmans and Europeans acquainted with the country, that opium is specially deleterious to persons of Burmese race, was admitted; but it was pointed out that the papers on the subject, though they contained many statements of opinion, did not contain many facts in support of the opinions. The Chief Commissioner was accordingly requested to test the correctness of the generally adopted view as to the difference of the effects of the use of opium upon Burmans and non-Burmans by the collection of statistics, facts, and figures, and to report further as to the possibility of enforcing the proposed prohibition, and as to the means which should be adopted to prevent hardship to persons already accustomed to the use of the drug. The failure of the existing preventive agency to restrict the licensed vendors to legitimate sales at their shops, and to prevent them from supplying other localities through secret agents was noticed as proof of the difficulty of enforcement of restrictive rules, and the danger of the prohibition resulting in a system of police espionage and extortion that would make our rule odious and unpopular were indicated as questions requiring very serious consideration.

222. The willingness of the Governor General in Council to sanction the complete prohibition of the smoking of opium by persons of any race on the premises of licensed shops was at the same time communicated; and this question was shortly afterwards disposed of by the resolution of the Government of India, dated 25th September 1891, which prohibited the smoking of opium upon licensed premises throughout the whole of India.

223. The Chief Commissioner, in a Resolution dated 29th August 1891, issued orders for the collection of the statistics, facts, and figures required by the Government of India as to the difference in the effects of opium upon Burmans and non-Burmans. Commissioners in Upper Burma also were directed to report how far the prohibition of the use of opium by Burmans in that part of the country had been effectual.

224. The reports and returns submitted in accordance with these orders by Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners, Police officers, and Superintendents of gaols were reviewed and analysed by the Financial Commissioner, Mr. Smeaton, in a note dated 27th April 1892. The results of the policy pursued in regard to opium in Lower Burma were said by him to constitute a grave indictment against the British Government, and to demonstrate the necessity for the absolute and speedy prohibition of the use of opium by Burmans; though the inquiries showed that the evil effects of the opium habit on mind and body were much less marked in the case of other races such as Chinese, Shans, or Indians, he considered that the licensing of shops to supply them was inconsistent with effectual prohibition in the case of Burmans. He proposed, therefore, that all shops for the sale of opium should be closed in Lower Burma, and that the possession and use of opium should be prohibited, except by such Burmans as might declare themselves and might be ascertained by medical examination, to be physically incapable of discontinuing its use, and by such non-Burmans as might, on similar examination, be held likely to be permanently injured, or to suffer permanently in mind and body by abstention from it. Persons thus permitted to use opium should be registered and licensed, and opium required for their use should be supplied from township officers or sub-divisional dispensaries. Burmese doctors and professional tattooers should also be registered and licensed, and opium should be supplied to them for use in the quantities and for the purposes certified by the *thugyis* or headmen of their villages. On completion of the registration, no new entries in the registers of persons of Burmese race should be permitted, but registration of non-Burmans applying for permission to use opium might be continued. To enforce the prohibition of the use of opium by any but registered consumers, he recommended that preventive establishments should be strengthened; that the Burmese priests should be induced to co-operate in the suppression of illicit traffic; and that Government should insist on the punishment of imprisonment being inflicted, with or without fine according to circumstances, upon all offenders against the prohibition.

225. As regards Upper Burma, Mr. Smeaton observed that the reports showed that the consumption of opium was small as compared with Lower Burma, and that there appeared to be grounds for believing that the original prohibition of sale and the recent prohibition of possession of opium by Burmans, coupled with the restrictions placed on the traffic and sale of opium and the rigorous measures taken against smuggling, had at least to a great extent arrested the progress which opium was certainly making among the people before and at the time of the annexation. The evil, however, existed, and for

Parl. Return,
C.—6562,
pp. 102–105.

The inquiry
of 1891, and
Mr. Smeaton's
Note upon the
results.
II. pp. 481–3.

II. pp. 538–47.

its complete eradication he recommended that all shops for the sale of opium should be closed, and that the measures proposed for Lower Burma should also be adopted in their entirety in the Upper Province.

226. Sir A. Mackenzie, in a Minute dated 30th April 1892, drawn up as he himself explained under great pressure on the eve of his departure from the province, stated briefly the conclusions at which he had arrived from perusal of the papers, but he was unable to prepare as he had intended a detailed review of the whole case. The statistics afforded, in his opinion, strong confirmation of the correctness of the views held throughout a long series of years by almost all authorities, official and non-official, European and native, as to the injury caused by the consumption of opium in Burma, and brought out the fact that the evil was a rapidly growing one in many parts of the Lower Province. They also led him to the conclusion that he did not go far enough, in his letter of 2nd February 1891, in proposing to limit the prohibition of the use of opium to Burmans while leaving the shops for the sale of opium open to foreigners. The limitation was, as he explained, mainly proposed in the interests of the Chinese, but the number of male Chinese of all ages in Burma was less than 30,000, and although he believed that most of the adults used opium when they could get it, and that it did them little harm, it would, he thought, be possible to provide for their wants without maintaining shops for the sale of the drug. There were, it was true, over 200,000 adult natives of India in Burma, but there was no reason to believe that any very large number of these were consumers of opium; while as regards Shans and Kachins he now found that officers acquainted with them held that opium was nearly as deleterious to them as to Burmans. He recommended, therefore, that all shops for the sale of opium throughout Burma should be closed, and that opium should be supplied to hospitals and dispensaries for issue there of not more than three tolas at a time at a price of Rs. 5 per tola to two classes of purchasers only (1) to persons holding a medical prescription authorising them to receive for some special cause a daily dose of opium for a period not exceeding 14 days, (2) to persons holding annual licences to buy and use opium habitually, such licenses being granted, on payment of a special fee of Rs. 10 for each license, to Chinese, and to persons of other races producing a medical certificate that the habitual use of opium was necessary for their health, and to tattooers and native medical practitioners. Enforcement of the prohibition with sufficient completeness was held to be possible if all shops for the sale of opium were closed throughout the province; and in Sir A. Mackenzie's opinion Burmans were not at any time likely to be severely victimised by the police. "I wish it to be understood," he wrote, in conclusion, "that while I advocate the suppression of the opium trade in Burma, I do so solely with reference to the special circumstances of that country and the condition of the people. I do not believe that opium in India or China does any great harm to the majority of those who use it, i.e., to moderate smokers and eaters. But here in Burma we are brought face to face with the fact that the religion of the people specifically denounces the use of the drug; that their native kings treated its use as a heinous offence; that these ideas are so deeply rooted in the minds of the people that every opium consumer feels himself to be, and is regarded by his neighbours as, a sinner and a criminal; that the people are by temperament pleasure-loving and idle, and easily led away by vicious indulgences; that they have little self-restraint, and are always prone to rush into extremes. If a Burman takes to drink or opium he wants to get drunk or drugged as fast as he can or as often as he can. All this seems to me to point to the necessity of special treatment. Then, to crown all, we have the fact that in Upper Burma we actually do prohibit the sale to and possession of the drug by Burmans, I cannot see how we can properly have one policy north of latitude 19° 30', and a different policy south of it, among people of the same race and living under the same Local Administration."

227. Mr. Fryer, the officiating Chief Commissioner, was then requested to prepare the detailed review of the whole case which Sir A. Mackenzie had not been able to do, and to submit his own opinion and recommendations, and this he did in a note dated 4th July 1892. Mr. Fryer pointed out various inaccuracies and inconsistencies in Mr. Smeaton's statements and calculations, and expressed the opinion that his estimate of the number of habitual Burman consumers was much exaggerated, but he agreed that the Burmans were better without opium, and was in favour of further strong measures of restriction in Lower Burma. He was, however, adverse to a policy of total prohibition, and considered that it would be impracticable to enforce it. The system in Upper Burma of prohibiting the use of opium by Burmans and allowing it in the case of non-Burmans had in his opinion worked well and reduced the use

Sir A.
Mackenzie's
second pro-
posals, 1892.
II. 537, 538.

Final recom-
mendations
by Mr.
Fryer.

II. pp. 624–628.

of opium by Burmans in that part of the country since annexation, and it was undesirable to alter it. He recommended, therefore, that the prohibition of the possession and use of opium by Burmans should be extended to Lower Burma; that all consumers, Burman and non-Burman, should be registered; that registered Burman consumers should receive certificates authorising them to purchase and possess opium; and that a maximum quantity of opium should be fixed for issue to each licensed shop in accordance with the ascertained number of legitimate Burman and non-Burman consumers.

Orders by the Government of India, 1893.

II. 628-31.

228. Orders were issued by the Government of India in March 1893. They held that the extent of the evil had been exaggerated; that the statistics collected were wanting in accuracy, and the inferences drawn from them were in some respects unsound; that the total prohibition of the use of opium, as proposed by Sir A. Mackenzie in his minute of 30th April 1892, was uncalled for and impracticable; and that any attempt to enforce such a prohibition would be accompanied by harassment of the people and risk of oppression to an extent for which there could be no justification. There was, however, they thought, evidence to show that the policy of prohibiting the use of opium in Upper Burma by Burmans had been attended with considerable success, and determined, therefore, with the approval of the Secretary of State to assimilate the law in Lower Burma to that which existed in the Upper Province, and Mr. Fryer's proposals were accordingly sanctioned.

Enactment of rules to give effect to the new system.

II. App. XL. and I.

229. Rules under the Opium Act to give effect to these orders were framed and submitted by the officiating Chief Commissioner in May 1893, but scrutiny and revision were found to be necessary, and the rules in their final form were not approved and published until November 1893. In the draft rules as originally submitted the right of all non-Burmans over 20 years of age to obtain opium was admitted. They were required, however, to register themselves as consumers, and this the Government of India declined to sanction on the ground that the orders issued merely directed the assimilation of the law in Lower Burma to that which was in force in the Upper Province. They had no objection to the enumeration of non-Burmans, as a means of ascertaining the number of opium consumers, but were not prepared to sanction rules making registration a condition necessary to the lawful possession of opium by a non-Burman. No cause had in their opinion been shown for subjecting non-Burmans in Lower Burma to restrictions that were not in force in Upper Burma, or in any other part of India.

I. pp. 488, 489.

230. Against this refusal to sanction the compulsory registration of non-Burman consumers of opium, the Anti-Opium Society submitted a memorial to the Secretary of State urging that the policy of prohibition as carried out in Upper Burma was admitted to have completely failed. They asked, therefore, that it should be made a "universal rule" that no inhabitant of Burma, whatever his race, shall be able to purchase or possess opium unless his name is entered on the register of opium consumers, and then only in such quantity as may be shown by sufficient evidence to be necessary for his own personal use. The memorial was considered by the Government of India, but the previous decision was adhered to, and on the 6th December 1893 they informed the Secretary of State that in their opinion no sufficient cause had been shown for extending the prohibition to non-Burmans, and that such extension would increase the chances of failure of the experiment which they had resolved to attempt.

Description of present System and Views of the Commission as to Prohibition in the case of Burmans.

Description of the new system.

231. The system which has been introduced is of a somewhat complicated character. It is an attempt to assimilate the law in Lower and Upper Burma, with certain differences, which have had for the present to be maintained. For this reason and because it is a new system and a subject of controversy it seems advisable to set out the principal provisions of the rules in the footnote below.*

** Main Provisions now in Force.*

II. App. XL.

The cultivation of the poppy is prohibited throughout Burma, except in certain outlying tracts consisting of Kachin villages in the Katha, Bhamo, and Upper Chindwin districts in Upper Burma. Cultivation is permitted in the Kachin villages on political grounds, as it existed there uncontrolled prior to annexation, and the people have hitherto been allowed great liberty. The exact area under poppy is unknown as the localities in which cultivation is carried on are for the most part beyond the sphere of regular administration. The cultivation is subject to a light acreage duty.

(Footnote—continued.)

In Lower Burma, as was the case under the old system, the only opium allowed to be used is Bengal Excise opium, and the import of other opium, except Turkish opium for medical purposes, is prohibited. Bengal Excise opium is imported by Government and is stored in the district treasuries for issue to vendors as required. The price at which it is issued to licensed vendors has been maintained at the rates existing before the introduction of the new system, viz., 28 rupees per ser in Arakan and 32 rupees per ser in the rest of the province. The cost price to Government being only Rs. 7 annas 4 the ser, it will be seen that a heavy duty is put on the opium before it reaches the licensed vendors' hands. Another heavy duty is imposed in the fees paid for the licenses, so that the vendors to obtain a profit from their business have to raise the retail price to the consumers to Rs. 50 per ser.

In Upper Burma Government Excise opium and opium from China and the Shan States are both allowed to be used. Excise opium is imported and issued by Government in the same manner and at the same price as in Lower Burma, and persons holding licenses for wholesale or retail vend of opium may import by land under passes and on payment of an import duty of 15 rupees per viss (3.65 lbs.) opium and poppy heads produced in China, the Shan States, and other countries. The continuance of the import of this opium into Upper Burma has been permitted since annexation by our Government for political reasons and because the consumers are accustomed to it, but the duty has been made fifteen times heavier than it was before annexation. It is also thought that if the import of this opium were absolutely prohibited it would be impossible to prevent extensive smuggling across the land frontier of Burma.

Wholesale licenses may be granted in Upper Burma to non-Burmans importing opium from Yunnan or the Shan States for sale to retail vendors on payment of a fee of Rs. 20 for each license. These licenses are limited in number and said to be usually held by persons also holding licenses for retail vend.

Opium and poppy heads produced in the Kachin villages in the Katha, Bhamo, and Upper Chindwin districts can be sold to any non-Burman but are liable on transport to any area in which the cultivation of the poppy is not permitted to the same duty as is imposed on opium and poppy heads imported by land into Upper Burma.

Both in Upper and Lower Burma medical practitioners, meaning persons who have been registered under an English Medical Act, or who have received medical diplomas from an Indian university and who practice medicine according to European methods, and pharmacists, meaning persons who deal in European medicines and drugs, and who hold licenses under the opium rules, are permitted to import by sea opium, medical preparations, and poppy heads not produced in India. Medical practitioners are under no restrictions as to the quantities of opium, &c. which they may import. Pharmacists however are ordinarily only allowed to import quantities not exceeding one ser in weight in the case of opium or of medical preparations of opium and 10 sers in the case of poppy heads, though the Financial Commissioner is authorised to sanction the import of larger quantities in special cases.

On opium imported by sea by medical practitioners and pharmacists a duty of 24 rupees per ser is levied under the Indian Tariff Act.

Merchants or travellers entering Upper or Lower Burma by land from China, the Shan States, or any other country out of India, are permitted to import and possess while in Burma opium not produced in India in quantities not exceeding five tolas for each person for the personal use of themselves and their attendants, and horse dealers bringing horses into Burma from the Shan States or from a country other than India are similarly permitted to import and possess opium not produced in India in any quantity not exceeding five tolas in weight for each horse for the time being in their possession. This is a limited form of an old privilege, and in the interest of commerce and free intercourse it has not been thought prudent to abolish it altogether.

Opium may be exported from Burma by Government only. Throughout Burma any person may possess opium in any quantity not exceeding three tolas, and medical preparations of opium in any quantity not exceeding six tolas in weight, and poppy heads in any quantity not exceeding five sers, which he has purchased for medical purposes from a medical practitioner, a pharmacist, or a doctor, meaning a person practising medicine according to Asiatic methods and holding a license according to the rules.

Non-Burmans may also possess for their own use opium in any quantity up to three tolas in weight, and poppy heads in any quantity up to five sers in weight, which have been lawfully obtained, and in the Kachin villages in Upper Burma, where the poppy is grown, they may possess any quantity of opium or poppy heads there produced. In Upper Burma non-Burmans are permitted to possess Chinese or Shan as well as Government Excise opium, but in Lower Burma they are permitted to possess Government Excise opium only.

In Upper Burma the possession of opium by Burmans except for medical purposes is prohibited. In Lower Burma the same rule applies with the exception that those Burmans over 25 years of age who have applied to be registered as habitual consumers and proved their assertion are treated as non-Burmans and may possess opium, lawfully obtained in limited quantities, for their private consumption. The exception is a temporary one made out of consideration for the present generation of habitual consumers. When the men now registered die out the law will be the same in Lower as in Upper Burma.

A Burman, throughout Burma, means a person born of parents both of whom belong to races indigenous to Burma, except a Kachin, a Shan, or a Palaung. A non-Burman, means every person who is not a Burman.

In Lower Burma, the registration of Burman habitual consumers was commenced in April 1893, and was continued until 30th June 1894. The registers were then closed, and no Burman may now be registered unless he can prove that he was prevented by absence, or other reasonable cause, from entering his name before the prescribed date. Each registered consumer is furnished with a certificate of registration, and is required to produce it when buying opium as a proof that he may legally possess it.

Registration was voluntary, but notices were issued for the information of consumers, in March 1893, that after the introduction of the new rules, no unregistered Burman in Lower Burma, would be permitted to possess opium except for medical purposes. The rules provide for the periodical verification and for the proper maintenance of the registers by the removal of the names of any persons who may wish to discontinue the habitual use of opium, and by transfer from one register to another of consumers who may change their place of residence.

In order to enable registered habitual consumers to obtain opium out of their own townships when temporarily travelling or residing elsewhere, special licenses may be issued with the sanction of Commissioners authorising any person to possess opium and medical preparations made therefrom in such quantity and for such period as may be specified in the licenses, but the possession of Government Excise opium only may be authorised in Lower Burma.

232. It may be stated broadly that for Burmans the new system is (with a small exception which will soon disappear) one of very stringent prohibition of all use or possession of opium except for medical purposes, enforceable by heavy fine and imprisonment. For non-Burmans it is the old system not materially changed. The new rule of fixing a limit of total quantity to be sold at each shop is intended to prevent illicit sale to Burmans, rather than to curtail the supply to non-Burmans. There are, as before, shops or offices from which the latter can buy opium without reference to the object for which they require it, but such places are few and far between, and opium can be obtained only in small quantities and at a very high price. Short of absolute prohibition, it would be difficult to devise a more restrictive system.

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Subject to the conditions of his license, a licensed vendor may sell by retail Government opium and poppy heads to any person in Lower Burma who is permitted to possess them, and Government or foreign opium or poppy heads to any non-Burman in Upper Burma.

At four places in Lower Burma, where the number of registered Burman and non-Burman consumers is considerable, but is not large enough to justify the existence of licensed shops, the duty of selling opium by retail to such consumers is imposed on certain Government officials, in addition to their ordinary duties as it would, it is thought, be impossible to prevent smuggling in of illicit opium and promiscuous sale if no means were provided for supplying such habitual consumers in a legal and recognised manner.

To prevent the illicit sale of opium by licensed or official vendors to persons not authorised to possess it, the maximum quantity of opium which a licensed vendor may possess, and in the four places in which opium is sold by Government agency, the maximum quantity which may be sold to consumers at each place in the whole year, is fixed by Government on a consideration of the number of persons legally entitled to possess opium living in the area served by the shop or Government agency, and of the probable amount of their requirements. The amount allowed for each consumer per diem is one quarter of a tola, viz., 45 grains. No minimum is fixed, and a licensed vendor may therefore possess and sell as little opium as he pleases, but he may not possess and sell more than the maximum quantity, as above determined by Government. All retail vendors licensed or official have to keep a daily account of sales, and to record therein the amounts sold to each purchaser.

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Pharmacists, however, may be specially authorised to possess larger quantities at the discretion of the Financial Commissioner. Professional tattooers also may be licensed to possess and use for purpose of their profession any quantity of opium and medical preparations not exceeding 10 tolas in weight. Tattooing, it may be explained, is in Burma a recognised profession, and it is a universal custom to tattoo boys from the waist to the knees. The operation is painful, and opium is used to allay the pain. The number of professional tattooers in Burma at the census of 1891 was 4,280.

In Lower Burma, Native doctors and tattooers are, with the object of preventing illicit traffic in foreign opium, restricted to the use of the Government drug, but in Upper Burma they are permitted to use Shan or Chinese, as well as Government opium.

Any person contravening any one of the rules above summarised is liable on conviction before a magistrate, to be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

Dalzell, Johnstone, and Dantra. All these officers support prohibition in the case of Burmans, except two of the doctors, who ventured no opinion on that question either way. It must be remembered also that these returns are the results of local inquiries made chiefly by Burman elders in the position of subordinate district officials, township officers, or village headmen. There is abundant evidence that this respectable class of Burmans regards the habit and its toleration by our Government with a peculiar aversion, based, no doubt, in part upon experience of the harm it does, but in part also, on a religious and sentimental regard for the old traditional Native law of prohibition. The forms to be filled in appear in no case to have provided columns for degrees of injury, and in many instances a man had to be returned either as not having suffered at all or as having been morally or physically wrecked.

234. As a fact, it is well known that in all countries where the opium habit prevails, sufferers from the effects of malarious fever, pulmonary complaints, syphilis, rheumatism, and other diseases are apt to take to opium, and to be more or less physical wrecks, apart from any effect of the drug; and there is evidence that though it is true that a Burman who takes to the habit loses his self-respect and the respect of his neighbours, and often descends to petty crime, yet it is also true that naturally vicious and disreputable people, who have no self-respect or respect of their neighbours to lose, commonly take to the habit for the pleasure they find in it. The opium habit, in fact, is in Burma as often a consequence of bad character, as bad character is a consequence of opium.

235. But though the strong dislike of the habit which respectable Burmans evince is due to religious and national sentiment as well as to experience, yet the existence of such a sentiment was a matter which the Government of India was bound to take into consideration, and they would, in our opinion, have incurred a grave responsibility if they had refused to try the experiment of prohibition in the case of persons of Burmese race. There are other reasons for the exceptional treatment of Burma, which we think may be stated with advantage. We have already pointed out that in India both Hindus and Muhammadans generally regard the use of alcohol as disreputable, and more or less directly contrary to their religion. The Indian who takes to opium does not lose his self-respect or the respect of his neighbours in the same way as if he took to alcohol. The contrary is the case with the Burmans. Both opium and alcohol are prohibited by the Buddhist religion, but in practice the use of opium in Burma has been more strongly discountenanced than the use of alcohol. The use of liquor appears to have prevailed in the country before it became Buddhist, and is connected with the ceremonies of the old Pagan religion, many traces of which are found embedded in the popular form of Buddhism.

The Commission's reasons for approving the experiment of prohibition to Burmans.

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237. The opium habit also is a very old custom of the population, or of certain castes or races in some parts of India, and the custom shows no signs of spreading to other tracts or other races, or of increase where it has hitherto prevailed. On the contrary, the evidence before us shows that from rise of price due to restrictive measures and change of fashion, the custom has in many cases been decreasing in the last 20 years, its place being often taken by alcohol. On the other hand, there is evidence to show that the use of opium by Burmans in Lower Burma has very considerably increased in the same period, in spite of regulations much more stringent than have been in force in India. The average annual sales of Excise opium in the five years ending 1870-71 amounted to 15,632 sers, and from the first regular census of Lower Burma, taken in 1872, which gave the population at 2,747,148, we may assume the average population of the quinquennial period to have been, say, something under 2,700,000. But in the five years ending 1890-91 the average annual sales rose to 51,725 sers, and the average

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population of that period may be put at 4,500,000 as the census of 1892 gave it as 4,658,627. Whilst the population, therefore, has increased by 63 per cent., the consumption of opium has risen by 230 per cent. These figures may perhaps exaggerate the real increase in Burman consumption, for two reasons: first, because a considerable proportion of the increase of population consists of Chinese, Indian, and Shan immigrants, who are much more addicted to opium than the Burmans; and, secondly, because much foreign opium from Yunnan and the Shan States was formerly smuggled into Lower Burma. In recent years this opium has been successfully excluded by the efforts of revenue officers and licensed vendors, assisted by the preference of consumers for excise opium. But after making all necessary deductions on these accounts, a considerable increase in consumption by Burmans seems certain, and this conclusion is fully supported by the general opinion of Burmans and of English officials in Burma.

238. In saying above that the opium habit in India was an old custom and not increasing, we were referring to opium-eating. In Burma, on the other hand, opium-smoking is the common habit which is on the increase. This habit is mainly a gregarious one, practised in public saloons or so-called clubs. We agree with Sir A. Mackenzie's remark, already quoted, to the effect that the temptations afforded by gregariousness in vice outweigh the restraint supposed to be exercised by public opinion. There is no good evidence that smoking is in itself more injurious physically than eating opium, but it appears to be a more seductive habit, and more ruinous to poor men, because more wasteful of time as well as of money.

239. For all these reasons we consider that there was a special case for trying the experiment of prohibition in the case of the Burmans. It seems to us to involve no political danger, as the traditions of the country and the sympathy of the great majority of the Burmans support the policy.* Moreover, when we annexed Upper Burma in 1886 we continued the prohibition of sale to, and possession of opium by, Burmans which we found existing, and, as Sir A. Mackenzie said at the end of his Minute of 30th April 1892, this was a crowning argument for extending the same prohibition to Lower Burma.

240. The experiment must, however, be carefully watched. There is no doubt that there is some risk of injustice and oppression if these measures of prohibition are to be carried out against the actual consumer with the severity which has been advocated before us. We consider that such severity may be justifiable in the case of persons convicted of making a trade of breach of the law, such as professional smugglers, unlicensed vendors, or vendors—official or medical—selling illicitly; but we are of opinion that it would be dangerous and demoralising to apply it to the case of persons who are convicted of mere illicit possession of small quantities of the drug as to the risk of corruption and oppression which would be likely to follow the free use of the police and informers, and as to the evils of any tyrannical suppression of the drug. Major Grey's remarks show how near we have already gone to that point in Arakan under the old system. It is to be hoped that the moral effect of the prohibition will increase the zeal of the priests and elders, and that their influence, coupled with the risk and difficulties of illicitly obtaining the drug, will prevent any large number of new Burman recruits to the habit.

Treatment of Non-Burmans under present System, and Views of the Commission on this Subject.

241. We pass now to the consideration of the exemption of certain races in Burma from the prohibitive rules of the new system, the point to which the inquiry made in Burma was specially directed. They consist of the Indians and Chinese, who are true foreigners or non-Burmans, and of certain indigenous tribes who have been treated as non-Burmans in the new regulations. The Indians, of whom there are upwards of 200,000 in the country, may be grouped as Panjabis and Hindustanis, Bengalis and Chittagonians, and Madrasis. In respect of these, the evidence taken in Burma accords generally with the evidence taken by the Commission in India, and does not contain much that is either new or material. The Sikhs of the Burma Military Police are said to eat opium extensively, especially when employed in active service under unfavourable climatic conditions, and exposed to malarial influence; and the Deputy

* There is reason to believe that opium is used in certain districts as a prophylactic against malaria, and the suggestion has been made that in such cases the general rules should be somewhat relaxed.

Inspector-General, is of opinion that it would be necessary to exempt from any order of prohibition that might be enforced. This evidence corroborates that taken in other places, as to the value attached by natives of the Punjab, especially Sikhs, to opium as a stimulant in times of severe bodily fatigue and exposure. The evidence as to Madras in Burma is more important. The use of opium among the Madras coolies in Burma, known as Coringhies, who come mainly from the four northern districts of the Madras Presidency, is said by witnesses, such as Mr. Findlay, the manager of one of the rice mills of Messrs. Bullock Brothers, and M. Madooray Pillay, a leading contractor, and a Municipal Commissioner, and honorary magistrate in Rangoon, to be exceedingly common. The opium is eaten as in India, in a crude form in pills, and is said to be taken as a stimulant to lessen the fatigue caused by their daily work, and to have no apparent effect upon the physical energies, or upon the moral character. Immoderate use is said to be rare. There is, in short, no evidence before us that Indians in Burma are being injured by opium.

242. We now come to the Chinese, of whom there are about 40,000 in Burma. There is a remarkable unanimity of opinion throughout the correspondence which has taken place regarding the opium question in Burma, a unanimity as remarkable as that which exists in regard to the injury caused to Burmans by opium, that the drug is commonly used by Chinamen in Burma, and does them little harm, while it is sometimes even beneficial. The opinions of Sir Ashley Eden, Sir Charles Aitchison, and Sir Alexander Mackenzie, have already been referred to. It may be observed that the evidence from China shows that opium wrecks are found there among the poor labouring class whose work involves severe physical exertion much oftener than among merchants, shopkeepers, or artisans, to which classes the Chinese in Burma mainly belong. The number of opium consumers among them was variously estimated by witnesses who appeared before us at from five to forty per cent., and one or two witnesses stated that almost all Chinamen in Burma smoked opium habitually, or occasionally. The general tenor of the evidence showed that the habit is exceedingly common. As to its effects, seven Chinamen, themselves opium consumers, gave evidence at Rangoon. Of these four were merchants, two shopkeepers, and one a doctor. The more excessive consumers, who smoked from two to three ounces of opium a day, were wizened, emaciated old men, but intelligent. They admitted that excess weakened a man physically, but argued that it rather cleared and brightened the intellect, and by stimulating the imagination and calming the temper made a man clever in business. The same idea will be found expressed in some of the evidence from China. The moderate smokers said they took it to relieve weakness or disease. It was admitted that poor men who starved themselves to get opium were injured, but it was denied that the drug in itself had any demoralising effect. It was also stated that it would be a harsh measure to prevent the Chinese in Burma from getting opium, and that many would go back to China if that were done. Mr. Weidemann, a district officer of long experience, who has at different times expressed strong views in favour of the prohibition of the use of opium by Burmans, stated that the best Chinamen in Burma avoided the habit, but that in his opinion opium used in moderation had no bad effect upon Chinamen physically or morally, though immoderate consumption unfitted a man for steady application to business and often led him into bad habits. Mr. Bridges, the Commissioner of the eastern division of Upper Burma, also an officer of much district experience, gave similar evidence as to the generally moderate and innocuous nature of the habit among Chinamen; and Mr. Warry, the Adviser on Chinese affairs to the Local Administration, in his statement submitted to the Commission, says that he has never noticed any ill result from opium as ordinarily used by Chinamen in Burma, and that though opium occasionally makes a consumer lazy and disinclined to rise early in the morning, he cannot call to mind more than two or three cases in which it has been taken in excess with injurious results to the constitution of the consumer. This officer has had special opportunities of closely observing the Chinese, and was, at the time of our inquiry, absent in Yunnan.

243. Two selected representatives of the Chinese community, numbering 500 or 600, at the frontier town of Bhamo in Upper Burma, were both smokers of opium, and one of them said that opium was generally considered to be a prophylactic against fever. Both gentlemen were agreed that the prohibition of the use of opium by Chinamen in Burma might affect the trade between Burma and China. On the other hand, the habit was condemned by two respectable Chinamen examined at Rangoon, who were non-smokers; and at Mandalay, a Chinese Municipal Commissioner, also a non-smoker, stated that opium was largely smoked by the Cantonese and Fokienese Chinamen in the town, but that it was a bad habit, and was contrary to the traditional precepts of

II. pp. 214, 216. his countrymen. A respectable Panthé, or Yunannese Mahomedan, merchant, also said that the Mahomedans of his country thought the habit opposed to the precepts of the Koran, and that it was injurious to persons who were insufficiently nourished, and that some slight loss of reputation attached to the habit.

II. pp. 525, 526. 244. Two memorials, one from Rangoon, signed by 305 Chinamen, and one from Maulmain, signed by 286 Chinamen, were presented to the Commission, asking for the entire suppression of the opium traffic. The Rangoon memorial was drafted and circulated for signature by Mr. Leong Shian Tuck, a Chinaman who had lived all his life in Burma, and had received a good English education. The signatures to the two memorials indicate that among Chinamen in Burma, as elsewhere, there is a very considerable party in favour of total abstinence from opium. The habit is no doubt usually condemned by non-smokers, and sometimes by smokers. On the other hand there is evidence to show that among Chinamen in Burma the opium-smoker is not socially ostracised, and that even the confirmed habit does not in itself entail any loss of position or serious loss of character. The Chinamen in Burma seem to be a notably active and flourishing community, and we do not find it proved that the use of opium is doing them any serious harm.

Shans, Palaungs, and Kachins in Burma proper and in the Shan States. 245. We come now to the case of the indigenous tribes who have been treated as non-Burmans in the new regulations. The territories to the west and north-west, known as the Burma Shan States, and part of the territory to the north occupied by the Kachins are inhabited by tribes covered by the three names Shan, Palaung, and Kachin. In the eastern parts there are also to be found intermingled with them many small settlements of Chinese or Chinese Shans. Great numbers of these people have emigrated from the Shan States and settled in our districts, particularly in Lower Burmah. By the definition of a Burman, given in the new regulations, Shans, Palaungs, and Kachins are, like Indians or Chinese, classed as non-Burmans, and are subject only to the restrictive part of the system and not to the prohibitory rules.

6939, 6962, 6964. 7528-9, 7547. II. pp. 523-4. 246. There is some difficulty in describing the evidence put before the Commission as to the Shans, Palaungs, and Kachins, as most of the witnesses who spoke or wrote about them, referred sometimes to those resident in the semi-independent Shan States, and sometimes to those in British districts. But this is not of importance, as the evidence shows that a general resemblance exists in the habits of these people wherever they reside. The Rev. Dr. Cushing's evidence, as to the Shans in Lower Burma, shows that the opium habit is very common among them, but is disapproved by the respectable men who are Buddhists by religion, and that it is generally, therefore, more or less concealed. Mr. Bridges also speaks of the consumption of opium by the Shan Danus or Burmanized Shans, on the borders of Upper Burma, and also in the Shan States. Evidence as to the Kachins in the northern district of Upper Burma shows that almost all the men and many of the women, smoke opium. As to the Shan States, Mr. Scott, who is a very high authority, shows that in a belt on and near the border of the British districts, where the Buddhist religion and Burman influence have long been strong, the habit, though common, is regarded as criminal, and the practice is more or less secret: in the next belt to the east, the habit is common and more openly practised, though it is still regarded by respectable and religious people as a vice: in the furthestmost belt, beyond the Salwin River, the habit is almost universal, and practised without shame or reproach, except in the case of excess. Though this variation according to belts is generally true, yet Mr. Scott says that the Kachins and Palaungs, wherever found are, as a rule, habitual smokers and not ashamed of it. The Rev. Dr. Cushing's evidence as to prevalence of the habit in the Shan States, confirms that of Mr. Scott.

7817, 7878, 7976. 247. As to the origin of the habit of smoking opium in Upper Burma, the evidence seems to show that it came into the Shan States from Yunnan, on the north-east, and has gradually spread to the south. The Sawbwa of Thibaw estimated the age of the habit in the Shan States at 200 or 300 years, and the ex-Sawbwa of Nyoungwe at from 30 to 100 years, and Mong Aung Min who had to deal with Kachins, Shans, and other hill tribes as a high officer of the King of Burmah at the jade mines and elsewhere, said that the people told him that the custom had always existed among them. The distribution of the habit confirms these traditions, and shows that it is an old custom, is old to the north and east, and comparatively modern in the southern Shan States. We know from evidence from China that the habit of smoking opium became prevalent in south-west China many years ago, and that soon after there was a great extension of poppy cultivation in western China, which includes Yunnan.

Cultivation of the poppy. 248. In some of the northern Shan States the cultivation of the poppy is common, and to the east of the Salwin it is in many places the principal agricultural industry.

The opium produced is exported to the other Shan States and Upper Burma, and also to Siam and Chinese territory. In the southern Shan States the cultivation is limited, being confined to small patches in gardens, or to out of the way places in hill ranges, and the yield is not sufficient for local consumption. The poppy is also cultivated extensively in Kachin villages. From the evidence of Mr. Scott and other witnesses, it appears that where the cultivation is most extensive the use of opium is most general, but there are some exceptions to this rule. For example, the Lawas are said to grow poppy largely, but to be deterred by a tribal custom from consuming the produce themselves.

249. As to the method of consumption, the evidence shows that opium is usually smoked by Shans, Palaungs, and Kachins, but Mr. Scott mentions one tribe, the Was, who are great consumers, but make it a rule to take the drug in pills. The Shans and Palaungs generally appear to smoke *chandu*, after the Chinese fashion: the Kachins on the contrary, always smoke leaves soaked in opium prepared in a manner similar to what is called *madak* in India.

250. As to the effect of the opium habit on Shans, Palaungs, and Kachins, the Rev. Dr. Cushing considered it always a bad habit, and estimated that from 17 to 20 per cent. of consumers eventually indulged to excess and became enervated in mind and body, unable to do any work except under the stimulus of the drug. This evidence referred principally to the Shans settled in Lower Burma, whom he was able to watch as he lived permanently among them. The Chief or Sawbwa of the Thibaw State, and an ex-Sawbwa and a Minister of other States, speaking of the Shans said that the habit often became immoderate, and was then injurious to health, leading to indolence, weakness, and shortened life. The two last witnesses said, however, that they had not perceived any evil effects upon the Kachins. A Burmese gentleman who was in charge of the jade mines under the King's Government, and Dr. Kirkpatrick, an American Baptist medical missionary among the Shans, pronounced the effects to be decidedly injurious. On the other hand, Mr. Bridges and other witnesses, speaking of Shans, Chinese Shans, and Kachins, were unable to perceive any evil effect, moral or physical, in the habit as ordinarily practised. Mr. Bagley, the engineer-in-chief of the Mandalay and Kunlon Railway, and Mr. Guinness, the executive engineer of the Mu Valley line, gave remarkable evidence as to the great energy and activity of Shan and Chinese Shan coolies drawn from the parts of the Shan States where the opium habit is most prevalent. These men earned double the wages of Burman coolies, and did not seem injured by the habit though they could not or would not work without opium. Lastly, the statements submitted by Mr. Scott and Mr. Hildebrand are worthy of special attention. "The only Shans," writes Mr. Scott, "who are harmfully affected by the consumption of opium, whether by smoking or swallowing it, are those who take it to excess, and these are usually men of the ruling or official class and therefore the most prominent. Among the great mass of the people I have seen no evil effects. The greatest opium-smokers are those who grow the poppy themselves, and the labour which this cultivation implies in the hills of the Shan States is sufficient guarantee that the farmers are no worn out debauchees. The people are naturally shrewd and the amount of opium they consume has no perceptible effect upon their natural abilities." He goes on to say that, so far from being a curse, he believes opium to be a real boon to the hillmen, and he concludes by saying, "to deprive the Shan and the hillman of opium would be to put him to death. To forbid him to grow the poppy would be to court defiance and revolt."

251. Mr. Hildebrand's testimony is equally strong, and his opinions are the more remarkable as he has been a consistent advocate of a prohibitive policy to Burmans. "On the east of the Salwin," he writes, "where opium smoking in some tracts is universal to whole village communities, male and female, I could not fail to note that there was practically no difference in the general appearance of the population and of their habits with reference to industry or to their fondness of and care of their children. If there was any difference observable between these village communities and village communities in the same condition of life and habit on the west of the Salwin (with the exception of the use of opium), for robustness and cheerfulness the balance would be in favour of the habitual opium consuming community." From the whole of the evidence as regards Shans, Palaungs, and Kachins, we come to the conclusion that though among some of these tribes the habit is almost universal and among all common, yet moderation is commonly practised and serious injury is rare. On the other hand with reference to the climate and conditions of life of these races there seems reason to believe that the habit has in a large proportion of cases a beneficial side.

among the Shans and Kachins, and prevalent methods of consuming opium.

6923, 7307, 7861 and 7895-7. II. p. 523-4. 6924. 7861, 7315. II. p. 524.

Effects of opium consumption on Shans and Kachins.

6947, 6957, 6960. 7316, 7319. 7863, 7905. 7872, 7904.

7791-2, 7979.

7916, 7919. 7951, 7952.

II. pp. 523 and 524.

II. p. 524.

Consideration of the arguments against the exclusion from prohibition of certain races in Burma, and the Commission's reasons for not accepting them.
II. p. 488.

252. We have described at considerable length the evidence put before us in Burma as to the opium habit among the races which are excluded from the prohibitive provisions of the new regulations, i.e., the Indians, the Chinese, and the tribes covered by the names of Shan, Palaung, and Kachin. It has been argued that these exclusions are a mistake, for two reasons, first, because in the case of the excluded races prohibition is equally necessary for their benefit and equally justifiable and practicable; and secondly, because the exclusions will make the system of prohibition in the case of the Burmans a practical failure.

253. As to the first argument we have come to the conclusion from the evidence that there is a marked distinction, wider, no doubt, in some cases than in others, between the case of the Burmans and that of the races excluded as non-Burmans, and that it is not necessary or advisable at present to impose prohibition upon the latter for their own protection. As to the second argument, it was asserted by those who used it that there was practical experience that the system which has prevailed in Upper Burma since annexation had altogether failed as a measure of prohibition to Burmans. In the first place the new regulation is stronger than the system at first in force in Upper Burma. Possession of opium by Burmans as well as its sale to them has been made punishable, and in future limited quantities only will be issued to licensed vendors, based on estimates of the number of lawful consumers; and in the second place it was clearly proved that the Upper Burma system had not been inoperative as regards Burmans. Mr. Bridges stated in his evidence before the Commission that it had been effectual, except where there are a number of Chinese, and Mr. Fryer, the Officiating Chief Commissioner, expressed his opinion that the rules had much restricted the use of opium by Burmans. A Chinese Municipal Commissioner of Mandalay, who condemned the use of opium, said that the Burmans in Upper Burma have been forced by the system to use less opium than they did in King Mindon Min's time, and Mr. Warry, the Adviser on China affairs, shows how dear and how difficult to obtain opium has been found, even by the Chinese, in Upper Burma.

254. Even Mr. Smeaton, upon whose view, as expressed in the Provincial Excise Report for the year 1890-91, the assertion of failure was mainly based, stated in his evidence before us that he is now of opinion that the law had been on the whole successfully enforced, and that indulgence in the habit had increased to a very small extent indeed in Upper Burma. This is the opinion expressed, with practical unanimity, by the District Officers and Commissioners of Upper Burma in their latest reports, and many go further and claim that the system has been successful, and that with the new improvements it will be capable of being fully enforced. In our judgment, therefore, the second argument also fails. Our final conclusion is that no sufficient grounds have been shown for the extension of prohibitive measures to any race outside those classed in the new regulations as Burmans.

255. We think it advisable to give here a summary of the reasons which, in our opinion, justify this conclusion:—

- (1.) The opium habit is, generally speaking, much commoner among the people of those races found in our districts than among the other indigenous races classed as Burmans, and it causes comparatively little or no injury in health, morals, or reputation to the great majority of consumers.
- (2.) It is not thought desirable to impose on those races in our districts a law in respect to opium, so entirely different from the custom and practice which prevail among their brethren of the same races in the adjacent semi-independent territories. The violence of the contrast might raise discontent, might drive some away and prevent others coming in, and might injure our influence over the semi-independent country.
- (3.) The exception is in accordance with the treatment of these races by the Kings of Burma, for they were practically free from the old Native rule or law of prohibition.
- (4.) It is opposed to the general policy of British legislation, not only in India, but at home, to treat the mere personal indulgence in opium, or any other stimulant, as a crime; and it is not right or expedient so to interfere with the personal liberty of any race, except on strong evidence of widespread injury, and of the active sympathy of the majority of the people of such race in such legislation.

256. We have no suggestions to make in detail as to the administration of the measures sanctioned by the Government of India in November 1893, and we recommend that they be maintained unaltered till they are fairly tested by experience.

SECTION IX.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

257. In summing up the general results of our inquiry, we may first consider the arguments by which support has been obtained for the anti-opium movement. It has been widely held that opium is essentially a poison, used only for vicious and baneful indulgence. Judgment on such a question must mainly turn on medical evidence; and it was abundantly provided for the guidance of your Commission.

258. Dealing first with the medical witnesses in the service of Government their testimony was practically unanimous. To the unscientific, the effect of that testimony may perhaps be most clearly conveyed by saying that the temperate use of opium in India should be viewed in the same light as the temperate use of alcohol in England. Opium is harmful, harmless, or even beneficial, according to the measure and discretion with which it is used. General purport of medical evidence.

259. Opium is used as a stimulant, and it is also largely consumed in India for the mitigation of suffering and the prevention or cure of disease. It is the universal household remedy. It is extensively administered to infants, and the practice does not appear to any appreciable extent injurious. The use of opium does not cause insanity. It does not prejudicially affect the birth-rate, which in India averages 42 per thousand, as against 31·4 per thousand for the United Kingdom. It does not appear responsible for any disease peculiar to itself. An Insurance Society at Bombay, after twenty years' experience, has not found it necessary to impose an extra premium on the lives of moderate opium-eaters.

260. In addition to the evidence tendered by medical witnesses in the service of the Government, we had the testimony in the same sense of medical men in private practice, and of medical missionaries, such as Dr. Clark and Dr. Newton. The medical witnesses who advocated prohibition were few; and all of them were equally if not more opposed to the use of alcohol than to that of opium.

261. In connexion with the medical aspect of the case, it is important to mention that prohibition of the use of opium, except for medical purposes, even if desirable, could not practically be enforced. The medical and quasi-medical uses of the drug are so intermixed that it is impossible to draw a definite line between them. Among large masses of the people there is a strong prejudice against the European system of medicine. Not 10 per cent. ever consult a practitioner on the European system, and a large proportion of the native population never in their lives see a medical man of any school.

262. Turning to the missionary evidence in support of prohibition, we may observe that more than half the witnesses were members of the American Methodist Episcopal and Canadian Presbyterian Communions. Their views were shared by representatives of the Presbyterian and Baptist missions, and the London Missionary Society. These devoted men are without doubt most sincere in their belief in the mischief caused by opium. When, however, we are urged to recommend that the paramount authority of the British Parliament should be brought to bear on the Government of India for the prohibition of the production and use of opium, and the extinction of an export trade which was in existence before British rule in India, it is our duty to weigh most carefully the evidence by which such proposals are supported. We are bound to take notice of the circumstance that most of the missionary witnesses were total abstainers, and some were ardent workers in the cause. Missionary evidence advocating prohibition.

263. We turn to the testimony on the other side. The views of the Bishops and clergy of Calcutta and Lucknow, and of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Calcutta, have been already set forth. They were opposed to prohibition. We may also invite special attention to the testimony of Mr. James Monro, C.B., formerly commissioner in Bengal, subsequently Chief Commissioner of Police in London, who has now returned to India for missionary work. He had never heard it suggested that the opium trade and the Government connexion with it formed any obstacle to Christian work. Missionary evidence not advocating prohibition.

264. In a matter closely affecting the habits and customs of the people, it would be obviously imprudent to make sweeping changes without some indication of popular approval. We are satisfied that if any desire for the suppression of the use of opium Disposition of the people of India as to prohibition.

had existed in India, on the part of any large section of the population, it would have made itself felt during the lengthened tour of the Commission. The witnesses who advocated prohibition were few; and fewer still were those who could claim to be men of weight and authority, and in any sense representative. Many belonged to the Bengali sect of the Brahmo Somaj, which numbers about 3,000 adherents, the pledge of total abstinence being a condition of membership. Of the native witnesses adverse to opium, it may be stated that nearly all were total abstainers. Many questions were put by our native colleague, Mr. Haridas Voharidas, with the view of eliciting Native opinions as to the relative influence of opium and alcohol, and as to the religious obligation to observe rules of abstinence. In reply, the witnesses generally admitted that the spread of drinking was the more serious evil, and that, while their religion expressly prohibited alcohol, there was no direct prohibition of the use of opium.

Political
associations
silent.

265. The National Congress, consisting of delegates from every part of India, has never been slow to criticise the Government. It has made strong declarations against alcohol. It has been silent with reference to opium.

Native
opinion must
be distinctly
in favour of
the change.

266. Upon every consideration of prudence and statesmanship, it seems clear that in the position of the British Government in India, we cannot deal experimentally with 290 millions of people, in a matter involving interference with the innermost concerns of personal life, without a clear pronouncement of Native opinion in favour of such a step.

Financial
considera-
tion.

267. It is not necessary to repeat the figures and the arguments given elsewhere on the financial aspect of the case. In the present circumstances the revenue derived from opium is indispensable for carrying on with efficiency the Government of India. Every native witness who advocated the suppression of the opium traffic admitted that if, as a consequence of such a step, taxation in some new form must be imposed, popular opinion would be opposed to any change.

The China
question.

268. In dealing with China, we have not thought it necessary to present a detailed report. China was not directly included in your Majesty's Order of Reference; but we considered it desirable to give some attention to this side of the question. The evidence we have obtained as to the effects of the use of opium in China has been of a conflicting character. In this matter, responsibility mainly lies with the Chinese Government. It is for them to take the first step in any modification of the present Treaty arrangements. Upon the general question, the position which Great Britain may properly take up is clearly put by Mr. O'Connor, Your Majesty's representative at Peking, in his covering letter addressed to Your Commission. He says:—

"If the use of the drug in China depended on the supply received from India, it might be a practical question what measures could, or ought to, be taken to discourage its importation. But this is not the issue. The quantity of opium grown in China is increasing enormously. Even the nominal prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy no longer exists throughout the whole Empire, and were the importation of Indian opium to be stopped, China would in a few years so increase her production, as not only to supply her own wants, but probably to export opium to foreign countries."

The evil less
than it has
been repre-
sented in
England.

269. As the result of a searching inquiry, and upon a deliberate review of the copious evidence submitted to us, we feel bound to express our conviction that the movement in England in favour of active interference on the part of the Imperial Parliament for the suppression of the opium habit in India, has proceeded from an exaggerated impression as to the nature and extent of the evil to be controlled. The gloomy descriptions presented to British audiences of extensive moral and physical degradation by opium, have not been accepted by the witnesses representing the people of India, nor by those most responsible for the government of the country.

Present
regulations
are of re-
strictive
tendency.

270. We may be sensible that, as in the case of the drink duties at home, so in the analogous case of opium in India, the revenue is drawn from a source liable to abuse. Looking, however, at the problem before us from the highest moral standpoint, it is something to know that the hand of the ruler is chiefly felt in the way of repression and restriction.

Sufficiency
of evidence
produced.

271. We have already expressed our opinion with reference to the character and sufficiency of the evidence on which the conclusions to which we have been brought depend. We are satisfied that the examination of more than 700 witnesses afforded to the Commission ample opportunity of learning all the essential facts, as to the effects of the use of opium in India, and the feelings of the Native population with reference to a policy of prohibition.

272. The conclusions of the Commission as to Burma have been fully stated in the Section of our Report dealing with that Province. The Burmans are specially susceptible to injury from opium, and there is among them a popular sentiment against the habit. Special regulations have, therefore, been introduced which, short of universal prohibition, seem to us as restrictive as it would be expedient for any Government to attempt to enforce.

Opium in
Burma.

273. It only remains for us to give specific answers to the questions referred to us by Your Majesty as arranged in the Order of Reference. We cannot do this better than by reproducing the conclusions at which we unanimously arrived at the final meeting of the Commission at Bombay. To our regret, our colleague, Mr. Wilson, was prevented by illness from attending our deliberations. Every other member of the Commission, including our Native colleagues, was present. With the impression of our recent tour fresh in our minds, after a full discussion, but with no dissenting voice on the broader issues, we adopted the following resolutions:—

The draft
conclusions
recorded at
the close of
the public
inquiry.

I.—Whether the growth of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited except for medical purposes, and whether this prohibition could be extended to the Native States?

I.—(a.) It has not been shown to be necessary, or to be demanded by the people, that the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited except for medical purposes. A considerable minority, consisting of people opposed on principle to all stimulants, would support prohibition except for medical purposes, if relieved from anxiety as to the financial results, and as to the punitive and inquisitorial measures which repression would involve. The number who desire prohibition at all risks is exceedingly small.

Prohibition
except for
medical
purposes.

(b.) The authoritative extension of such prohibition to the Native States would be an interference on the part of the Paramount Power, for which we can find no precedent and no justification, and which would be resented by the Chiefs and their people. The growth of the poppy and the manufacture of opium have been prohibited in some Native States by orders passed by the Chiefs in accordance with Treaties or Agreements made with the Government of India; but such Treaties or Agreements rest upon an arrangement whereby a full and cheap supply of opium is secured for the internal consumption of these States and for the realisation by the Chiefs of an Excise Revenue from their people; and the Chiefs would cease to be bound by them if the supply were cut off or restricted.

Extension of
prohibition
to the Pro-
tected States.

(c.) The prohibition of the growth of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in British India, except for medical purposes, involves the destruction of the export trade in Bengal opium from Calcutta to China and elsewhere, which would inflict a very heavy loss of public revenue on the Government and people of India. The existing Treaties, by which the import of Indian opium to China is permitted and regulated, have been deliberately accepted by the Chinese Government, and have been formally admitted by the Chinese Ministers on the last occasion of revision to contain all that they desire. In the natural order of things, it is for the Chinese Government to move first if it wishes to sacrifice the revenue which it derives and to annul the Treaty provisions legalising import on the ground that such an import is injurious to China. Whether the British Government bears part of the cost or not, it would not be right or fair to the people of British India for the British

Discontinu-
ance of the
Bengal
export trade.

Government to destroy, unasked by China, the Bengal opium trade; at any rate, it would not be right or fair for it to so act, unless there was convincing proof (1) that the trade stands on a different plane from the alcohol and is more pernicious and demoralising; (2) that its destruction would, in all probability, materially benefit China in a permanent way; and (3) that the Chinese Government is prevented from itself moving by fear of hostile action on our part. From the evidence before us, we do not think it proved that these reasons for unsolicited action by the British Government exist, and we agree in not recommending any action tending to the destruction of the trade. If at any future time the Chinese Government declares a wish to prohibit import, the question will be changed and we (the Commission) shall hold ourselves at liberty to reconsider it.

Extinction of the Malwa export trade. II.—The nature of the existing arrangements with the Native States in respect of the transit of opium through British territory, and on what terms, if any, these arrangements could be with justice terminated.

II.—Existing arrangements with certain opium-producing Native States in respect of the transit of opium through British territory for the Bombay export trade are not, except in the case of Baroda, in the nature of Agreements, though in virtue of long established practice they may be held, perhaps, to have the force of Agreements. They consist of the prohibition of transit, except under a pass granted by a British officer, on payment of an Imperial transit duty. These arrangements rest in origin upon the power of regulation and taxation which the British Government has in consequence of these States being cut off from the sea by intervening British territory. The privilege of the transit of opium for export beyond the sea from Bombay on payment of a duty could not now be terminated with justice except by voluntary agreement, which, if obtained at all, would involve large pecuniary compensation, both to the State and private individuals, and also a heavy loss of public revenue to the Government of India.

Financial considerations. III.—The effect on the finances of India of the prohibition of the sale and export of opium, taking into consideration (a) the compensation payable, (b) the cost of the necessary preventive measures, (c) the loss of revenue.

III.—The finances of India are not in a condition to bear the charges for compensation, the cost of the necessary preventive measures, and the loss of revenues would result from the adoption of a policy of prohibition.

Changes in system short of prohibition. IV.—Whether any change short of total prohibition should be made in the system at present followed for regulating and restricting the opium traffic, and for raising a revenue therefrom.

IV.—(a.) The regulations for the restriction of the consumption of opium may be amended in various particulars. We are not prepared to make recommendations without careful study of details.

(b.) The Bengal monopoly seems to us the best system for regulating the production of opium in British India. Certain administrative reforms were recommended by the Commission of 1883.

(c.) We are not prepared at present to recommend any further development of the new regulations recently introduced into Burma. The operations of these new rules, which only came into force on January 1st, 1894, should be carefully watched before any further changes are introduced.

V.—The consumption of opium by the different races and in the different districts in India, and the effect of such consumption on the moral and physical condition of the people?

V.—(a.) We have made exhaustive inquiry into the consumption of opium in India and its effects. We find no evidence of extensive moral or physical degradation from its use.

(b.) Opium is extensively used for non-medical and quasi-medical purposes, in some cases with benefit, and for the most part without injurious consequences. The non-medical uses are so interwoven with the medical uses that it would not be practicable to draw a distinction between them in the distribution and sale of the drug.

(c.) The habitual use of opium as a stimulant by young people is generally condemned.

(d.) Opium-smoking is little practised in India; it is considered a disreputable habit.

(e.) The whole question of the effects of opium as medically considered must be worked out later in detail upon a careful collation of the large mass of evidence before the Commission.

VI.—The disposition of the people of India in regard to (a) the use of opium for non-medical purposes, and (b) their willingness to bear, in whole or in part, the cost of prohibitive measures.

VI.—The testimony laid before us has been unanimous that the people of India would be unwilling to bear the cost of prohibitive measures.

274. We desire to make a special reference to the Report which we understand to be in preparation by our colleague Mr. Wilson. The criticisms or suggestions which it may contain have not been submitted for our consideration. We regret that in the discussions which took place during the preparation of our Report we were not placed in possession of the views of our colleague.*

*275. In conclusion, we desire to express our high appreciation of the services rendered by our Secretaries. Mr. Hewett met us on our arrival at Calcutta, and accompanied us throughout our tour in India. His duties were of a special and exceptional character, and were most efficiently performed. On our return to England Mr. Hewett began the drafting of our Report. On his departure for India, to take up an important appointment, the work was entrusted to Mr. Baines, to whom we are much indebted for the ability, patience, and knowledge of India which he has displayed in the execution of his task.

All which we humbly submit for Your Majesty's most gracious consideration.

(Signed) BRASSEY (*Chairman*).
J. B. LYALL.
LAKSHMESHWAR SINGH, OF DARBHANGA.†
W. ROBERTS.
R. G. C. MOWBRAY.
A. U. FANSHAWE.
A. PEA E.
HARIDAS VEHARIDAS.†

J. A. BAINES (*Secretary*).

London, 16th April 1895.

* The Maharaja of Darbhanga and Mr. Haridas Viharidas, not having been present during the preparation of the Report, are not to have affixed their signatures to the 274th paragraph.
† Subject to the qualifying remarks contained in the separate Memorandum appended.

MEMORANDUM I.;
ON THE GENERAL FEATURES AND THE MEDICAL ASPECTS OF THE
OPIUM HABIT IN INDIA;

By SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D., F.R.S.

It seemed advisable for several reasons that the large mass of new and interesting information, gathered by the Opium Commission during their tour in India, on the general features and the medical aspects of the opium habit in that country, should be analysed and digested somewhat more fully than was possible to do in the body of their official Report. This task naturally fell to my share, as the only medical member of the Commission.

The matters requiring examination are considered under the following headings:—
(1.) The non-medical use of opium, or the opium habit proper. (2.) Opium as a household remedy. (3.) Opium as a prophylactic against malaria. (4.) The custom of giving opium to infants. (5.) The use of opium on occasions of ceremony. (6.) Opium smoking in India.

The consumption by all human communities, except the most primitive, of one or more articles of a stimulating and restorative character—such as alcohol, tobacco, opium, tea, coffee, coca, Indian hemp, betel, and others—constitutes a remarkable feature in the natural history of man. A practice so widespread and general must correspond to some profound instinct of human nature. These articles do not possess, in their essence, nutritive properties, and they are not classed as true articles of food, though some of them are largely used with the daily meals. Numerous individuals, and even considerable classes, forego their use, either wholly or in part. These substances cannot therefore be regarded as necessities of man's animal life. And the inference would seem to be that their use is connected in some subtle way, with the play of those faculties and feelings which are peculiar to man as a social and self-conscious creature.

Whatever collateral use, dietetic or other, the substances in question may have, it is certain, that the essential purpose for which they are taken is to modify, in a favourable* sense, the action of the nervous system. And although this modification varies, both in kind and degree, with each particular article, it is nevertheless true that all of them, when legitimately used, produce a certain community of effect on the user. This common effect, in its broadest and most general experience, may be described as an enhanced sense of well-being, or "euphoria." On the ground of this common action these substances may be conveniently united together into one natural group of (non-nutrient) physiological agents, and designated "euphoric" agents.†

(1.) THE OPIUM HABIT IN INDIA.

Opium was first introduced into the East, no doubt, as a medicine; and its use as a stimulant and restorative was engrafted upon and grew out of the medicinal use. And it is still probably true, as regards India, that the larger part of the opium consumed in that country is used for the mitigation of suffering and the prevention and cure of disease. These two uses of opium—the medicinal and non-medicinal (or euphoric)—although in principle distinct, are in practice often so merged together and interfused as to be indistinguishable. This composite character of the opium habit is a constant source of confusion with incautious observers, and effects are attributed to opium which are really due to concomitant disease. In what follows it must be understood that in speaking of the opium habit in India the practice of eating or drinking opium is always meant, and not the practice of smoking opium, which is separately dealt with.

Among the substances employed by mankind as exhilarants and restoratives, opium takes a position intermediate between alcohol and tobacco, and it may be compared and

* That is, "favourable" as judged by the sensations of the user.

† The words euphoria and euphoric are not new. Euphoria is an old medical term, signifying "feeling perfectly well and able to bear pain and anxiety easily." These words are again creeping into use both here and on the Continent. Levinstein employs the word euphoria in his work on the morphia habit (*Morphiumsucht*, p. 6.), and the adjective euphoric (*euphorische Wirkung*) is used by Erlenmeyer in his treatise on the opium habit (*Opiumsucht u. Ihre Behandlung*, 3rd ed. p. 11). Some such words are much wanted. Their adoption would save circumlocution, and give greater precision to language in speaking of the primary and common effect of alcohol, opium, tobacco, tea and coffee, and their congeners.

ANNEXURES.

only smoke occasionally, in company; they are abstainers, simply because they experience no enjoyment from the practice. However much they wish, and however long they try, these persons cannot become tobacco smokers in the proper sense of the term, because they lack sensibility to the euphoric effects of tobacco.

Opium, as regards its euphoric properties, seems to be even more selective than tobacco. In India, no doubt, the susceptible persons are numerous—amounting perhaps to a majority of the adult males in certain districts and among certain races—and amounting to a considerable number throughout the country. In Europe, on the other hand, the susceptible persons seem to be exceedingly few. Medical men are in the habit of prescribing opium every day, yet they have practically no knowledge, except from hearsay, of the wonderful reviving and exhilarating effects of the drug, of which so much was heard in India. Had there been the same susceptibility to these effects in the West as in the East, there is no obvious reason why Europeans should not have borrowed opium from India, as they had borrowed tea from China, coffee from Arabia, and tobacco from America.

Age.—The opium habit is mainly a habit of middle life and advancing years. Among young adults the habit is comparatively rare, and is only followed by persons suffering from some chronic ailment, or by idle and dissipated young men. The habit is commonly begun between 35 and 45, when life begins to be on the wane and the premonitions of age begin to be felt. This epoch occurs much earlier with the Natives of India than with Europeans. The following table, illustrating the incidence of age on the commencement of the opium habit, has been compiled from data furnished by Dr. Hendley, at Jeypore, in Rajputana, and Dr. R. Moy Roy, at Calcutta.

TABLE I., showing the VARIOUS AGES at which the OPIUM HABIT is commenced.

Age at which the Habit was begun.	Jeypore. 4,409 Cases. (Dr. Hendley.)	Calcutta. 215 Cases. (Dr. R. Moy Roy.)
Under 20 years - - -	9.39 per cent.	0.5 per cent.
20 to 29 " - - -	24.34 "	18.0 "
30 to 39 " - - -	28.06 "	47.0 "
40 to 49 " - - -	21.57 "	28.0 "
50 to 59 " - - -	11.89 "	5.5 "
60 to 69 " - - -	3.58 "	1.0 "
70 to 79 " - - -	0.82 "	0.0 "
80 to 89 " - - -	0.11 "	0.0 "

The figures in the table indicate that a larger per-centage of opium-eaters begin the habit at an early age in Rajputana than in Calcutta. The general tendency of the evidence laid before the Commission on this point supports the conclusion that the Calcutta averages are more generally applicable to the whole of India than the Jeypore averages. It may be pointed out that the age-interval during which the habitual use of opium falls to its lowest point, is between the third year, when the practice of giving opium to children ceases, and the twentieth year.

Sex.—Opium-eating is much more common among men than women. Of 613 cases investigated by Dr. Vincent Richards in Orissa, 73 per cent. were males, and only 27 per cent. females. The disproportion was still greater in the 4,409 opium-eaters examined by Dr. Hendley at Jeypore; of these only 5.34 per cent. were women. This probably is too low an estimate for the population generally. The custom of secluding the women in India renders it difficult to get at the real facts in relation to the female sex.*

Dosage.—The doses taken by opium-eaters vary widely. A common allowance is from 2 to 8 grains per day—one half taken in the morning, and the other half in the evening. Among the poor the quantity consumed is much restricted by the scanty means of the consumer. Among the easier classes, the daily allowance frequently runs

* The difference between men and women in regard to the use of euphoric substances is very curious, especially as regards the more potent euphorics. In this country, probably three-fourths of the alcohol consumed, is consumed by men—and the use of tobacco is almost confined to the male sex. This distinction, probably, is mainly due to a constitutional difference of tolerance and susceptibility. But there is also a good deal in fashion. Our grandmothers and great-grandmothers used tobacco pretty freely in the guise of snuff. With the decline of snuff-taking the use of tobacco among women practically went out. But now again the fashion is changing, and the cigarette is creeping into use among women. Possibly the next generation may witness as many female cigarette smokers in England as there were female snuff-takers a hundred years ago.

up to 20 and 40 grains, and sometimes far beyond this. The following tables give an excellent idea of the range of dosage among opium-eaters in India.

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11 to 20 grains - - -	29.15 "	27.0 "	25.0 "
21 to 40 " - - -	18.64 "	16.0 "	17.0 "
41 to 90 " - - -	8.19 "	6.5 "	9.0 "
91 to 180 " - - -	1.47 "	3.0 "	0.0 "
181 to 2,000 grains - - -	0.69 "	0.5 "	0.0 "

An examination of the table shows that the proportion of large consumers, in the three sets of observations, stands very high. Over 25 per cent. consumed more than 20 grains per day. Dr. Hendley and Dr. Huntly collected their cases in Rajputana, where the habit is in full development, and where opium is comparatively cheap. Dr. R. Moy Roy's cases were, for the most part, of the better classes, with whom the cost of the indulgence was of minor consequence. A very much lower scale of dosage was observed by Dr. Vincent Richards at Balasore, in Orissa. Here opium is comparatively dear, and the cases collected were mostly from among the poorer peasants. He investigated 613 cases of opium-eaters, 444 men, and 169 women. The following table, exhibits the range of dosage observed by him.

TABLE III., showing the RANGE of DAILY DOSE used by OPIUM-EATERS in the DISTRICT of BALASORE, compiled from Data supplied by Dr. Vincent Richards.

Number of each Sex.	Daily Quantity of Opium taken.	Proportion of Consumers for each Range of Dosage. 613 Cases. (Dr. Vincent Richards.)
444 men - - -	2 to 4 grains -	60 per cent.
	4 to 12 " -	34 "
	12 to 16 " -	4 "
	16 to 45 " -	2 "
169 women - - -	2 to 4 grains -	79 per cent.
	4 to 12 " -	19 "
	12 to 16 " -	2 "

It may be observed that the quantity used by the women was less than that used by the men. The average daily dose for the men was 7 grains; the average daily dose for the women was 5 grains.

Increase of Dose and Excess.—The opium habit once begun, is usually a life-long habit. The dose is taken twice a day, morning and evening, before the morning and evening meals. Sometimes the dose is taken three times a day, and sometimes only once a day, in the evening. So long as the opium-eater gets his dose punctually, and his consumption is moderate, he is quite undistinguishable from the rest of the community. His system adjusts itself perfectly to the new factor in his environment. All the functions are performed in due order, and with normal efficiency.

At the beginning of the habit there is a tendency to a progressive increase of the dose. This increase goes on until the limit of the individual tolerance is approached. When this point is reached the dose become stationary, and usually remains stationary for years, or for life. Sometimes an oscillation is observed, the quantity is increased for a period, or diminished for a period, according to the exigencies of health, or apparently according to the waxing or waning tolerance of the constitution.

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Excess in the use of opium is to be measured not merely by the quantity habitually consumed, but much more by the constitutional tolerance of the individual. Doses which are injurious to one consumer, may be quite harmless to another consumer. When an opium-eater goes beyond his tolerance, he may be said to go to excess, whether the quantity consumed be small or great. An opium-eater who, on occasion, indulges in a larger dose than his usual allowance, shows signs of opium intoxication. He becomes sluggish and drowsy; if he be a magistrate, he nods on the bench, and is, perhaps, made the subject of gentle chaff by his brother magistrates. These signs soon pass off, and leave no trace behind. But when the excess is habitual, more serious results follow. The consumer becomes persistently indolent, stupid, and incapable of attending to his business, his appetite falls off, and he becomes lean and shrivelled. The bowels are either obstinately constive, or there is alternate diarrhoea and constipation. No organic disease is developed; and the man continues to live on, provided he escape intercurrent disease, to his natural term; but his useful life is certainly shortened, and he becomes a cumberer of the ground. This is the "opium sot," or "opium wreck" of popular description, and a very deplorable object he must be. Fortunately, he is a rare spectacle, and many experienced witnesses had never seen him, and scarcely believed in his existence. It is, however, probable that the opium sot is not so scarce as his rare appearance would indicate. A man in this condition would naturally seek the shade, and keep himself out of the way.

Postponement of the Dose.—If the opium-eater does not get his dose at the appointed time he feels very uneasy; he looks stupid and exhausted, his eyes and nose begin to run, he yawns, has pains about the abdomen and no appetite for his meal. When at length he obtains the belated dose all these symptoms vanish as if by a charm, and the equilibrium of the system is restored.

Stopping the Opium Habit.—When the supply of opium is suddenly and entirely cut off the reaction is much more pronounced than in the case of alcohol and tobacco. It is a dreaded ordeal to most consumers, and forms a serious obstacle to the giving up of the habit, when such a course is desired from motives of economy or religious scruples. It is the general rule in Indian gaols to cut off the supply of opium to prisoners on admission. The medical officers in charge of gaols were thus able to furnish the Commission with reliable and exact information on the effects of suddenly stopping the opium habit. It is true that a certain amount of smuggling of opium into gaols by friends of prisoners takes place in spite of all precautions, but that this leakage is insignificant is proved by the fact that the effects of deprivation were clearly perceived by the medical officers of the prisons, and that their testimony as regards these effects was remarkably uniform. The usual effects of stoppage are:—looseness of the bowels, dejection and misery, restlessness and loss of sleep, failure of appetite, aching of the bones, lassitude, and weakness. These symptoms are more or less severe and protracted according to the largeness of the dose to which the prisoner has been accustomed and the length of time during which the habit has been continued. A good deal also depends on the temperament of the sufferer. A man of nervous quasi-hysterical temperament suffers more than a man of more stolid disposition. After a few days, or a week or two, these symptoms subside and health is restored. As a rule the disturbance is slight and calls for no interference in the way of special treatment on the part of the medical officer. Sometimes, however, the disturbance is more severe, and may even, in exceptional cases, assume alarming proportions. In these latter the initial shock approaches to a state of collapse, or the looseness of the bowels passes on to intractable diarrhoea of dysenteric character. In such cases the medical officer is obliged to resort to the use of opium again, and to finally withdraw it by slow degrees. Instances are not unknown, though seemingly of extreme rarity, where life has fallen a sacrifice to the process of stopping the opium habit. Such instances are, however, only known in the case of prisoners whose health is seriously deteriorated by the excessive use of the drug, or who are at the time suffering from some intercurrent disease.

The Opium Habit and Food.—The Commission were frequently told that people who were well off and had plenty of good food tolerated the opium habit with impunity, whereas the poor, with an insufficient supply of food, suffered from it. On the other hand we were often told that opium ameliorated the lot of the underfed man, and enabled him to live longer and better with a scanty diet. This latter view seems to be largely held by medical men in India; and it is interesting to note that physiologists

in Europe have held a similar opinion with regard to alcoholic beverages and tea and coffee—namely, that one of their purposes to the poor consumer was to serve as economisers of food. There may be an element of truth in both these allegations. A large consumer might spend too much of his scanty income on opium, and leave too little for food, and thereby aggravate his condition; while a frugal consumer might benefit from spending a small modicum of his earnings on opium, and thereby making his scanty meals go farther.

Opium is said to be useful to those who live chiefly on rice. Dr. Cobb explained this point in the following way: "In the damp climates of Eastern Bengal the poor Natives are in the habit of eating largely of rice, and a peculiar sensitiveness of the bowels seems to exist in those damp climates. As a man advances in age digestion fails to some extent, and the food is hurried through the intestines . . . The effect of hurrying food through the intestines is to cause diarrhoea, dysentery, and other allied affections. Opium in small doses prevents this, and it is largely used by the poor in Eastern Bengal." Qn. 3723.

Dr. Elizabeth Bielby, examined at Lahore, stated that it was a general practice in the Punjab for the women to take a small dose of opium (about a grain) just before or with their midday and evening meals, as a "digestive."

But the most curious relation of opium to food is the practice common to opium-eaters of indulging largely in milk, ghee (clarified butter), and sweetmeats. This kind of food is believed to help the opium to agree, and also to prevent or postpone the injurious effects of the immoderate use of opium. And it was constantly alleged that the poor, who cannot afford these indulgences, suffered in consequence more from the abuse of opium than well-to-do people. There are probably sound reasons for this practice. One of the plagues of the opium-eater is chronic constipation, and free use of milk, ghee, and sweetmeats would help to keep this tendency in check. Another tendency of opium consumers is to grow unduly lean, and a good many confirmed and large opium-eaters are noted as spare, wiry men. Milk, ghee, and sweetmeats are eminently fattening articles of food, and very easily digested; these articles would therefore be a peculiarly fitting addition to the dietary of an opium eater.*

Effect of the Opium Habit on Health and Longevity.—It is a matter of no small difficulty to justly assess the influence of the opium habit on the health and longevity of the consumers. On the one hand, a large body of evidence was laid before the Commission to the effect that opium-eaters were, to an important extent, protected by the habit against the inroads of diarrhoea, dysentery, ague, and other maladies incidental to damp and malarious climates, and that lives innumerable were thus saved. On the other hand, valid evidence was adduced that the habit tended to excess, and that excess was injurious to health, and that many lives were lost in consequence. Both these contentions may be taken as true; and the problem is to balance the gains and losses. It is obvious that such a problem is, from its very nature, incapable of an exact numerical solution; and the inquirer is constrained to draw his conclusions from an examination of a number of separate items of evidence and a broad consideration of the general tendency of that evidence. Proceeding in this way, and judging from the aggregate of the evidence laid before the Commission, it does not seem possible to doubt that the lives saved by the opium habit, as practised in India, and under the climatic and other conditions prevailing in India, outnumber the lives lost through the habit. A good deal of the evidence on which this conclusion is based will be disclosed subsequently in dealing with the subject of opium as a household remedy and as a prophylactic against malaria. The following points may be dealt with here:—

The opium habit does not appear responsible for any disease peculiar to itself; and post-mortem examinations of opium-eaters who had died of natural disease, have not revealed any tissue changes, or disease of any organs, which could be traced to the use or abuse of opium. Neither does the habit affect the chances of life after surgical operations. Opium eaters bear operations as well, and recover from them as quickly, as those who are not addicted to the habit. The testimony of hospital surgeons in India on both these points was practically unanimous.

The general health of opium-eaters, provided they keep within their tolerance, appears to be just as good as that of other people. A considerable number of confirmed

* Dr. Polak relates that at the age of 40 every Persian who wants to avoid obesity takes daily an opium pill. (Cited by Dr. Ernest Martin, *L'Opium*, p. 18.)

opium-eaters appeared before the Commission as witnesses; and they could not be distinguished in any way from other persons of the same age and station in life.* Numerous instances were mentioned, both by British and Native witnesses, of persons who had reached an advanced age, although they had habitually consumed large quantities of opium for 20, 30, and 40 years. Remarkable evidence on this point is supplied by the table of 215 opium-eaters examined personally by Dr. Moy Roy at Calcutta (Appendix XXII., Vol. ii., p. 423). Of these 215 persons, fifty-two were between 60 and 70 years of age, eighteen between 70 and 80, and five between 80 and 90 years of age, and one died at the patriarchal age of 106 years, after having consumed the enormous dose of 180 grains of opium daily for 66 years. Out of these 215 persons, 213 were still living at the date of the record, and of the health of these Dr. Moy Roy remarks: "With the exception of seven persons, who are in indifferent health, all these persons may be said to be in good condition of body and mind, of course making allowance for the age of those who are old. The rest of the number were found to enjoy good health of body and mind, equal in every respect to that of the average native not given to this habit." (Vol. ii., p. 418.)

Some of the medical witnesses expressed the opinion that opium-eaters, especially those who consumed immoderately, had a less chance of recovery from *intercurrent disease* than those not addicted to the habit. Dr. Mullane put the matter in this way: "For although opium-eaters do undoubtedly enjoy a marked degree of immunity from malarial fever, dysentery, or diarrhoea, still an old opium-eater attacked with dysentery or diarrhoea enjoys a smaller chance of recovery than a non-opium eater." (Vol. ii., p. 461.) It seems highly probable that persons who have habitually gone to excess in the use of opium would thereby lower their vitality, and thus diminish their power of resisting the attacks of intercurrent disease.

The habitual use of opium does not appear to affect *longevity*. The late Sir Robert Christison, in 1845, published biographies of 25 opium-eaters collected by himself. He came to the conclusion that the evidence thus collected rather tended to throw doubt over the popular opinion that the opium-habit shortened life (Treatise on Poisons, p. 718). Mr. McLauchlan Slater, manager and actuary of a large insurance company at Bombay, engaged in the business of insuring Native lives, had come to the conclusion, after 20 years' experience, that it was not necessary to put an extra premium on the lives of moderate opium-eaters. (Vol. iv., p. 228.)

Insanity.—The evidence tendered by the medical officers in charge of lunatic asylums in India was uniform to the effect that the opium-habit is rarely if ever a cause of insanity. Dr. Crombie analysed the statistics relating to the causes of insanity in the asylums of Lower Bengal, the Bombay Presidency, and the Madras Presidency. In Bengal the proportion of opium-eaters among lunatics was 0.36 per cent.; in the Bombay Presidency 0.75 per cent.; and in the Madras Presidency (only one year's returns available) no opium-eaters figured among the admissions (Appendix XXI., Vol. ii., p. 410). He remarks that "it would become almost justifiable to advance the theory that one of the advantages derived from the habit of eating opium is a diminished liability to insanity" (Vol. ii., p. 410).

Dr. Boyd, superintendent of the Colaba Lunatic Asylum, Bombay, containing an average number of 285 inmates, stated that in 11 years only three cases were admitted in which opium was put down as the probable cause of the insanity. He further says, "I do not think that opium has ever produced or ever will produce insanity; that is my very strong opinion. It may, in large doses, produce hallucination for a short time, but never insanity of any form" (24,786-7).

Suicide.—Some of the witnesses expressed the opinion that the opium-habit in India was promotive of suicide. One witness contended that opium "is of all poisons the one which must be most attractive to a suicide. It presents death in its easiest and most delightful form to one who has reached that state of mind. I believe that its free sale does greatly encourage suicide" (2605). This plausible view is, however, not supported by an examination of the official statistics of suicide in the different provinces of India. The subjoined table shows conclusively that the prevalence of the opium-habit has no relation to the frequency of suicide.

* By the courtesy of Surgeon Captain Jennings, 20 Native soldiers of the 32nd Pioneers were paraded before me at Umballa. Of these 10 were opium-eaters and 10 were not. I examined them carefully, and tried to pick out the opium-eaters. I entirely failed; sometimes I was right and sometimes wrong, and as often wrong as right. The opium-eaters were not large consumers; their daily doses varied from 4 to 8 grains.

TABLE IV., showing the PROPORTION of SUICIDES by OPIUM to the TOTAL SUICIDES in the several PROVINCES of BRITISH INDIA; compiled from the Official Statistics printed in Vol. v., Appendix xvi., of the Proceedings of the Commission.

Provinces.	Total Annual Suicides per Million of Population.	Proportion of Suicides by Opium to Total Suicides.	Annual average Consumption of Opium per Head of Population.
North-West Provinces and Oudh : Average of 5 years - - - -	61	13.5 per cent.	24 grains.*
Madras Presidency : Average of 5 years - - - -	54	0.05 "	14 "
Central Provinces : Average of 5 years - - - -	49	2.4 "	34 "
Bombay Presidency and Sind : Average of 4 years - - - -	46	9.5 "	46 "
Bengal : Average of 5 years - - - -	39	11.1 "	15 "
Punjab : Average of 5 years - - - -	24	9.0 "	42 "
Assam : Average of 3 years - - - -	20	5.0 "	141 "

It will be observed that, taking all the provinces into consideration, the per-centage of suicides by opium has no relation to the general prevalence of suicide. For although the figures for the North-Western Provinces appear to show the existence of such a relation, inasmuch as the proportion of suicides per million of the population and the per-centage of these due to opium both stand highest on the list, the figures for Madras and the other provinces entirely negative this deduction. Nor is there any connexion between the amount of opium consumed in a province and the prevalence of suicide in that province. The province of Assam, which has the largest consumption of opium, shows the smallest proportion of suicides; and Madras, which has the lowest consumption of opium, stands second on the list in proportion of suicides.

Relation of the Opium Habit to the Generative Functions.—Opium has a reputation as an aphrodisiac all over the East. But as it shares this reputation with a score of other drugs and nostrums the fact loses much of its significance. Aphrodisiac agents have lost credit in modern medicine, and it is very doubtful if opium have any special power in this direction. The medical witnesses were by no means in agreement on this point. Some said opium stimulated the sexual function; others said it was not so, but that it protracted the orgasm; others, again, said it was at first provocative and that afterwards it produced impotence. The truth probably is, that the general stimulating and restorative effects of opium on the Natives of the East, like those of alcohol on the Natives of the West, extend to the sexual function, but that they have no special relation to that function. It is also probable, and more than probable, that the deadening of the vital functions which overtakes the opium-eater who habitually exceeds his tolerance, involves the sexual function, and tends to impotence.

Attention was called by Dr. Vincent Richards to the diminished fecundity of opium-eaters. Speaking from a careful study of 613 opium-eaters in Orissa, he says: "There is one almost inevitable result of a prolonged indulgence in opium-eating, especially if immoderate, namely, a weakening of the procreative powers. In no fewer than 99 cases out of 125, into which I particularly inquired with a view to ascertaining the fact, was this the case; moreover, of the 125 married men averaging 36 years of age, the average number of children to each was 1.11, after 11 years of married life. The average dose taken by these men was 14 grains *per diem*, and the length of time they had been addicted to the habit, 12 years" (Vol. ii., p. 437). The statistics collected by Dr. Hendley at Jeypore seem to point in the same direction, but not nearly so strongly. He made inquiries as to the number of children of 4,389 opium-eaters; of these, 2,798 had issue, namely, an average of 2.9 children to each person; while 1,591 had no issue—so that for the whole number there was only an average of 1.8 child for each person.

* This is the consumption for the North-West Provinces; the annual consumption for Oudh is 15 grains per head.

I scarcely know how to interpret these figures. There is certainly no lack of fecundity in India. The population shows a satisfactory normal increase in every province, and the birth-rate throughout the country is higher than in England. The birth-rate in England averages 31·4 per 1,000, while in India the birth-rate averages over 42 per 1,000. It must be remembered that the opium-habit is, in the main, a habit of middle life and advancing years, and is not often practised in youth and early manhood. On the other hand the congress of the sexes takes place very early in India, and chiefly, before the opium-habit has attained much development. Perhaps the explanation of the apparent paradox lies in these two circumstances.

(2.) OPIUM AS A HOUSEHOLD REMEDY IN INDIA.

Opium is largely employed all over India as a domestic medicine, and centuries of use have familiarised the inhabitants with its administration, both as an internal remedy and as an outward application. It is resorted to in the manifold ailments incidental to damp and malarious climates—in diarrhoea, dysentery, chills, recurrent febrile attacks, and the neuralgic troubles of the malarial cachexia. It is also their chief resource in asthma, chronic coughs, rheumatic pains, diabetes, gravel, and indeed in all painful wasting diseases of every kind.

It is a fact which was brought to the knowledge of the Commission during their tour in India that large masses of the people are as yet beyond the reach of European medical aid. The dispensary system which has been organised throughout India is still inadequate for the immense needs of the population. The native practitioners—the Hakims and Vaidas who follow the Arabic and Hindu systems of medicine—are without any regular training; they are self-taught and self-appointed, and the knowledge of medical matters possessed by many of them is not much greater than that of the people among whom they practice. The consequence is that the medical aid available for the sick, especially among the poor, is often solely that of the housewife, or of the wise woman of the village.

Dr. Maynard informed the Commission that the district of Nuddea, in Bengal, where he had been stationed as civil surgeon, possessed an area of 3,404 square miles, with a population of over 2,000,000. He was the only European medical officer in that district. He had to aid him an assistant-surgeon, with a number of native unqualified hospital assistants, and five dispensaries scattered over the district. But there were large numbers of people who could not avail themselves of these dispensaries, and who could not travel the necessary distance (3,338). The last report of the medical institutions of Bengal shows that in a population of over 70,000,000 only a comparatively small per-centage got any benefit from the Government medical institutions.

It is not difficult to understand how, under these circumstances, opium, with its unrivalled power of alleviating pain and producing sleep, and of controlling the intestinal fluxes which the natives so justly dread, should have become an indispensable article in Indian households.

The testimony of some of the most experienced members of the Indian medical staff in regard to the value of opium as a domestic remedy was impressive. Surgeon Major-General Rice, speaking from an experience of 37 years, said: "In the Central Provinces malarial fevers, with severe ague, and dysentery, and diarrhoea, and, I should add, rheumatism are diseases with which the people are afflicted. In these, muscular pains, nervous irritability, griping, and tenesmus are common and persistent, symptoms causing an amount of depression and inability to exert oneself that can only be appreciated through actual suffering. . . . It may, I think, be safely stated that not 10 per cent. of the population all over India ever consult a medical man of any nationality practising the European system of medicine. Practically, therefore, the great majority of the population are beyond the reach of such advice. The consequence is that either they must consult Hakims or Vaidas, who invariably administer opium for these torments, or they have discovered its beneficial effects and take it themselves. They soon have to take it regularly, for these torments are ever present in one form or another, and seriously hinder the people in their work. The effect in such cases is magical; a man literally disabled from these ills, after a dose of a quarter or half a grain of pure opium, in a few minutes becomes a new man, and is able to do a full day's work. He knows that if he cannot do this he and his family must starve" (2145-6-7). Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Crombie, now Superintendent of the General Hospital in Calcutta was equally emphatic. He stated, in the course of his evidence: "I think it is desirable that the Commission should know something of the conditions of life obtaining in a place such as I have lived in for a great part of my service in India

"I refer to Eastern Bengal. There, when a man wants to build a house, he first of all digs a tank, and with the earth from which he has dug the tank he raises a mound, and on the top of that mound he places his house. The elevation of that mound depends entirely upon the height to which the annual floods rise. The floods rise with fair regularity; but sometimes they go two or three inches higher than the average, and then the inhabitants of those houses have to live on rafts inside their houses, and their cattle are tethered up to their bellies in water. These people have generally no boats. They paddle about on rafts made of the plaintain tree, and the boys go to school in what I call washhand basins. They are earthen gumlas. The boy squats at the bottom of the gumla, and paddles to school. This is the only means of communication. Some of those dwellings are extremely isolated. There may be only one household within four or five miles. There is no native doctor or dispensary within five or ten miles of them. I am convinced that to deprive these people of the possession of opium, except under medical advice, would be a terrible and wanton cruelty. It is the only medicine of any value that is available to them, and if you deprive them of it I should not like to be one of those who do it" (3254).

(3.) OPIUM AS A REMEDY AND PROPHYLACTIC AGAINST MALARIA.

The belief in the usefulness of opium in the complaints of damp and malarious regions is very widely spread. It is well known that there used to be a disproportionately large consumption of opium in the marshy districts of England—in the fens of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire, and in the Romney marshes. These parts were formerly highly malarious, and laudanum was enormously used as a household remedy.* As the marshy lands were drained, and ague diminished, and as also quinine became better known and cheaper, the consumption fell off, but it is still said that there is more laudanum sold in those districts than in any other parts of rural England. The same belief seems to have prevailed long ago in Persia. Shah Abbas II., in 1621, issued an edict prohibiting the use of opium in his dominions, on account of the abuse of the drug which had crept into the army, but he exempted from the prohibition the populations which were exposed to the miasmata of marshy regions.† Dr. Polak states that opium is used in large quantities on the swampy shores of the Caspian Sea, as a protective against malaria.‡ The evidence laid before the Commission showed that in some districts of India the local consumption of opium bore a close relation to the greater or less prevalence of malaria in the localities.§

India is more or less malarious from end to end, and suffers severely from the diseases incidental to such climates. A glance at the official statistics of the causes of death in British India shows that "fevers," by which are meant malarial fevers, overshadow all other causes of mortality. In the provinces of Bengal, Bombay, Punjab, and the North-Western Provinces these fevers account for about 70 per cent. of the total deaths; in the Central Provinces, for about 60 per cent.; in Assam, for about 50 per cent.; in Berar, for about 45 per cent.; and in Madras, for about 38 per cent. of the total deaths. These numbers are probably, as I have gathered from conversations with medical officers in India, somewhat excessive. Pneumonia and other acute diseases are sometimes erroneously included under the heading "fevers," but making allowance for all errors of diagnosis, the main fact remains, that malarial fevers dominate the death-rate in every province of British India. The next most prolific causes of mortality are dysentery, endemic diarrhoea, and cholera. These, roughly speaking, account for about 12 per cent. of the total deaths. Such being the dominant conditions of morbidity, it is easy to understand how opium has come to be regarded by the Natives of India as a general panacea for their health troubles. The people have learnt from long experience that opium is to them a help in need, both to alleviate their sufferings, and, more or less, to prevent a recurrence of their feverish attacks. In this general sense there was a consensus of opinion that opium was an invaluable mitigator of, and prophylactic against, the prevailing complaints of the

* Some interesting evidence on this point is recorded in the Proceedings of the Commission (Vol. IV., p. 16).

† Cited by Dr. Ernest Martin (*L'Opium*, p. 16).

‡ Cited by Dr. Ernest Martin (*L'Opium*, p. 18).

§ A striking illustration of this was given by Mr. Wace, Commissioner of the Patna Division. He stated: "The effect of climate in regulating the use of opium is curiously illustrated in the district I know best, viz., Bhagalpur. The district is cut in halves by the Ganges. The southern part is dry and healthy; the eastern half of the northern part is damp and malarious, especially where it borders the river Kosi. The three most malarious thanas, Kishengang, Madhepura, and Partagan, with a population of 27 per cent. of the whole district, have 42 per cent. of the opium shops licensed for the whole district. The three driest thanas of the south, containing a population about four-fifths of the damper thanas, have only two opium shops, while the three damp thanas have seventeen." (10,840.)

people of India; nor was there any doubt expressed that, as regards its general therapeutic value, opium could not be replaced by any other known remedy.

A more interesting question from a scientific point of view is, whether and to what extent opium has the power to cure and prevent genuine malarial fevers; in other words, whether opium possesses, like quinine, real antiperiodic properties. In order to elucidate this point, it is necessary to advert to the composition of opium and, particularly, of Indian opium. Opium is a very complex substance, containing not less than 16 or 18 different active principles; most of these are in very minute proportions, and do not concern us here. The two most important and abundant alkaloids, or active principles, of opium, are morphia and anarcotine.* Morphia represents the anodyne and hypnotic properties of the drug. Anarcotine is a bitter crystalline alkaloid resembling quinine, and, like that substance, possesses tonic and antiperiodic properties.

There are two descriptions of opium current in India, namely, Patna opium and Malwa opium. The opium used in England for medical purposes is called Smyrna opium. There are considerable differences in the proportions of morphia and anarcotine in these three varieties. These differences are shown in the subjoined Table:—

TABLE V., showing the PER-CENTAGE of MORPHIA and ANARCOTINE in PATNA, MALWA, and SMYRNA OPIUM; compiled from the Patna Opium Factory Laboratory Records (Vol. ii., Appendix xx.).

Description of Opium.	Morphia, per cent.	Anarcotine, per cent.
Patna opium (Behar provision cake) - - -	3.98	6.36
Malwa opium - - - - -	4.61	5.14
Smyrna opium - - - - -	8.27	1.94

It will be observed that Patna opium is comparatively poor in morphia, but very rich in anarcotine. Smyrna opium, on the contrary, is very rich in morphia, and very poor in anarcotine. Malwa opium is closely akin to Patna opium, but is a little richer in morphia, and a little poorer in anarcotine. Persian opium, of which a good deal finds its way into some parts of the East, appears to be almost identical with the Malwa variety in its per-centage of morphia and anarcotine.

Some 50 years ago quinine became very scarce and dear, and the Indian medical authorities had to cast about for some cheap and more abundant substitute. Attention was directed to anarcotine, and trials were made as to its curative power in malarial fevers. In 1838 Dr. (afterwards Sir William) O'Shaughnessy, of the Indian Medical Service, brought before the Medical Society of Calcutta an account of 32 cases of intermittent and remittent fevers treated with anarcotine. Of these 31 were cured. He also mentioned that 100 cases were treated by his pupils and acquaintances with perfect success. These results and others of a like character caused the Indian authorities to institute further experiments, and, these proving favourable, they caused anarcotine to be prepared in quantity at the laboratories of Ghazipur and Patna and distributed to the medical depôts throughout British India.

Two important communications on the antiperiodic powers of anarcotine deserve resuscitation. They are based on a large experience, and they prove incontestably that anarcotine is scarcely inferior—and, in some classes of cases, is superior—to quinine as an antiperiodic. The first, from Dr. Palmer, is contained in a letter to the Director General of the Indian Medical Department, and is printed in Vol. v. of the Proceedings of the Commission, Appendix III., p. 78. In 1857-9 he treated at Ghazipur 546 cases of malarial fever with anarcotine, in doses ranging from 1 to 3 grains. Of these 541 were cured and five died. In addition to these 546 officially reported cases, he treated with anarcotine a large number of other cases of malarial fever, amounting in all to little short of 1,000 cases. Summing up his general experience, he states that in 70 per cent. the fever was permanently arrested at the second paroxysm after the medicine was administered; in 20 per cent. the arrest was equally sure, but was not quite so quick; and in 10 per cent. the medicine did not appear to have any curative result. He further remarks that there are cases where anarcotine is decidedly more efficacious than quinine, namely, where there is an

* The substance was named Narcotine by its discoverer, Derosne, but this designation is so misleading (as it is devoid of narcotic qualities) that Dr. Palmer re-named it Anarcotine. Dr. Garden adopts this name, and I think it desirable to follow his example.

intolerance of quinine, and where quinine has been given without any effect for a long time.

The second communication is a "Report on Anarcotine," by Dr. Garden, which is published in the 7th volume of the "Indian Annals of Medical Science." Dr. Garden succeeded Dr. Palmer in civil charge of the Ghazipur station in 1859; and at that time a severe outbreak of intermittent fever, of quotidian and tertian type, had to be dealt with. Taking advantage of the opportunity, he subjected anarcotine to an extensive trial. He treated altogether 684 cases, and gives details of 194. Of these 194 cases, 187 were rapidly cured by anarcotine. It only failed in seven cases, or 3.6 per cent. It, moreover, cured some cases where quinine had failed. The doses he employed ranged from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 grains. He expresses his general conclusions in the following words:—"That it (anarcotine) is of equal value to quinine I do not pretend to say, but that it has a claim to the next place in the ranks of antiperiodics is, I think, an undoubted fact."

Anarcotine continued in large demand, and was regularly supplied from the Government factories until some 15 or 20 years ago, when quinine becoming again cheap and abundant, the Medical Department refused to issue anarcotine to the medical depôts, and the factories ceased making it (13,484).

The bearing of the observations of Dr. Palmer and Dr. Garden on the prophylactic powers of opium against malarial fevers stands as follows. These observers found that anarcotine in doses of 1 to 3 grains rapidly (in about three days) cut short the paroxysm of intermittent fever and completely arrested the disease. Now Patna opium is estimated to contain 6.36 per cent. of anarcotine. It would, therefore, require 16 grains of crude opium to equalise the minimum dose of 1 grain of anarcotine, which was found effective in arresting the paroxysms of intermittent fever, and 48 grains to equalise the maximum dose. From these calculations it may be inferred that only large consumers of opium would be absolutely protected against the malarial poison. A reference to Table II. shows that in Calcutta and Rajputana some 30 to 40 per cent. of opium-eaters might be thus protected, but in Orissa, where the dosage is smaller (Table III.) only some 4 per cent. would be completely protected. It is, however, to be remembered, that a dose of an antiperiodic, which is insufficient to cut short an actually existing attack of intermittent fever, may be sufficient to ward off an attack—that is to say, may be sufficient to act as a prophylactic. This is at least the case with quinine. During an attack of ague, quinine is given in doses of five to ten grains—but a dose of two grains taken daily is held to be effective as a prophylactic against recurrent attacks. The same rule probably holds good as regards opium, and its alkaloid anarcotine. On this view it may be assumed that moderate consumers of opium, although not rendered absolutely immune against the malarial poison, would be more or less protected from recurrent attacks—and if the attacks returned, they would return less frequently and with mitigated severity. These particulars, I think, adequately explain why opium-eaters are not altogether exempt from malarial fevers. The smaller consumers either lack the means, or they lack the tolerance, which would enable them to take opium in sufficient quantity to contain an efficient protective dose of anarcotine.

The question was often mooted before the Commission, why it was that notwithstanding all this evidence in favour of opium in malaria, medical men in India did not prescribe opium for the cure and prevention of malarial fevers. The explanation is very simple in the light of the facts disclosed above. Opium contains morphia as well as anarcotine. This puts an absolute bar to the use of opium as a general antiperiodic. It could not be so used without the most serious risk of narcotic poisoning. Only persons of proved high tolerance for opium, in other words, seasoned opium-eaters, could with safety take a sufficiently large dose of the drug to bring into efficient play the antiperiodic power of the anarcotine contained in it. This is the reason why crude opium can never take the place of quinine as an antiperiodic medicine—not even in the case of the generality of the Natives of India—still less in the case of European residents in India.

It seems highly probable that some of the other ingredients contained in opium, and especially morphia, are of service to the sufferer from malaria. In the condition termed "malarial cachexia" the poison lingers about the system for months and years—but not in sufficient potency to keep up regular febrile paroxysms. Such persons are liable on slight exposure or chill to have a recurrence of the paroxysms; they are then said to be "down with fever." This state of things is well known in India. The opinion was very generally expressed by the medical witnesses, that in the case of Natives thus affected, the habitual use of even a small dose of opium, or an occasional dose when the emergency arose, served to ward off the provocative chill and thus prevented these relapses.

It was also alleged that opium often acted as an indirect prophylactic against malaria, by checking diarrhoea and dysenteric purging. These complaints greatly reduce the strength of the sufferers, and so render them more susceptible to the malarial poison and to the "chills" which are universally recognised in India as the immediate cause of fresh attacks of fever.

Several medical witnesses deposed that they had often found opium in combination with quinine to act better as an antiperiodic than quinine alone.

Plurality of Malarial Infection.—Dr. Crombie called attention at Calcutta to a matter of great interest concerning the pathology and therapeutics of malarial fevers—namely, the existence of more than one kind of malarial infection. He said: "When one comes to India the first thing that strikes one is what seems to be the rooted and unreasonable objection that the natives sometimes have to be treated with quinine. . . . After a time one finds out that this objection is not unreasonable, and that there are a great many fevers—I might almost say the majority of cases of fever which I have to treat in Bengal—which are not only not benefited by quinine, but which are aggravated by it" (3520). Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel O'Brien said: "Latterly my experience has been enlarged in the treatment of fevers, and I have come to recognise . . . the disadvantage of quinine in many cases, and the undoubted remarkable benefit to be derived from the use of opium" (3606). Surgeon Captain Tull Walsh, speaking from his experience in Orissa, stated that in that province the fevers accompanied by enlarged spleens were not so common as the type of fever not so accompanied—and that he believed that these two distinct diseases had got muddled up under the head of "malaria" (3752-3).*

The recent researches of Laveran in France, of Marchiafava and Bignami in Italy, and of Mannaberg in Germany, come opportunely to Indian inquirers as bearing on the question of the existence of a plurality of type and plurality of infection in malarial fevers. These researches have demonstrated—that the infective material of malarial fevers consists of micro-organisms, living and multiplying in the bodies of the affected persons—and that these micro-organisms are of more than one kind, and give rise to more than one type of fever. Clinical inquirers in India have in this connexion some extremely interesting pathological and therapeutical questions ripe for investigation—and it is not improbable that Indian opium, or rather its chief alkaloid anarcotine, may come to play a larger part in the treatment of Indian fevers in the future than in the past—and that anarcotine may eventually take its place, not as a rival to quinine, but side by side with it, as a twin antidote to malarial poisons, each being superior on its own special ground.

The facts above enumerated go far to account for the diversity of the testimony laid before the Commission on the relations of the opium habit to malaria. It has been shown how small consumers of opium would be less effectively protected than large consumers—and how even large consumers would not be rendered immune against every form of malarial fever. The fact, now established, that malarial fevers are not all of one type throws a new and important light on the subject. The type of malaria prevailing in one district might be amenable to the control of opium, while a different type prevailing in another district might not be thus amenable—and, naturally, the popular belief in the two districts as to the protective or prophylactic power of opium against malaria would vary accordingly.†

It may also be remarked that the non-medical witnesses had not always sufficient knowledge to enable them to distinguish between malarial and non-malarial fevers. Thus some of the witnesses from Assam based their disbelief in opium as a remedy and prophylactic against malarial fever on its inefficacy in an epidemic disease called Kala-azar, which a few years ago caused great ravages in that province. It turns out that Kala-azar is not a malarial fever at all—but a contagious fever of quite a different nature which is not influenced by any anti-periodic remedy. (See an elaborate official report by Dr. Giles on Kala-azar and Beri-beri printed at Shillong, in Assam, in 1890.)

(4.) THE PRACTICE OF GIVING OPIUM TO INFANTS.

One of the most singular outgrowths of the opium habit in India is the custom of administering opium to infants. The practice is an ancient one and prevails extensively

* It is interesting to note that 35 years ago Dr. Palmer surmised the existence of a plurality of malarial poisons. In the communication before referred to (Vol. v., p. 78) he states that in 90 per cent. of the cases of malarial fever treated by him at Ghazipur anarcotine effected a rapid cure, but that in 10 per cent. it proved entirely ineffective. "This class," he says, "contrasts so strongly with the former that I have been constantly led to believe there must be some difference in the character of the fever."

† Parasitic diseases are, as is well known, greatly influenced as regards their incidence by racial distinctions—and this peculiarity appears to apply to some types of malarial fever. In India the common types of malarial fever attack Natives and Europeans impartially; but this does not appear to be the case with all types of malarial fever. I have been informed that there are hill tracts in India which prove highly malarious to the European officials stationed in them, but which are not malarious to the Native inhabitants.

all over India, but especially in the North-Western provinces, in the Native States of Rajputana and Malwa, and in the Bombay Presidency. The practice may be considered as part and parcel of the household, or popular, use of opium. The Commission were repeatedly told that 60, 80, and 90 per cent. of the infants were dosed with opium, and with some castes the custom seems to be universal. The practice is begun in the first few weeks or months of life, sometimes even from birth, and is continued up to the end of the second or third year, and sometimes to the fourth, and very rarely to the fifth year. The dose is usually one-sixteenth to one-twelfth of a grain to begin with, and this is gradually increased to a quarter or half a grain, and even to one or two grains, according to the age and necessities of the child. The dose is generally administered night and morning, sometimes only once a day. In most parts of India it is given by the mother in the form of crude opium, a speck about the size of a poppy seed or pin's head is put into the child's mouth or is mixed with its milk. Sometimes suckling mothers smear their nipples with opium. In Bombay "children's pills," or bala-golis, are extensively sold for this purpose. These pills are now manufactured, in order to ensure purity and constancy of strength, under the supervision of the licensed vendor; they are made of two degrees of strength and contain respectively one-sixth and one-third of a grain of opium each, mixed with a variety of harmless spices.* (Appendix XXIV., Vol. iv.)

When the child reaches the age of two or three years the practice is discontinued. The weaning from opium is usually done gradually; but it is quite complete; and any resumption of the habit in adult life is entirely disconnected from the practice in childhood.

The common purpose for which opium is given to infants by the poor and cultivating classes is to keep the children quiet and free from fret while the mothers go about their work in the house or in the field. Dr. Keegan, at Indore, gave us the following touching glimpse of the practice:—"A peasant woman who has to work in the fields gives her child some opium and puts him in a basket in the corner of the hut, or perhaps, she takes her child with her to the field, puts him in a small basket and gives a little opium to keep him quiet." But this custom is by no means confined to the poor and the peasantry, who cannot afford to provide the mother with additional help in the charge of her children. It is followed pretty generally among the well-to-do classes, and even in the zenanas of the rich, where there is no lack of servants to attend to the duties of the nursery. The reasons given for the practice by the native witnesses were, that the opium not only kept the children quiet and comfortable, but also helped them to digest their milk, that it prevented diarrhoea, warded off chills and fever, served to alleviate the troubles of dentition, and generally helped to keep the children in good health.

The advantages and disadvantages of this custom were a good deal canvassed before the Commission. It was shown that accidental poisoning sometimes attended the practice. Children were occasionally brought to the dispensaries in a state of somnolence or coma, from accidental over-dosing by a mother, or from a child getting hold of a lump of opium or a box of bala-goli pills left carelessly about, and so poisoning itself. Most of these cases issued in recovery, but sometimes fatalities occurred. These accidents were not nearly so common as might have been expected—showing the practised skill of Indian mothers and nurses in the management of the drug. Some of the medical witnesses expressed a doubt whether fatalities from this cause were more frequent in India than occurred at home from opium given to children in the form of soothing syrups and cordials, or dispensed under medical prescription. Dr. Blaney, who was coroner of Bombay for 17 years, could only recall five or six fatal cases of infants being accidentally poisoned in this way.

As regards the general question of the usefulness or hurtfulness of the custom, viewed apart from the risks of accidental poisoning, the opinions laid before the Commission were divided. To European ideas the practice seems very objectionable. The surroundings of child-life in India are, however, so peculiar, in relation to domestic circumstances, to food, climate, and malarial influences, and as regards the exceptional

* The exact quantity of opium in each pill, of the two degrees of strength, is nine-fiftieths and nine-twenty-fifths of a grain. It is to be remembered that Indian opium contains only half the amount of morphia contained in the opium used in Europe for medical purposes.

† In a memorandum on children's pills or bala-golis, presented to the Commission by Mr. McNabb Campbell, collector, of Bombay, it is stated:—"Bombay professional opinion is almost equally divided on the question whether opium is beneficial or hurtful to children. Of 84 statements obtained in 1893 from members of the Grant College Medical Society, 27 were in favour of the use of the drug, 30 were against it, 26 gave no opinion, and two were doubtful" (Appendix XXIV., Vol. iv.)

* B 82030.

tolerance for opium of Indian infants, that it would not be safe to judge the custom by European standards.

Indian mothers and nurses, and the Native public generally, have an unquestioning faith in the wholesomeness of giving opium to children, and the accumulated experience of successive generations of parents, extending over hundreds of years, furnishes a body of presumptive evidence which is not to be lightly set aside on the ground of *a priori* considerations. It is difficult to believe that a practice so widely diffused through all grades of society, and carried on under the direct supervision of the vigilant maternal instinct, should have maintained itself so long in credit, if it were on the whole and to any appreciable extent injurious.

Qn. 15,151. The general tenor of the evidence of the members of the Indian Medical Service, who had charge of dispensaries and had supervision of vaccination, and had thus ample opportunities of observing the effect of the habit, was to the effect that the practice was generally harmless and sometimes beneficial. It was shown that the children who had opium given them were just as healthy as those who had not opium given them. Dr. Hendley, at Jeypore, examined, for the purpose of the present inquiry, 100 children who were brought up (without any selection) for vaccination. Of these 78 were being dosed with opium, and 22 had not received opium. All the children of both groups were equally healthy.* Some of the medical witnesses expressed a formal disapproval of the habit, but added that they had not actually seen any evil result from it. Others again condemned the custom and alleged that they had frequently seen serious malnutrition and fatal marasmus and atrophy follow the practice.

Qn. 21,298. It is easy to believe that some minor infantile complaints, such as chronic constipation, might be unfavourably affected by the practice of giving opium to children, and benefited by its suspension, without attracting special notice from medical observers. But it is not easy to believe that serious marasmus and atrophy could, as alleged, frequently arise from a practice so common without having been long ago detected and generally recognised by medical practitioners and writers in India. Moreover, it is obvious that there must be some contributory factor or factors, in addition to the opium, to account for the production of such cases, otherwise more than half the children in some parts of India would be in a state of atrophy. The most convincing evidence on the occurrence of opium marasmus in infants, was given by Dr. Huntly at Ajmere. He said, "I can recall to my memory a dozen, or perhaps a score, of instances (of marasmus) in which, acting on my advice, the parents stopped the opium, and the child recovered health and plumpness" (21,324). Dr. Huntly was not able to indicate the contributory factors which accounted for these exceptional instances. It is well known that infantile atrophy may occur in otherwise healthy children simply as the result of insufficient breast milk in underfed or unhealthy mothers, or as the result of chronic functional derangements affecting the digestion and assimilation of food.† Children thus suffering would, in India, as a matter of course, be dosed with opium, and even cautious observers might be misled as to the true causal sequence. There is another group of cases, involving waste and emaciation, encountered in India, which might prove similarly deceptive. Children in India are liable, like adults, to the malarial cachexia, and infants in arms are sometimes found with the characteristic enlarged spleen. Mothers who suffer from malarial fever during pregnancy appear capable of transmitting the disease to their offspring congenitally or through their milk.‡ Such cases would be sure to have opium given them, and might easily be misinterpreted, especially in those instances, and they are not uncommon, where the malarial cachexia is unaccompanied with enlarged spleen.

Qn. 3330-3. In studying this most strange custom of giving opium to infants, it is necessary for the inquirer, if he is to reach valid conclusions, to divest himself of his European ideas concerning opium and infants, to examine the actual facts with an open mind, and, above all, to fully realise the complexity of the etiological problems involved. The following quotation from the evidence of Dr. Arnott, physician in charge of St. George's Hospital, Bombay, will, I think, find an echo in the experience of most medical men in India who have paid attention to this subject. "On infants, who are otherwise

Qn. 18,828. "well cared for, the use of opium has not the bad effect I was prepared to expect. I have seen many infants to whom opium was habitually given quite well-nourished

* A sect of Shia Mussulmans, called Bhoras, are said not to give opium to their children. Dr. Keegan, speaking at Indore, said of these:—"They happen to be the most unhealthy children in this part of the country, . . . whether it is through not taking opium I do not know, but as a matter of fact the children of the Bhoras are very unhealthy" (21,928-9).

† Prof. Henoch's description of infantile atrophy from these causes corresponds exactly with the description given of the so-called "opium baby." (*Lectures on Diseases of Children*, Syd. Soc. Ed., Vol. i., p. 72.)

‡ Dr. Cleghorn, who was examined at Lahore, informed me privately that he had encountered enlarged, malarial spleen in new-born infants, and verified the fact at the autopsy.

"and healthy, but others ill-fed and ill-cared for, are emaciated, and, no doubt, among these last there is a large mortality. In such cases, it is not easy to separate the effects of opium from the other causes of infantile mortality in large towns."

(5.) USE OF OPIUM ON OCCASIONS OF CEREMONY.

In the protected States of Rajputana, Central India, and Gujarat opium is largely employed on various ceremonial occasions. It is so used during religious festivals, on State occasions, at the celebration of marriages, at births and funerals, as a token of welcome to friends, and as a seal of reconciliation between adversaries. A preparation called "amalpani" or "kasumbha,"* is commonly used on these occasions. This is a strained solution of opium in water, and it is drunk in company, as a sort of social solvent, like wine. Opium in the solid form is also distributed, as largesse, by chiefs and hosts to relations, guests, retainers, and the poor. Some of the accounts of these customs laid before the Commission are very curious.

Sir Lepel Griffin thus describes the use of opium as a court observance in Rajputana. "A native Rajah with all his court sitting around him, will call for his attendant, who will pour some of it (opium water or amal-pani) into his hand, and he will drink it off, and every one of the men round him will drink it in the same way" (1585).

A high Native official at Jeypore gives the following account of the ceremonial uses of opium among the people of the Jeypore state. "On occasion of the annual celebration of the religious festivals of Akshay Tij, Holi, and Dusserah opium-eating is looked upon as highly auspicious and conducive to prosperity and happiness. Opium is accordingly distributed among relations, as well as among friends and dependants, whether Hindus or Mahomedans, and the drug is partaken by all concerned as something sacred. Marriage contracts, and the celebration of marriage among Rajputs, are considered neither auspicious nor valid unless opium is eaten on such occasions. Opium is also used on occasions of funeral ceremonies. Moreover, when two inveterate enemies become reconciled and propose to pass the rest of their lives peacefully, they generally partake of opium at each other's hands; and the practice is recognised as making the tie of friendship inviolable. If either of the two parties decline to take opium, it is understood that he is not disposed to abide by his promises. It is generally the practice among natives of India to offer some refreshments to a friend or acquaintance who comes to pay a visit. Pan-supari (betel and betel nuts), tobacco, and spices, are often presented, but a Rajput would offer opium as an unmistakeable token of friendship and attachment" (20,175).

An officer of the Dholpur State (Rajputana) relates "That opium has been for ages an established institution in the country. It has come to be looked upon as the chief factor in some social customs and usages throughout Rajputana. For instance, it is customary among the Rajputs, at the betrothal ceremony, that the bridegroom should eat or drink opium offered by the bride's party. The whole company afterwards drink the drug by turn, out of the palm of the host. The extent to which opium has got itself wound up with the daily avocations of the people, as a tradition, will be realised from the fact that among the Thakurs and others high castes, it is invariably seen that before beginning a letter, a prayer is expressed on top of it, asking the addressee to take, on the writer's account, double the quantity of his daily allowance" of amal-pani (21,655).

Here is a curious picture from Malwa, drawn by the Dewan (administrator) of the Rutlam State: "I should like to add that there is attached to the Palace, at Rutlam, what is called an Abdarkhana, where respectable persons coming to see His Highness or the Dewan are treated with a drink of a solution made of opium (kusumbha). The Jagirdars, as also the servants of His Highness, and citizens who frequent the Darbar office, partake of the drink. If respectable Jagirdars and Thakores are not offered the kusumbha drink, they would feel that they are not treated properly. On a birthday, the Dasora holiday, and at the time of certain darbars, the Thakores, Jagirdars, officers, and others are treated with kusumbha. The darbar is dissolved after all the persons have resumed their seats after having taken the kusumbha. No pansupari, flowers, garlands, &c. are given in such darbars, the kusumbha taking the place of all these things. The Abdarkhana institution has been in existence from time immemorial.

* According to Major Ferris "kasumbha" is thus made in Kathiawar:—"Cut the opium into small pieces, add a little water, mix to a thick consistency, put the mass into a thick woollen cloth, pour cold water on gradually and strain through. Drink the decoction without any addition of sugar, or anything to destroy the bitter taste." The proportion is usually one part of opium to 20 parts of water (22,577).

During the minority of his late Highness the Political Superintendent of the State had to maintain it, and it has been maintained up to this time, though nowadays it is used principally by persons of the middle class. Formerly it cost much, now the cost is much reduced. The importance of the kusumbha drink is so great that in friendly letters and invitations the Thakores, Rajas, Dewans, and others generally endorse in their own autograph as follows:—"After reading this letter, do you take kusumbha " drink as a treat from me in honour of yourself." This request is considered complimentary, and is made by one not inferior in rank to the other. When a friendly letter with such a request is received, the request is in certain cases literally carried out by " at once having a kusumbha party in honour of the person who made the request " (23,232).

Among the occasions on which it is obligatory to take opium, the paymaster of the army of the Native State of Jaisalmer, mentions the following singular instances—" on the visit of a son-in-law to his father-in-law's house"—on "the first removal of " hair of a male child among Rajputs and Charans"—"on the parting (or shaving in " the middle) of the beard of Rajputs and Charans " (21,128).

In the Native States of Gujarat and Kathiawar similar customs prevail. Major Ferris gives the following account of kasumbha drinking among the Natives of the Kathiawar States:—"Among the Kathis kasumbha is consumed at all funerals, " marriages, betrothals, and such like ceremonies. As a fact it is never refused, " but there is no religious obligation to take it. Nevertheless if a Kathi has the " habit and refuses kasumbha on such an occasion it would cause offence. In cases of " reconciliation after a quarrel among Kathis, the drinking of kasumbha, even by " those not having the habit, is *de rigueur*. To refuse would be to raise a suspicion " that the reconciliation was not sincere. Each party must take some, however little, " or the reconciliation is incomplete. It is a necessity almost amounting to a religion " for a guest of a Kathi to be given and to accept kasumbha. A failure on either hand " is a grave breach of hospitality and respect. Promises and verbal contracts and " agreements are sealed among Kathis by the parties drinking kasumbha together. This " makes the fulfilment as binding as an oath. When families agree to divide the " ancestral property by mutual agreement, without having recourse to documents and " the law, the parties drink kasumbha to clinch the undertaking " (22,578).

A Native Inspector of Customs at Ahmedabad gives some picturesque details of the ceremonial use of opium in that district. He says: "The Girasias and Kathis " who live in the southern part of this district have always been using and been addicted " to the habit of eating opium. . . . Kasumbha is prepared twice a day, that is, " in the morning and evening, when poor wasavas (low class labourers) who are habitual " opium-eaters, are supplied with opium according to their requirements. This is a mark " of generosity. . . . It is a custom among these people that when guests come to " them from a distance on any unusual occasion, or on ordinary business, the village " barber, on behalf of the guests, invites the resident householders of the village to " drink kasumbha. All those that assemble in response to the invitations are supplied " with kasumbha by the guests at their own expense, and pieces of opium have also to " be given according to the requirements of the persons invited. If one omits to do " this, he is not considered respectable. Another class of people residing in this " district are the Patidars and Kanbis, who have always observed the following usages. " On a wedding occasion one may use opium at his pleasure, but when a respectable old " man dies, the use of opium in honour of his memory is indispensable. During " the first eleven days after the death of the deceased, when the people of the " surrounding villages, with whom such formalities are usually interchanged, come in " crowds to offer condolence, kasumbha has to be supplied to them and their servants, " and opium is also distributed among them. Afterwards on the last, or thirtieth " day, all persons with whom such formalities are usually interchanged, and all relations " coming from a distance, assemble. This gathering is called Saraoni, and if expendi- " ture on a large scale is contemplated, it is called Gam Saraoni. The greater the " quantity of opium one dispenses on this occasion, the more credit he gets " (23,656).

It appears from the evidence of several witnesses that in Kathiawar, and throughout Gujarat, the ceremonial use of opium is on the wane, and tending to die out. This is attributed partly to the spread of Western ideas and the substitution of alcoholic beverages for opium, and partly to economic necessity. In recent years the price of opium in these districts has risen a good deal, owing to increased taxation upon it. In former times, when opium was almost untaxed, the quantities consumed on these ceremonial occasions was enormous. A Native gentleman from the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad informed the Commission that on the occasion of the death of his grand-

father, in 1851, nearly three maunds, or 240 lbs., of opium were consumed in treating the guests, whereas on the occasion of the death of his father, thirty years later, in 1881, not more than 10 lbs. of opium were used by the guests (22,774-5).

(6.) OPIUM SMOKING IN INDIA.

The use of opium in the way of smoking is a subordinate habit in India; and, as compared with the ancient practice of opium-eating, is relatively modern. Opium-smoking is practised in two ways, namely, as *madak-smoking* and as *chandu-smoking*. The preparation of opium used in these two modes is quite different, and the manner of smoking is also different.

Madak-smoking.—The substance called Madak (or Madat or Muddat) is prepared by dissolving crude opium in water, boiling the solution, and straining through cloth. The strained product is boiled down to a syrup, and then mixed with charred leaves,* of acacia, betel, or guava, so as to form a soft mass. The mass thus obtained is finally divided into little balls about the size of small marbles. Samples of madak balls obtained by me at Calcutta, have a light porous texture, and a carbonised appearance. The balls weigh a little under seven grains each. The quantity of opium contained in madak probably varies in different markets, but from the mode of manufacture it must be always an attenuated preparation as compared with chandu. Judging by the directions for the manufacture of madak given in Vol. IV., p. 521, and Vol. V., p. 87 of the Proceedings of the Commission, the proportion of opium contained in it would seem to vary from about one-third to about one-fourth. Mr. Gregory, the superintendent of the factory laboratory at Ghazipur, analysed two samples of madak purchased by him in the bazaar at Calcutta. They yielded respectively 0.18 per cent. and 0.21 per cent. of morphia. This proportion of morphia indicates that the madak sold in the Calcutta shops only contains about 4 per cent. of crude opium (13,483).

Madak is usually smoked in the ordinary hubble-bubble pipe. One of the little balls is placed in the bowl of the pipe and covered with a piece of glowing charcoal; it is then smoked much in the same way as tobacco.

Chandu-smoking.—Chandu (or Chundoo or Chundool) is prepared by boiling down a strained solution of opium in water in large copper caldrons to a thick consistency. As the concentration proceeds crusts form on the surface of the simmering mass; these are removed in succession as they form. These crusts are again dissolved in water, and the solution is again concentrated by boiling, until, finally, a thick extract is obtained of the consistency and appearance of thick tar. This is the "smokeable extract" used in India by chandu-smokers. It is smoked in the freshly-made, or raw state, without any further preparation; and must be regarded as a coarse form of chandu.† The chandu used in China by the better classes is a much more elaborately prepared article, and is made to undergo, before it is considered fit for consumption, a gradual process of ripening, or maturation, lasting 10 or 12 months, whereby a delicate perfume is imparted to it, which is much prized by connoisseurs in chandu-smoking.‡

Chandu contains a large per-centage of morphia. Mr. Gregory analysed a sample of chandu made with pure opium at the Ghazipur laboratory. He found it to contain 10.17 per cent. of morphia. Two samples of chandu purchased by him in the Calcutta bazaar yielded, respectively, 9.19 per cent. and 9.07 per cent. of morphia. It thus appears that Indian chandu is about twice as rich in morphia as the crude opium from which it is prepared§ (13,479-83).

* In Bombay madak is made up with the charred husks of a grain called moong. A substance called "green gram" is employed in Southern India for the same purpose.

† It should be mentioned that the common chandu smoked in India, and by the poorer classes in China, has its quality lowered by the use, in the manufacture, of the dejections or "dross" scraped from chandu pipes after they have been smoked. This "dross," which is rich in morphia, is carefully collected, and is largely employed to mix with the pure opium in the manufacture of the commoner sorts of chandu.

‡ A detailed account is given by M. Lalande, in the *Archives de Médecine Navale*, for 1890, of the method of making chandu from Bengal opium at the French Government Factory at Saigon. The process is carried out entirely by Chinese workmen, and is said to be an exact counterpart of the process followed in China for the production of high-class chandu. In the same journal for 1892, is a paper by Dr. Calmette describing the slow spontaneous fermentation which constitutes the ripening of the chandu. The fermentive agent, according to Calmette, is the *Aspergillus Niger*, or black mould, which grows everywhere so abundantly in saccharine media. The chemical results of the fermentation are to destroy the glucose of the opium and to convert the tannin into gallic acid, and to produce, besides, certain aromatic fragrances which impart the desired "bouquet" to the finished article.

§ According to the analysis of Lalande (*l.c.*, p. 69) the chandu made at Saigon, while retaining its full complement of morphia, has only a very reduced proportion of anarcotine.

Chandu is smoked in a specially constructed pipe and in a peculiar manner. The pipe-stem is composed of a tube of bamboo, about 20 inches long and more than an inch thick. One end is closed, and the other end is fashioned into a thick mouth-piece with a large orifice. About 7 inches from the closed extremity is a round hole, mounted in brasswork, for the reception of the neck of the bowl. The bowl of a chandu pipe is usually made of terra-cotta, and is entirely unlike the bowl of a tobacco pipe. The subjoined diagram will assist the reader to understand the description. The bowl (a) consists of a hollow disc, or chamber, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide and about $1\frac{1}{4}$ deep. The upper surface is flatly convex, and at its centre (b) is a minute shallow cup, lined with metal, and perforated at the bottom with a small orifice. This leads to a short canal running through the terra-cotta, and is only wide enough to admit a medium-sized pin. The lower side of the disc is continued into a short neck (c) which fits into the opening in the pipe-stem.*

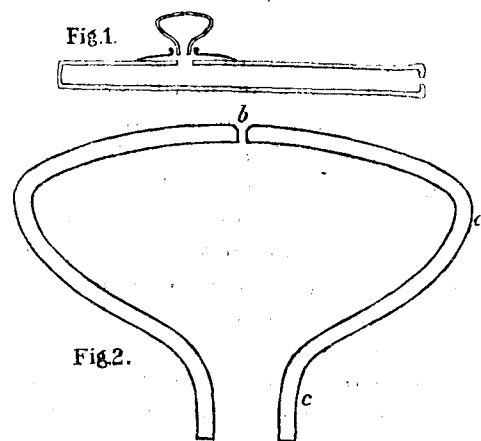


FIG. 1. Vertical section through a chandu pipe, one-tenth the actual dimensions.

FIG. 2. Vertical section through the bowl of a chandu pipe, actual size. a. The bowl. b. The receptacle for the charge of chandu. c. The neck of the bowl.

The chandu smoker proceeds in the following fashion:—Armed with a pointed probe or style he dips the point into his supply of chandu and takes up a suitable quantity which forms a little drop at the point of the style. This he now carefully heats over the flame of a lamp until it dries up into a soft pilule. He next transfers the little pilule to the shallow cup on the upper surface of the bowl. Then, assuming a reclining position, he cautiously applies the pilule to the flame of the lamp, and at the right moment, when the chandu begins to bubble and to emit smoke, he takes a full inspiration and fills his lungs with smoke, and then slowly discharges it. One or two such inspirations exhausts the charge. A practised smoker will smoke 15 or 20 pipes at a sitting.

Opium-smoking in India is the habit of the comparatively few; it is almost confined to the towns, and is scarcely known among the country cultivators. Mr. Stoker, Commissioner of Excise for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, who has had special opportunities of studying this subject, said that “probably not so many as 1 in every 10,000 of the whole population ever smokes opium” (19,527). In the large towns and seaports the proportion of opium smokers is considerably greater than this. In Bombay, with 821,000 inhabitants, Mr. Campbell, collector of Inland Revenue, estimated that before the closing of the licensed houses, in 1892, there were 700 or 800 men who smoked opium in the licensed premises; that is to say, about 1 in 1,100 of the entire population (24,314).

The practice of opium-smoking is generally looked down upon in India as a low and vicious habit. Several of the witnesses thought the practice—and especially that of madak-smoking—injurious to health. Others thought that the injurious effects were not due directly to the smoking, but were due to the associations and surroundings of the habit. These are certainly very bad. The practice of smoking seems to require that it shall be carried on in company, and the premises or “dens” in which opium smokers meet in India are of a squalid and insanitary character. The frequenters of these premises belong to the humbler grades of society. Many of them are, no doubt,

* The above description is drawn up from an examination of four chandu pipes, one bought at Calcutta, two confiscated pipes, kindly given to me by Mr. Westmacott, at Calcutta, and the fourth purchased in Rangoon. All four are essentially alike in construction, but vary in ornamentation. The bowls of the two confiscated pipes are made of brass, and the bowls of the other two are made of terra-cotta.

decent working men, who call for their smoke much as English workmen call for their glass of beer; but these places are also the resort of idle and dissipated and vicious persons—the declassed and homeless waifs and strays who gravitate into large towns. It is easy to understand that such associations and surroundings would be deleterious to the health and corrupting to the morals of the young. Public opinion in India is against these “dens,” and the consumption of opium in any form upon the premises of licensed shops is not now permitted.

The evidence with regard to the effect of opium-smoking on health was less complete and less conclusive than that with regard to opium eating. Proof was given that smokers both of madak and chandu might continue the practice for 10, 20, or 30 years without detriment to their health. No organic disease of any kind was alleged to be producible by the habit. It was shown that opium-smoking was often resorted to for the relief of suffering, especially in cases of asthma, bronchitis, and pulmonary consumption, and that it was easy for unwary observers to mistake the effects of concurrent disease for the effects of opium-smoking. It cannot be said to have been adequately proved that moderate opium-smoking, taken by itself, and apart from its surroundings and from disease or semi-starvation, has a prejudicial effect on health.*

It is a matter of considerable scientific interest to know what the opium smoker really takes into his system. As regards madak smoking we have no positive information. Something, however, is known about chandu-smoking. Chandu is rich in the alkaloids of opium, and especially rich in morphia. These principles are, however, not volatilisable by heat; they are broken up and transformed by heat; and what the chandu-smoker receives into his lungs are the gaseous products evolved by the heated chandu, together with the carbonaceous particles which constitute the visible smoke.

Several Europeans have experimented in their own persons on chandu-smoking, and have recorded their experiences. Most of them report that they perceived no effects whatever, some suffered more or less from headache and giddiness, but none of the accounts I have seen report a distinctly hypnotic effect. Europeans are very sensitive to the hypnotic action of morphia, and their experience, even making allowance for their imperfect mastery of the art of chandu-smoking, seems to show that the enjoyment of the chandu smoker is not due to the absorption of unchanged morphia. That some traces of morphia are conveyed into the lungs of the chandu smoker is, however, pretty certain.† These traces would be carried up mechanically, in the solid form, entangled in the carbonaceous particles of the smoke. But as this smoke is forthwith expelled again there would probably be very little absorption of morphia by the pulmonary tissue.

What the gases evolved by heated chandu consist of we do not accurately know; they are doubtless very complex. But it may be presumed that their effect on the Eastern smoker is kindred, though not identical, with the reviving and exhilarating effect of solid opium on the opium eater. It may moreover be assumed that the reason why Europeans (with rare exceptions) do not experience this reviving effect from chandu-smoking is that they lack the proper constitutional susceptibility thereto, just as they equally lack, as before pointed out, the proper susceptibility to the reviving effect of the opium pill and opium draught.

* The most detailed and circumstantial information, laid before the Commission, on the health of opium smokers in India, is to be found in a publication entitled:—“Lives of Bombay Opium Smokers,” compiled by Mr. Rustomji Jehangir, Chief Inspector of the Bombay Opium Department. This little book contains short biographies of 222 opium smokers, of whom 60 were madak smokers, and 162 chandu smokers. These biographies are printed in full in the Proceedings of the Commission, Vol. IV., Appendix XXII.

† According to the observations of Moissan, made in the laboratory, the ripened chandu used by the better classes in China, yields its smoke at a comparatively low temperature, and he was able to detect the presence of morphia in the smoke, together with some volatile perfumes. The coarser chandu smoked by the lower classes, which is made with opium adulterated with the “dross” scraped from old chandu pipes, requires a higher temperature for the development of smoke, and this smoke contains toxic compounds such as pyrrol, acetone, pyridic and hydropyridic bases. (*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, December 5, 1892.) These toxic compounds appear to be somewhat similar with those found in tobacco smoke.

MEMORANDUM II;

ON SOME HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF THE OPIUM QUESTION IN INDIA AND CHINA;

By SIR J. B. LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

If the questions contained in the Order of reference are read in the light of the preamble and of the speech which the Prime Minister made in support of the amendment which embodies them, it will be evident that the replies must depend not upon the past history of the case in India and China, but upon facts and international relations now existing. Historical arguments have however, been much relied upon in this controversy, and have again been brought forward by some of the witnesses who have appeared before the Commission. The view which some of these witnesses take of the existing facts of the case, seems to be coloured by a view of its past history which, if true at all, is only partly true. Mr. R. M. Dane's two Notes which are appended to this Report, contain a large amount of authentic information, much of which does not seem to have been known to the writers, official or non-official, who have sketched the history of the question in the course of the controversy. None of these writers seem to have been thoroughly acquainted with both the Indian and the China sides of this history. In particular the writers on the China side have generally been ignorant of many Indian facts, and have not sufficiently recognised the necessity of considering Indian interests. It appears to me, that there are some important incidents of the history, upon which certain broad conclusions may be safely formed from a perusal of the authorities given by Mr. Dane. These conclusions are as follows:—

1. The production of opium, the opium habit, and the export of opium to the Straits, China, and the Malay Archipelago, were all established facts in India before, and presumably long before, the first Europeans, the Portuguese, appeared on the scene at the very end of the 15th century. In China, also, before that time there was some home-grown, as well as Indian and Turkish, opium in use, and there are clear indications that the use was not medical only.

The common use of opium as a stimulant seems to have originated among the Mussulmans of Western Asia, probably in connexion with the strict prohibition of alcohol in their religion, and to have been extended by their power and influence to the Nations further East. This will explain the fact that the habit was established in Persia, India, and the Malay countries earlier than in China.

In the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries the sea-traders of the different European Nations, which successively joined in the trade round the Cape, all took part in the traffic in Indian opium between India and other countries further East. But throughout this long period the Portuguese and Dutch had a much larger share of this particular trade than the other Europeans, and till close upon the end of it the share taken by British merchants was very small. The Portuguese and Dutch were both before the English in establishing trade relations with China: the Portuguese established their important trading settlement of Macao in 1537, a hundred years before the British made their first attempts to trade with China.

The habit of smoking opium was derived from the habit of smoking tobacco, which the Malays acquired from the Spaniards and Portuguese at the commencement of the 17th century. The Malays and Chinese by the end of that century had invented the opium-smoking habit, and by the year 1729 it had grown so common in some parts of China that it drew down an Imperial edict severely prohibiting opium-smoking shops, and the sale of opium for smoking purposes.

The above conclusions seem to rest securely upon admitted facts, and, if so, it is evident that some of the denunciations which have been used with great effect even lately by leaders of the anti-opium movement are entirely inaccurate and misleading. For example, it has been said that we created the opium trade to China, and then made war to maintain it, and that we did not find the vice in India, but created it to raise a revenue from it.

2. It has frequently been assumed that the edicts against import of opium issued by the Chinese Government were founded simply upon its experience of the great moral and physical injury caused by the habit; and this assumed fact has again been used as strong proof of the actual severity of the injury, and as a reason why Englishmen were morally bound to take no part direct or indirect in a trade which the Chinese Government made contraband on such high moral grounds.

There is no reason to doubt that Chinese views of religion and morality and of the injurious nature of the habit were the principal motives of the earlier edicts, but it would be contrary to fact to assume that the later edicts, and the strong action taken to enforce them, were elicited by these motives only.

The first edict of 1729 prohibited, not the import of opium, but opium-smoking taverns and the sale of opium for smoking purposes. It was issued with the sanction of an Emperor who had a high reputation for religion and morality, and was directed, like previous edicts against tobacco smoking, against a new habit which shocked Confucian ideas of propriety, and was thought to be very injurious. The edict of 1799, which was the first to directly prohibit import, is quoted at length by Mr. Dane. It is a very strong denunciation of the opium habit as morally and physically degrading, and as ruinously expensive. It appears to have been issued by the Governor of Canton: to have had some effect at Canton itself for a year or two; and then to have been neglected. As Mr. Dane says, at the end of his narrative, it was the exportation of sycee silver which actually induced the Chinese Government to exert itself earnestly to suppress the trade. Without that additional motive the interdict against opium would probably have remained, like the Imperial edicts against tobacco, "a luminous manifestation of celestial benevolence."

VII. p. 214.

The governing class in China held at that time, and, as is shown by the evidence procured for us lately from that country, often still hold, the idea which long prevailed in Europe that export of the precious metals meant national impoverishment. Whenever, as happened two or three times between 1799 and 1829, the high Chinese officials seemed to wake up to the fact that the import of opium was steadily increasing, and ought to be stopped, there is evidence which indicates that they were not thinking only of opium. It seems clear that the export of silver was always closely connected in their minds with the import of opium, and was apparently the reason which occupied the prominent position. There was an old law restricting Chinese commerce with foreigners to barter, but sometime between 1753 and 1799, the Chinese were prohibited from bartering goods for opium. In this way the drug became contraband, and had to be bought off the ships in a more or less surreptitious way; the Chinese had to smuggle silver out to smuggle opium in. Another reason for this connexion of ideas was that, as between India and China the balance of trade was always, in those times, in favour of India, though with other countries it was greatly in favour of China. About 1829, however, increased imports of all kinds, and of opium in particular, made the general balance of trade with all countries unfavourable to China for the first time in its history, and a real drain of silver began. The currency, which is in copper coin only, was depreciated, and this was much felt, particularly by the official classes. In 1832 a memorial from the Governor and Deputy Governor of Canton was sent to the Emperor, in which the drain of silver and import of opium were connected, and the legalisation of the opium trade was recommended for that and other reasons. Though this proposal received censure, a similar one was made in 1836 by a high official at Peking, and by another Governor of Canton for the same reasons. (Papers of 1840.) In reply, in 1837 an Imperial decree was issued, announcing the Emperor's determination to remove the baneful effects of opium, the prevalence of which was leading to a daily decrease in China of fine silver. Finally, when, in 1839, the Special Commissioner Lin demanded surrender of the opium, he mentioned in his orders to the Hong merchants the immense loss of silver exported to pay for opium as the great evil of the trade. It is not surprising, therefore, that Englishmen concerned in the trade were generally disposed to hold the export of silver to be the fact which really led the Government of China from time to time to take action against the import of opium. With that motive they could not of course be expected to have sympathy.

VII. p. 74.
I. 1309.

VII. p. 115.

3. The connexion of British merchants with the trade to China in Bengal opium began to be considerable, as we have already said, in the end of the 18th century. It followed the establishment of the East India Company's Bengal opium monopoly, which arose out of the conquest of Bengal and Behar in 1758. In 1773, Warren Hastings, as the Company's Governor General, was organising, after a time of confusion, a complete system of administration for these Provinces. He then found that, for a long time past, certain persons at Patna, supported more or less by authority, had held a monopoly of purchase of opium from poppy cultivators and petty dealers. Patna was the opium emporium of this part of India, the place from which the sea-traders, at this time principally Europeans, procured the drug, and they could practically only buy it from these monopolists. Here, as elsewhere, the cultivation was free, like that of any other crop, but the business of wholesale purchase and manufacture in the

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tracts from which Patna drew its chief supplies, was practically a monopoly, though elsewhere in India that business seems also to have been always free. When the subject of the Patna opium trade came to be discussed by Warren Hastings and his Council in India, and by the Directors of the East India Company in England, the only question was between a State monopoly and free trade. Those who objected to a monopoly did so on the ground that it was unfair to the cultivators, as it diminished the price they could get, and was bad both for trade and agriculture, as with free trade production and export would increase. Warren Hastings and the majority of his Council decided on taking over this monopoly for the State, and their objects, judging from remarks made in various discussions in the Council, appear to have been the following: (1.) To raise a revenue for the Company's Territorial Government. (2.) To keep the agents of the foreign European Companies and interlopers of British or other European nationalities from dealing directly with the poppy cultivators in the interior, as such direct dealings led to disorders and oppression, which the Administration was not strong enough to check. (3.) To keep up the quality of the drug, as free trade and competition were thought to lead to great adulteration by the cultivators. (4.) To have power to regulate or restrict internal consumption if necessary.

The monopoly was leased to a contractor, who had to deliver at Calcutta all the good opium he could collect, for which Government paid him at a low contract price. The opium was then sold, for export only, at public auction to the highest bidder. The Government, therefore, had only appropriated and monopolised the position and profits of the manufacturer. It had nothing to do with the export. It has sometimes been supposed that the British East India Company had previously been engaged on its commercial side in exporting opium to China, and that the monopoly was taken over to enable the Company to control and encourage the China trade. On the contrary, the Company was not exporting opium to China, and had no intention of engaging in that trade, and the measure was not adopted with special reference to the China opium trade. At this time the export of Bengal monopoly opium to Malay countries and elsewhere was still as great, if not greater, than that to China, and in dwelling on the importance to the trade of keeping up the quality of the drug, it is the fastidiousness of the Malay taste which is alone mentioned in the resolution. It seems probable that at this time opium had already begun to be treated as contraband in China, but if so the fact does not seem to have been noticed in the discussion. It has been suggested that, an attempt ought to have been made by the Company's Government to prohibit purchasers exporting to China. But such an attempt would necessarily have been impracticable, for once on board ship and at sea the opium could not be prevented from going directly or indirectly to the best market. There was, in fact, no choice between total prohibition of export of Bengal monopoly opium and selling without reference to alleged destination. At that time our administration of Bengal and Behar was not strong, and the cultivation of the poppy was free: the idea of restricting it came later. The smuggling of opium was also rife in spite of the monopoly, and impossible to put down. The Company held only a small part of India in a precarious way, liable to internal revolt and attacks from outside enemies, European and Asiatic. From all the rest of India, in much of which opium was produced, the drug could find its way to a hundred ports beyond the Company's control. No sane person would then have suggested that such old industries as the cultivation of the poppy, and the opium export trade, in which many European and Asiatic nations, were interested, should be extinguished because the Chinese part of that trade was said to be treated as contraband by the Chinese Government.

The same arguments which induced Warren Hastings to prefer a monopoly again decided the question when Lord Cornwallis re-considered the matter, and again, when Sir John Shore changed Warren Hastings' contract monopoly into the State agency monopoly, which has since existed practically unchanged. State agency was found necessary, because the contract system had proved oppressive, and had almost ruined the industry.

The decision to take over the monopoly, and not to attempt to interfere with the destination of the opium exported, seems to have been a right decision, honestly adopted. The obloquy which, in the course of this controversy, has been sometimes attached to Warren Hastings and his immediate successors for the establishment of the system appears to have been due to imperfect knowledge of the subject. It is true subjects of articles in his impeachment, and in a vague manner this fact has been made to do service in attacking the system. But the charges were not that he had created the monopoly, but that in working it he had disregarded, for corrupt motives, certain instructions of the Directors. Of these charges, he was fully acquitted.

4. It has been asserted that, even if the Government of India did not create the opium habit in India and the opium trade to China, it has extended both the one and the other, and that its sole policy has been to make as much revenue as possible out of the drug. The Government has also been charged with a policy of extending and encouraging the production of Malwa opium in the Native States for a similar object. These assertions seem to be clearly incorrect. There does not appear to be any good opening, down to the year 1830, for impugning, from an anti-opium point of view, the policy followed by the Government of India, in respect to opium. From 1830, its policy as regards the export trade changed, as will be explained later on.

The original policy adopted for working the Bengal monopoly was elaborated by Warren Hastings' immediate successors, and seems to have been as follows:—

- (1.) To regulate internal consumption in a restrictive direction.
- (2.) To confine cultivation of the poppy to certain tracts where soil and cultivators would produce the best quality, and where the collection of the raw opium could be carefully supervised.
- (3.) To raise as large a revenue out of the export trade as could be got without materially increasing the supply at Calcutta.

As to (1.) some history of the regulations applying to internal consumption is given in the second Section of this Report. As to (2.), in 1799 a law was passed by which the cultivation of the poppy without a licence was prohibited. By force of this law the cultivation was extinguished at the beginning of this century in British districts generally, and only permitted in parts of Behar and Benares. As to (3.), we find that the number of chests of Bengal opium sold annually by auction at Calcutta in 1787, when statistics begin, till 1830, averaged about 4,000, and showed no tendency to increase till the last five years, though from 1801 the price realised rose immensely, and continued very high. From 1831, however, a large and sudden increase in the supply of Bengal opium began and continued, coupled with a tendency to fall in price. The fact is that, in 1830, the Government of India thought itself compelled to abandon its old policy of a small supply sold at a high price in favour of a larger supply at a cheaper rate. The reasons why it was led to this change of policy appear to be as follows:—The great and sudden rise of the price of Bengal opium, in 1801, must have been due to a decline in the supply of Malwa opium in the foreign markets. The violent civil wars between different Maratha leaders, which had for two or three previous years devastated the territories producing that opium, and thrown into confusion Gujerat and the other country on the Bombay Coast through which it reached the sea, must necessarily have caused such a decline. The attention of the Calcutta Government appears to have been in this and other ways directed to the previous effect of the competition of the Malwa drug, and when, by the war of 1803, the Company had acquired some littoral territory and great political influence on the Bombay side, the Bombay Government was directed to do its utmost to keep down and ultimately extinguish the trade in order to maintain the high price to which the Bengal drug had risen.

At this time the Company had no influence over the country where the bulk of the Malwa opium was produced, so, till 1820, the efforts to extinguish the trade (which are described in the third Section of this Report, and more fully in Mr. Dane's Memorandum) were directed to the establishment of a cordon to prevent the opium reaching the coast, and the enactment of laws to prevent British subjects or British ships having dealings with it. Though not very effective outside our own territory, which was then very small on the Bombay side, these efforts, aided by the continued confusion in the Malwa country, had considerable results, and the price of Bengal opium kept very high. After our war of 1818 against the Marathas, the position was changed, as the Malwa opium-producing countries came into political relations with our Government as allied and protected States. It was no longer possible to absolutely ignore their interests and their equitable claims.

No one, therefore, at this time suggested that we should attempt to prohibit the production of exportable opium in these States, either by agreement or by compulsion. Neither course appears to have been considered open to discussion. Moreover, the Directors in England had always expressed much doubt of the fairness of the indirect measures already adopted against the trade, and had commented on the hardships caused by them to the agricultural and commercial classes concerned in this old industry. It was also known, by this time, that the trade could not be extinguished by any cordon we could establish, though it could be much crippled by it. The Malwa opium still found its way to the coast and Portuguese ports by smugglers' paths and the circuitous routes through Sindh. For all these reasons, and because it was foreseen that an increase in poppy cultivation must follow from the pacification of the

Malwa country and the high price of opium abroad, some new plan was seen to be necessary if the price of Bengal opium was to be kept up. The plan suggested was to monopolise the purchase of Malwa opium for export, and so get the whole supply of exportable Indian opium, Bengal and Malwa, under control, and command prices in the foreign market. The total export could be kept in this way no greater or even less than before, and though the commercial classes interested in the old private Malwa export trade might suffer, the injury to the Rulers of the Native States and their agriculturists would be alleviated.

It was first attempted to effect this by empowering Government agents in the Malwa country to purchase annually not more than 4,000 chests of opium. They were to buy it out of the produce likely to be exported, as being in excess of demand for internal consumption. As these agents, being unaffected by the cordon, could send what they bought safely and by easy routes to Bombay, while native purchasers could only get their opium to the coast by difficult and circuitous routes, it was thought that the Government agents would be able to outbid others and yet buy at moderate rates, and so establish a practical monopoly of the export trade. This plan, however, failed, as fondness for the trade and the high prices in the foreign market made the native dealers compete keenly, and extension of cultivation could not be checked. An attempt was then made to secure the same object by inducing the Native States concerned to enter into Treaties whereby the production in their States, for export and home consumption, should be limited to certain quantities, and the quantity for export should be sold to the Government of India at certain moderate prices. This plan was resisted by some of the States, and very unwillingly accepted by others. After making us very unpopular with the people and Princes of these States, it also had to be abandoned for reasons given at length in the third Section of the Report. In 1830, therefore, the Government of India reluctantly abandoned all idea of monopolising the export of Malwa opium in addition to that of Bengal, and established what is known as the transit duty system. To enforce this system they kept up the cordon as before, but allowed the Malwa drug to pass through it to Bombay for export by certain routes only on payment of a duty. The direct revenue obtained by this duty was only a secondary consideration: the main object of the system was to do what could still be done to keep up the price of Bengal opium by putting a duty on Malwa opium, and to regulate the passage of the latter drug to the sea, and so prevent its being smuggled wholesale into British territory. The Directors in England cordially agreed, when the matter came before them, that the change to the transit duty system was necessary; and in the final report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, presented in 1832, the policy of the change was said to be beyond a doubt.

5. I think I have shown in the last paragraph that down to 1830 the policy of the Government of India was strongly restrictive in respect both to production of Bengal opium for the Calcutta export market and export of Malwa opium from the Bombay side. In that year the Government reconsidered the whole case, and appear to have decided that a change of policy was necessary, and to have come to the following conclusions: (1) That it was not possible to control the Malwa trade by a monopoly; (2) that with peace secured and no check but the transit duty (which at that time had necessarily to be put very low, as it could be evaded), the export of Malwa opium would steadily increase, and the price of Bengal opium go down in the foreign market; (3) that to prevent the possibility of the Bengal opium being driven out of the foreign market, and to make good the loss of revenue from the expected fall in its price, it was necessary to abandon the old policy of not increasing the supply of Bengal opium in the Calcutta market. The Government, in fact, made up their minds that in future the Calcutta export market must be allowed a supply which would enable it to compete favourably on commercial terms with the Bombay export market.

To carry this out they directed their Behar and Benares opium agents to invite applications to cultivate poppy in tracts and villages, other than those to which they had hitherto restricted it. The import of opium from the Native States of Oudh and Nepal, which had previously been absolutely prohibited, was also temporarily allowed for sale to Government only. In these ways the quantity of Bengal opium put up for export sale at Calcutta by Government was at once largely increased. It was almost at once double what it had been before, and four times as great in a few years; and from this time the quantity went on increasing rapidly in answer to a keen demand at high prices, though not so high as those which had ruled from 1801 to 1830. The export of Malwa opium also went on increasing, and for the next 15 years was about equal in quantity to that from Bengal. The steady rise in quantity was not checked

by Chinese edicts or even by war with China, and did not begin to abate till it was affected in 1854-55 by the great extension of poppy cultivation in China.

It is evident from what has been said above that the year 1830 was a most important epoch in the history of the Bengal monopoly. Whether the new working policy then adopted, of increasing the supply of Bengal opium in competition with the Malwa trade to the extent of the Calcutta export market demand was justifiable, is, no doubt, open to question. In defence of the Government of India, it must be first remembered that it was not even asserted at this time that any Government had used force against China in support of the trade. Nor can it be fairly assumed that that Government, which was familiar with the use of opium in India, had reason to consider the drug an article which must be regarded as a poison and on a different plane from other dangerous stimulants like alcohol, for example. Till 1868 opium could be sold at any village shop in England, and was so sold largely in the Fen districts. No doubt the Government of India was well aware that the increasing demand came from China, where the article was contraband, but down to 1830 the Chinese Government had shown little or no sign of anxiety to enforce the edict, and the merchants who took the drug to the China coast found an eager market, and had no difficulty in disposing of the drug to Chinese, who landed it with the connivance of Chinese officials.

The practice was, in fact, so different from the assumed law that the sincerity of the Chinese Government was generally doubted, and the matter was commonly regarded as, at most a dispute between it and the Chinese people, which they had to settle for themselves. Moreover, the Government of India was bound to carefully consider the interests of its Indian subjects, for whom it held in trust the revenue derived from the Bengal monopoly. If it lost that revenue by keeping down the supply of Bengal opium at Calcutta, and so preventing the Calcutta exporting merchants from competing with the Malwa trade, it would do British India harm, and, perhaps, not diminish the quantity of opium in China, as the supply of Malwa and Turkish or Persian opium was likely to increase in proportion. The demand in the interior of China was also known to be already met in part, at least, by home growth.

By increasing the supply in Calcutta the Government of India only did what private manufacturers would have done under the same circumstances, as a matter of course. If the business had been in their hands; they would have been guided simply by the demands in Calcutta, and would have declared themselves not responsible for what the exporting merchants did with the opium, or for what Chinese buyers and Chinese officials did in disobedience to the Government of China. Whether the Government of India, with the facts before it as they stood in 1830, was bound on moral grounds to act differently, seems not an easy question to answer with confidence. It had long before, for motives which then seemed good, appropriated the manufacture of an important product of British India as a State monopoly; having got—wisely or unwisely—into that position it was not free to disregard Indian interests and commercial considerations. If any of the self-governing Nations of the civilised world had found themselves in the same position, I think that the most they would have done would have been to abandon the monopoly, and set free the cultivation and manufacture by way of relieving their Government of direct responsibility. It is, perhaps, a pity that this was not done in India in 1830, but there were great difficulties in the way; and it would have been of no benefit to the Chinese Government's policy of exclusion, and certainly injurious to the Indian revenue, and to the power of regulating and restricting consumption in India. It must also be again pointed out that the whole export of opium was not to China, and that Bengal opium could only be prevented from going to China by stopping the whole export. Once on board ship the drug would go to the best market, which was China. Even if a law had been made prohibiting British subjects and British ships from taking it there, and a British preventive service had been organised on the China coast to enforce such a law, it would have only meant a transfer of the trade, at Calcutta or mid-way, to ships flying other flags. The Chinese Government was known to be as incapable of itself stopping Chinese smuggling along its coasts as it had been of stopping Chinese piracy. So long ago as the year 1633, the Chinese Government had to ask the Dutch to help them to put down Chinese pirates, and partly succeeded only with their help. In the present century such piracy has been checked almost entirely by our ships of war.

6. We now come to the consideration of the war between China and England of 1840-2, which is commonly called the opium war. It has been commonly asserted and believed that the cause of this war was on the part of the Government of China the wish to stop the trade in Indian opium, and on the part of the Government of England the wish to maintain it in the interests of the revenue of India. There will always be room for difference of opinion as to the degree to which the opium

trade was the cause of the war; no doubt in its double form of opium smuggled in and silver smuggled out the trade was a principal cause; but even in this double form I think that it was not the sole or even the main cause of the war on the side of China, and that it cannot be said, with any truth, that England went to war to maintain the opium trade.

The main cause, in my opinion, was the persistent, radical, and irreconcilable difference of view between British representatives and merchants on the one side, and the Chinese governing class on the other, as to the following matters:—The facilities of trade and conditions of residence in China properly demandable, the subjection of British subjects to Chinese law courts, and the proper extent and form of official or diplomatic relations.

From 1757 when the trade was confined to Canton, the policy of the Chinese Government was to allow our merchants to trade to that port, provided that the concession did not involve getting into relations with us other than commercial, and provided that we could be kept at arm's length in a submissive attitude, such as the Dutch adopted at Nagasaki till Japan was forced open, and the Portuguese at Macao.

It can easily be understood that apart from mere ordinary arrogance and dislike of foreigners, the Chinese governing classes had motives for their policy which were from the first not without reason, and which the experience of subsequent years did not seem to weaken. They knew what had happened, or was happening, to other countries like Japan, the Philippines, India, Java, Sumatra, Ceylon, and Burmah, from intercourse with Europeans of different nationalities.

Rightly or wrongly the British merchants and their representatives resented the Chinese policy, and persistently kicked against the restrictions imposed.

VII. App. C.

If the account of our relations with China from 1757 to 1840, given in Mr. Dane's Memorandum, and supported by extracts from authentic documents, be carefully read, it will be seen that there was all along constant friction; that the part thereof due to the contraband trade in opium was for a long time very trifling, and though great in the last two years, only secondary even then.

In point of arrogance of tone there was not much to choose between either side, but the high Chinese officials seem to have wished to be fair and accommodating, provided they could do it without relaxing their policy in essentials.

In the various controversies the Chinese seem to have been right in some and wrong in others, and there were cases in which neither party could be said to be in the wrong, such, for instance, as the frequent refusals of the British to make over British subjects charged with homicide to be tried by Chinese law and Chinese Courts.

With this increasing friction, British trade and power and pretensions also greatly increased as time went on.

VII. p. 98.

As early as 1829 it is evident from an edict of the Emperor and the papers connected with it that the British were regarded as the most "fierce and unruly," and "proud and domineering" of all the foreigners, and that the Chinese Government was making up its mind that it would probably have before long to expel them from Canton, and put an end to their trade. The British demands which elicited this edict had nothing to do with opium, but the edict shows that the Emperor had that trade in mind, and consoled himself for the loss of duties which expulsion of the English would involve by reflecting that the stoppage of the drain of silver due to the opium trade, would be a good set off.

From this time to the end of 1838, the wish to check the opium trade and consequent drain of silver was no doubt one strong cause of the increasing tension which prevailed, but the main cause was the determination of the Chinese Government to maintain their exclusive policy, which determination was only confirmed by the efforts we made to force ourselves into closer and freer relations.

Down to 1834 the Chinese Government had hopes of maintaining their policy without violent measures. In that year the British Government abolished the East India Company's China monopoly, and the Supra-cargoes, its commercial representatives, and sent out diplomatic officers of much higher position under the name of Commissioners in China, with demands for direct diplomatic relations, and for new trade concessions. The Chinese Government rightly understood that this meant a decided step on our part to break down their policy. Naturally they assumed in reply a stiffer and more obstinate attitude than before. From this time till the end of 1838, though their action wavered as to maintaining prohibition of the opium trade, it never wavered as to their main point, our retention in the position in which they had from the first wished to keep us as regards commercial intercourse and diplomatic relations. Mr. Lay says in his Note that it was the claims we advanced as regards

diplomatic relations in 1834, and which Lord Palmerston again insisted upon in 1836, which were the real cause of war. Sir Thomas Wade in his evidence conveys much the same meaning in the reverse way, by saying that it was the refusal to grant proper diplomatic relations which made war inevitable. These are men experienced in dealing with the governing class in China, who have studied the history of those times on the spot. It seems evident that though China aimed her first blow in 1839 at the opium trade, that was not her main point. Being determined to resist our demands, which had nothing to do with opium, she saw that resort to force was inevitable, and that to boldly stick to her old policy and make no concessions was the safest course to adopt. Her hesitation as to treatment of the opium question therefore disappeared, and she undertook to put that trade down by force; partly no doubt as a measure she much desired to effect for its own sake, but also as a counter-move, and the one best suited in her opinion to bring our authorities and our merchants to their senses. We did not treat the violence to our representative and the whole British community at Canton by which China got possession of the opium as a cause of war; nor did we then advance a claim for compensation. It was not till a year later, when the Chinese had rejected all our overtures, declared all trade at an end, and fired on our ships, that we declared war. We went to war then not to uphold the contraband opium trade, but to dispute the right and power of China to expel us with insult and stop all trade. It may be noted that the same conclusion as to the main cause of the war was held by General Gordon, whose letter of 1882 to Mr. Boulger on the opium question has often been published. He wrote as a friend of China and an enemy of the opium trade, and his knowledge of Chinese Statesmen and indisputable honesty makes his evidence of much value. In that letter he said that "The opium wars were not about opium; opium was only a 'cheval de bataille'; it was against the introduction of foreigners, a political question," and the following quotation from a letter to the "Christian World" from Dr. Griffith John, a missionary of 35 years' standing, dated Hankow October 6th, 1891, is to much the same effect. It may be mentioned that in the last memorial to the Secretary of State for India, of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, this gentleman's arguments against opium are quoted at length, and he is stated to be one of the most competent and experienced observers of Chinese affairs. After discussing the prevalence of riotous assaults on missionaries, and saying that the root of the opposition experienced by them was to be found, not so much in the feelings of the people as in the anti-foreign policy and attitude of the governing and literary classes, he refers further on to the first war with China as follows:—

As to the hatred of the foreigners, missionaries included, among the literary and official classes, there can be no doubt in regard to it. But this hatred is not a thing of to-day. It existed long before the first Protestant missionary set his foot on the soil of the Celestial land. The hatred of the foreigner, be he missionary or be he layman, among the literary and official classes, is a deeply-rooted and fondly-cherished sentiment. Our first war with China is generally regarded in its relation to the opium trade, as springing out of this trade, and waged in order to obtain indemnity for the losses sustained by the surrender of the opium. But it may be justly regarded in another light, namely, in its relation to the immoderate assumptions of the Peking Court, and the haughty, contemptuous, and insulting bearing of the Chinese officials in their intercourse with all foreigners from the beginning. The principle which guided them in their intercourse with foreigners is given in the following translation of one of the Chinese maxims:—

"The barbarians are like beasts, and not to be ruled by the same principles as the Chinese. Were any one to attempt to control them by the great laws of reason, it would lead to nothing but confusion. The ancient kings understood this well, and therefore ruled barbarians by misrule. Hence to rule barbarians by misrule is the true and best way of ruling."

It is perfectly clear that no beneficial results could possibly accrue from arguing with a people who could think, speak, and act in this way. While their extravagant pretensions remained unrepelled, all overtures on the part of a foreign Government would be rejected with disdain. No great Power, however, could possibly submit long to such insults and humiliations as England was called upon to submit to in the persons of her representatives; and hence war, apart altogether from the opium traffic, was inevitable sooner or later.

One other opinion to the same effect may be quoted from the evidence procured V. pp. 212 to 343. from China for the Commission through Her Majesty's Minister in China, and appended to our proceedings. The Reverend John Macintyre, missionary of the United Presbyterian Church, Scotland, who has resided for more than 20 years in China, and who thinks it would pay the British Government, even now, as a matter of policy, "to back out" of the opium trade, writes in para. 15 of his evidence, as follows:—"Merchants used to grumble that so much silver went out of the country."—"I never, at any time, believed it was a matter of morality with the Chinese. It was a question of interfering with their fiscal arrangements."—"I mean to say I disbelieve the loud talk about morality in which Chinese statesmen have, from time to time, indulged when they speak on the so-called opium war and the use of opium. The opium war was a war in which the Chinamen fought to keep out the foreigner as such. I regret that we took the opium with us. Had we dropped

"it then we should have had an unequalled position to-day in China. But the opium was an accident of the war. Nothing but war could have brought the Chinese of that day to acknowledge us as belonging to the *genus homo*, and not only so, but as subjects of a free and independent Sovereign, and a power infinitely superior to themselves. That to my mind was the subject of the war."

7. It has been argued that though the main cause of the war on the part of China was not opium, and though we did not go to war to maintain that trade, or demand that it should be legalized or tolerated as a condition of peace, yet after all the practical result of the war, was to force opium upon China by intimidating the Chinese Government from stopping the trade. The first answer to this is that the Chinese Government was never before or after the war capable of stopping the import of opium. It was capable of making a spasmodic effort at one place, and of temporarily stopping the trade there by burning of Chinese ships and boats, capital punishments and bastinado, and other such rough and violent measures, but the only result was that for the time, the foreign opium ships moved off to other points of the coast, and sold there to a fresh set of Chinese smugglers. It had no proper preventive service, no honest or active body of officials, and was not supported by any popular action in the matter; the Chinese Government, in fact, was always as incapable of stopping in any permanent way the smuggling in of opium as it was of stopping permanently the smoking of the drug in China.

To force opium upon the Chinese people in the simple sense of the words, was, of course, always impossible. No foreign shipper of opium could have sold an ounce of opium on the coast of China if there had not been a Chinaman ready to buy. There were always Chinamen eager to buy at high prices, and at any risk. There is no doubt, however, that the view that a policy of non-interference with the import of opium had been practically forced upon the Chinese Government by the war became a popular belief among the Chinese after the war, and has been since held by many Englishmen and other foreigners, and is expressed, for example, in General Gordon's letter, from which I have quoted above. I think, however, that the evidence shows that this view, if true at all, is only true to a very limited degree. To the extent that after the war, as before the war, we refused to ourselves attempt to repress the contraband opium trade off the coasts, or in the inner waters of China, or to stop the export of Malwa and Bengal opium from India, it is true that we forced the trade on her, but not otherwise. It is, however, evident that the difficulties in the way of our undertaking to put down the trade, even in Indian opium only, were immense if not insurmountable. These difficulties have been described above in paragraph 5 of this section, in considering the arguments which may be used to excuse the increased production of Bengal opium after the year 1830. The only effectual way would have been to stop all export of Indian opium, which was no doubt physically possible after the annexation of Sindh in 1843. That is the measure now advocated by the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, and the existing reasons for and against adopting it are considered in the Seventh Section of the Report.

That we did not in any other sense force toleration of the trade on China after the war, or attempt to hinder her from herself taking all legitimate measures for stopping it, seems proved from the Parliamentary Papers of 1840 and 1857, and from the text of the Treaties. Opium remained contraband, but the trade went on more vigorously than ever. Though strong action was taken by the British Government under the Treaty area which the Chinese had to guard, and though the British High Commissioner and British Consuls frequently sent information to the Chinese officials of European smuggling operations in the inner waters and suggested action, the Chinese officials remained inert. It is no doubt possible that the Chinese did not believe altogether in the honesty of our official attitude, and thought it dangerous to take strong measures against Europeans, but this is no good explanation of the fact that they were equally inert in acting against the native smugglers, boatmen, or merchants, and did nothing to prevent their transporting opium to the towns where it was openly sold. They failed in the same way to respond to the American Minister's suggestions, and consequently, as Mr. Reed stated in 1859, the clause in the American Treaty forbidding Americans from engaging in the opium trade was ineffective. In short, for some reason or other, Government at this time was not to take action to stop the trade. Sir Henry Pottinger, the British Plenipotentiary, within a month after the execution of the Supplementary Treaty of the 8th October 1843, wrote as follows to Lord Aberdeen:

"I cannot help thinking that everything has now been done that is possible, or that China can expect from us, to assist her objects in this respect; and it is further my duty to inform Her Majesty's Government that whatever may be the terms in which the trade in opium is spoken of in this and other official communications that are placed on record, I have the strongest causes for doubting whether even one in a hundred of the officers of the Chinese Government is at all disposed to check the trade."

And Keying, who, after being Chinese Plenipotentiary with Sir Henry Pottinger, had become High Commissioner at Canton, recorded his opinion in 1844 that opium smokers were innumerable, and that it was impracticable to prohibit the habit.

The popular belief mentioned above that the Chinese Government was forced by the war of 1840-42 to tolerate the trade was greatly due to the fact, that by Article IV. of the Treaty it was obliged to compensate the owners of the opium destroyed by its orders in 1839. That article runs as follows: "The Emperor of China agrees to pay the sum of 6,000,000 dollars as the value of the opium which was delivered up at Canton in the month of March 1839, as a ransom for the lives of H.B.M. Superintendent and subjects who had been imprisoned and threatened with death by the Chinese high officials." Though the manner in which the delivery of the opium from the ships at Lintin was enforced put the Chinese Government in the wrong it is unfortunate that it was held necessary to compensate the owners, but it appears that the reason for this course was that Captain Elliot made a promise of indemnity to all owners, in or not in the power of the Chinese Government, to induce them to join in the surrender. The bill, therefore, had to be paid either by England or China, and in the circumstances the English people were not prepared to accept the liability.

8. It is admitted that our second war with China of 1856-58 had nothing to do with opium; the incident which was the immediate cause, and the preceding controversies which had led to extremely strained relations between the two Powers, were unconnected with this trade, which was going on smoothly. But the voluntary character of the legalisation of the opium trade by China which followed the war has been denied, and it has been asserted that we took advantage of her defeat to apply pressure which she could not resist. I think it can be shown that, though legalisation was suggested as it had been before, nothing of the nature of pressure was used, and that the measure was adopted because the Chinese Government recognised that as it was not in its power to stop the trade or check the habit, the wisest course was to regulate the trade and derive a revenue from taxing it. They must have known this after the first war, but as General Gordon suggests in his letter to Mr. Boulger already quoted, they appear to have been prevented from then changing their traditional policy towards the opium trade principally by pride and fear of loss of prestige in China. This consideration disappeared after the second war, for the Treaty which they were forced to agree to by that war contained conditions much more injurious in their opinion to the prestige and interests of China than a change of policy in regard to opium, and accompanied by no countervailing advantages of revenue. When therefore the revision of the tariff came to be discussed they, of their own accord, proposed to admit opium as a duty-paying article, and all the conditions they suggested were agreed to.

A short account of the negotiations which followed the hostilities of 1856-58 will establish the view here expressed.

In the instructions issued for the guidance of these negotiations to Lord Elgin by the British Government the points included in the demand to be made on the Chinese Government bore no reference to opium, but laid stress on the execution of the stipulations of the former Treaty as regards Canton, and on the necessity of obtaining recognition of the residence of an accredited Envoy at Peking or of his occasional visit to that city, with the right of corresponding direct with the high officials at the capital. In a supplementary letter of the same date, Lord Clarendon explained more fully the provisions regarding commerce which the Government considered desirable. The paragraph relating to opium runs as follows:—

"It will be for your Excellency, when discussing commercial arrangements with any Chinese Plenipotentiary, to ascertain whether the Government of China would revoke its prohibition of the opium trade, which the high officers of the Chinese Government never practically enforce. Whether the legalisation of the trade would tend to augment that trade may be doubtful, as it seems to be carried on to the full extent of the demand in China, with the sanction and connivance of the local authorities. But there would be obvious advantages in placing the trade upon a legal footing by the imposition of a duty, instead of its being carried on in the present irregular manner."

In approaching the Court of Peking after the operations against Canton, Lord Elgin gave prominence to the questions of access to Peking, the regulated circulation of foreigners in the Empire, and the advantages of relaxing the existing restriction of legal trade to a few ports, which had occasioned the rise of a large contraband.

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Elgin Papers, 1859, pp. 325-30. pp. 330-6. pp. 345-6. pp. 399-404.

The need of revising the tariff, owing to variations in the prices since 1843, and of suppressing illegal transit duties, was also pointed out, and, finally, the advisability of ensuring better treatment of Christian missionaries, a point specified by Lord Clarendon as one which should, if possible, be gained. The letter met with no response, and the advance on Tientsin followed. In the negotiations that ended in the Treaty concluded at that place, the proposals regarding admission to Peking were alone prominent, though that of allowing foreigners to visit the interior on passports was accepted, but not for immediate execution. The Treaty itself did not deal with the tariff, but provision was made for the revision of that of 1843 through authority separately delegated by the two Powers.

The subject of opium was not mentioned in the Treaty, and was not even discussed by the Plenipotentiaries at Tientsin. Lord Elgin's dislike of the opium trade is well known; he has explained why he refrained from then introducing the subject in a letter to Mr. Reed, the American Minister, from which the following passage may be quoted:—

"Not because I questioned the advantages which would accrue from the legalisation of the trade, but because I could not reconcile it to my sense of right to urge the Imperial Government to abandon its traditional policy in this respect under the kind of pressure we were bringing to bear upon it at Tientsin."

The Treaty was signed on the 26th June 1858. The negotiations for the revision of the tariff began some time later, and were concluded on the 8th of November. The revised tariff arrangements were thus signed by Lord Elgin and the Chinese Commissioner five months after peace had been restored and the foreign armaments withdrawn from the Peiho. These facts, and the character of Lord Elgin and his strong views on the subject, are sufficient proof in themselves that the action of the Chinese in legalising opium was voluntary. As additional proof the testimony of Messrs. Lay and Oliphant, recorded in 1880, and quoted by the Government of India in their despatch of 1881, may be cited. Their evidence is of such value and importance that it is advisable to save the trouble of reference by quoting it here; Mr. Lay says:—

Times, 22nd Oct. 1880. "All the negotiations at Tientsin passed through me. Not one word on either side was said about opium from first to last. The revision of the tariff and the adjustment of all questions affecting our trade were designedly left for after deliberation, and it was agreed that for that purpose the Chinese High Commissioner should meet Lord Elgin at Shanghai in the following winter. . . . In the meantime the preparation of the tariff devolved upon me, at the desire of the Chinese no less than of Lord Elgin. When I came to opium I inquired what course they proposed to take in respect to it. The answer was 'we have resolved to put it into the tariff as *yang yoh* (foreign medicine). I urged a moderate duty in view of the cost of collection, which was agreed to."

Mr. Oliphant's letter bears date three days later; he writes:—

Times, 25th Oct. 1880. "I was appointed in 1858 Commissioner for the settlement of the trade and tariff regulations with China, and during my absence with Lord Elgin in Japan, Mr. Lay was charged to consider the details with the subordinate Chinese officials named for the purpose. On my return to Shanghai I went through the tariff elaborated by these gentlemen with the Commissioner appointed by the Chinese Government. When we came to the article opium, I informed the Commissioner that I had received instructions from Lord Elgin not to insist on the insertion of the drug in the tariff, should the Chinese Government wish to omit it. This he declined to do. I then proposed that the duty should be increased beyond the figure suggested in the tariff, but to this he objected, on the ground that it would increase the inducements to smuggling. . . . I trust that the delusion that the opium trade now existing with China was 'extorted' from that country by the British Ambassador may be finally dispelled."

China Papers, 5 of 1871, p. 432. In Parliament and elsewhere certain words used by Sir Thomas Wade, in a despatch written from China in 1868, have been often quoted as proof, that, in spite of all evidence to the contrary, the legalisation of the opium trade was a concession extorted from China by force, against the conscience of the nation, and in defiance of the moral convictions of its educated men. If, however, the whole despatch is read, it will be seen that Sir Thomas Wade was referring to the concessions which were demanded from the Chinese Government as conditions of peace, and which were embodied in the Treaty of 26th June 1858, and specially to the liberties and protection conceded to missionaries and their converts, and the demand for embassies at Peking. There was no party among the Chinese people in any way in favour of these concessions, and, rightly or wrongly, we distinctly extorted them by force from the Chinese Government; on the other hand, we made no such demand for the legalization of the opium trade, and if, after the Treaty of Peace was concluded, any suggestion in favour of such a measure was advanced from our side, the evidence shows that it must have been done informally and without the least pressure. The legalisation of the trade did not increase it, and unless it is assumed that the Chinese were able to stop the contraband trade, and likely to do so, it cannot be said that the measure was

profitable to our Government, or to the Indian revenue. It was the revenue of the Imperial Government of China that gained by it. Nor can it be assumed of the Chinese nation as a whole, or of the Chinese educated class, that there was no party in favour of the trade or its legalisation. The smoking habit pervaded all classes, and was particularly common among the official and educated class, and without the active aid of Chinese smugglers, merchants, and officials the contraband trade would, of course, have been an impossibility.

As another proof that the Chinese Government agreed to the measure of their own free will, it may be noted that Mr. Reed, the American Minister, after personal investigation of the case, fell in with Lord Elgin's view that the legalisation of the trade was the right course to adopt in the interest of China, and the American Government, therefore, promptly agreed to the new tariff. Yet, previously, the American Government had always shown a disposition to side with China against us in this and other matters.

The provisions regarding opium in the agreement of November 1858, made in the circumstances above mentioned, include the imposition of an import duty of 30 taels (about 10*l.*) per chest. It was a condition that whenever the drug was moved from the port of arrival it must be accompanied by Chinese alone. This was in order to prevent Europeans pushing the trade in the interior, and to keep it, when outside the areas of the foreign concessions or settlements of the open ports, entirely in Chinese hands, and fully subject to Chinese control.

For the same reason the passport system laid down in the main Treaty was not to be applicable to trade in opium; nor, again, were the restrictions placed on the limit of the Li-Kin, or transit duty, in the case of other goods extended to that article. Finally, at the revision of the tariff, which could be demanded by either party to the Treaty at intervals of 10 years, opium was to be exempted from the rules limiting increase of rates of import duty that applied to other merchandise.

Sir Thomas Wade informed the Commission that Lord Elgin was prepared to agree to any rate of duty, however high, so that the trade was regularised. The limit was obviously the point at which smuggling could again become profitable. The rate fixed was double that imposed on other merchandise, and as Mr. Oliphant's evidence quoted above shows, the Chinese Commissioner refused to put it higher on the ground that it would induce smuggling. This import duty, it must be remembered, only covered import to the foreign concessions at the open ports; on the opium leaving those concessions, the Chinese Government was free by the agreement to impose on it any rate of Li-Kin, or transit duty, it liked. There was no limit as regards opium, and no privilege of paying an extra half rate and getting a certificate freeing the parcel through all Li-Kin collectorates to destination. In both these respects opium was denied the privileges which were conceded to other goods. In fact, the Chinese Government under the tariff agreement which followed the Tientsin Treaty got all it asked for as regards opium, and was free if it liked to confine the drug to the foreign concessions by prohibitive rates of Li-Kin duty. It was too wise to make the attempt, as it knew that the drug would then be smuggled in from other directions, and that import duty, as well as Li-Kin duty, would be lost.

In short, the whole character of the provisions legalising the import of opium in the agreement of November 1858, is another proof that the arrangement was voluntary.

It was the wisest arrangement which the Chinese Government could make under the circumstances, and this is the opinion which was expressed by no less an authority than Mr. Gladstone in a speech made in 1870. Hansard 201, p. 516.

9. After the trade was legalised in 1858, questions about opium only appear in negotiations in connexion with the revision of the tariff, which either Government had the right to propose at certain intervals. In this way there were negotiations in 1868, and, again, at Chefoo in 1876. On the first occasion the Chinese Commissioners were apparently anxious that our Government should stop the trade altogether by prohibiting all export from India, but failing that, they had no wish to alter the arrangements made in 1858 for legalising the trade, and were satisfied with a moderate increase of the import duty. In considering the statements which Sir Rutherford Alcock and Sir Thomas Wade made in the course of the negotiations of 1868, it must be remembered that they were doing their best for China in opposition to the Indian officials, whose business it was to protect the interests of India. On the second occasion, in 1876, the policy of the Chinese Government seemed to have changed. Their Commissioners expressed no wish that the trade should be stopped, and seemed anxious to improve the system of collection and increase the revenue. Accordingly

they gladly accepted an arrangement proposed by Sir Thomas Wade, which was expressed in the Chefoo Convention as follows:—

"On opium, Sir Thomas Wade will move his Government to sanction an arrangement different from that affecting other imports. British merchants whose opium is brought into port will be obliged to have it taken cognizance of by the Customs and deposited in bond, either in a warehouse or receiving hulk, until such time as there is a sale for it. The importer will then pay the tariff duty upon it, and the purchasers the Li-Kin, in order to prevent the evasion of the duty. The amount of the Li-Kin to be collected will be decided by the different provincial Governments according to the circumstances of each."

The reasons why the Convention of 1868 was never ratified, and which long prevented the ratification of that of 1876, are fully explained in Sir Thomas Wade's evidence.

In the latter will be found a full account taken from a formal report recorded at the time, of an important interview which Sir Thomas Wade had at the Chinese Foreign Office, on 16th January 1881, with the Minister who was then virtually Foreign Minister of the Empire. Sir Thomas asked him what was the policy favoured by the central Government in respect to opium, native and foreign, pointing out that policies which seemed to be diametrically opposite were being followed in the different Provinces of the Empire. We quote in full the record of the reply to this question, and of the further conversation which passed, as it seems to throw much light upon the views which have been recently held by the Chinese Government.

"The Minister addressed replied that the question was not an easy one to answer. He did not think that the Central Government had gone so far as to formulate a policy at all. Speaking from a general point of view, however, he might say that if the habit of opium-smoking could be universally and at once abolished, the Chinese Government would be ready and willing to sacrifice the revenue that was at present derived from opium. All sensible men were nevertheless agreed that this was an impossibility. The habit of opium-smoking was beyond the reach of prohibition, and the idea was how to turn it to account. The only way in which it could be turned to account was by making it a source of revenue, and the revenue thus derived was indispensable. There were, moreover, so many other matters that needed reform before the opium question was taken in hand, that it might safely be said that the abolition of opium had not entered the minds of those entrusted with the government of the Empire. Sir T. Wade went on to say that many persons, notably the foreign missionaries in China, had been urging on the British Government through various channels the advisability and the equity of abandoning their connexion with opium. Suppose, for as yet it was a pure supposition, that the British Government were eventually to effect a gradual diminution of the opium trade from India, by limiting the import to an increasing degree, year by year, until the trade was abolished altogether, did the Minister think that such an arrangement would meet with the approval of the Chinese Government? The Minister addressed, who again protested that the question was a difficult one to answer, replied that in his opinion such a plan would be useless. As long as the habit existed, opium would be procured somehow, and if it did not come from India it would be procured elsewhere. Any serious attempt to check the evil must originate with individuals. As long as men wanted to smoke and insisted on smoking, they would do nothing short of this would do any good, and philanthropic efforts to check the evil in the manner suggested by Sir T. Wade would affect the revenue only, without in any way reaching the root of the mischief."

The negotiations for the ratification of the arrangement in the Chefoo Convention regarding opium were later on transferred to London and conducted by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Chinese Ministers at the Court of St. James. They were somewhat protracted, owing to the necessity, on the part of the latter, to refer certain points to Peking, but were concluded in 1885, and the result embodied in an additional article to the Chefoo Convention. In the footnote* the text of all the

* Main Clauses of the Additional Article to the Chefoo Convention, ratified 18th July 1885.

2. In lieu of the arrangement respecting opium proposed in clause 3 of Section III. of the Chefoo Agreement, it is agreed that foreign opium, when imported into China, shall be taken cognizance of by the Imperial Maritime Customs, and shall be deposited in bond, either in warehouses or receiving hulks which have been approved of by the Customs, and that it shall not be removed thence until there shall have been paid to the Customs the tariff duty of 30 taels per chest of 100 catties, and also a sum not exceeding 80 taels per like chest as Li-Kin.

3. It is agreed that the aforesaid import and Li-Kin duties having been paid, the owner shall be allowed to have the opium repacked in bond under the supervision of the Customs, and put into packages of such assorted sizes as he may select from such sizes as shall have been agreed upon by the Customs authorities and British Consul at the port of entry.

The Customs shall then, if required, issue gratuitously to the owner a transit certificate for each such package, or one for any number of packages, at the option of the owner.

Such certificate shall free the opium to which it applies from the imposition of any further tax or duty whilst in transport in the interior, provided that the package has not been opened, and that the Customs seals, marks, and numbers on the packages have not been effaced or tampered with.

Such certificates shall have validity only in the hands of Chinese subjects, and shall not entitle foreigners to convey or accompany any opium in which they may be interested into the interior.

5. The Chinese Government undertakes that when the packages shall have been opened at the place of consumption, the opium shall not be subjected to any tax or contribution, direct or indirect, other than or in excess of such tax or contribution as is or may hereafter be levied on native opium.

In the event of such tax or contribution being calculated *ad valorem*, the same rate, value for value, shall be assessed on foreign and native opium; and in ascertaining for this purpose the value of foreign opium, the amount paid on it for Li-Kin at the port of entry shall be deducted from its market value.

China, 5 of 1885.
(C.—4448.)
China, 3 of 1886.
(C.—4735.)

material clauses of the article is given. The Chinese Government obtained all the concessions it asked for, and the Secretary of State for India, in communicating the result to the Government of India, in his despatch No. 7, of 22nd January 1885, made the following remark:—"You will observe that the Chinese Minister's Memoranda of March 12th, 1883, and of September 27th last, admit unreservedly that the agreement now under negotiation is of the Chinese Government's own proposing, and includes all that they desire."

10. The arrangement of 1885 works smoothly, and no notice of desire to terminate it, or to re-consider the opium question, has been received from China, though two opportunities have occurred. The Chinese Government has not been without encouragement to re-open the question. The Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade has more than once addressed it direct, and urged it to act, and Sir James Fergusson, speaking on behalf of Her Majesty's Government in the House of Commons on the 10th April 1891, said, "The Chinese at any time may terminate the Treaty on giving 12 months' notice, and to protect themselves they may increase the duty to any extent they please, or they may exclude it altogether. This, I think I may say, that if the Chinese Government thought proper to raise the duty to a prohibitive extent, or shut out the article altogether, this country would not expend 1l. in powder and shot, or lose the life of a soldier in an attempt to force opium on the Chinese."

The natural conclusion from the above brief account of the negotiations subsequent to 1868, is that there is no reason to believe that the Chinese Government at present wishes to re-open the settlement of questions connected with the opium trade attained in 1885, or that it would be afraid to take the initiative if it had the wish. This conclusion is also supported by the opinion given by Her Majesty's Minister at Peking, Mr. O'Connor, in a letter to the Commission, dated February 6th, 1894, which is in the Appendices. Sir Thomas Wade, and Mr. Lay, C.B., also express the same opinion in their notes and evidence. Nor do any of the unofficial witnesses, whose evidence has been sent to us from China, assert the belief that the Chinese Government wishes to move in the matter.

J. B. LYALL.

February 25th, 1895.

(Footnote—continued.)

6. It is agreed that the present Additional Article shall be considered as forming part of the Chefoo Agreement, and that it shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted therein word for word.

It shall come into operation six months after its signature, provided the ratifications have then been exchanged, or if they have not, then on the date at which such exchange takes place.

7. The arrangement respecting opium contained in the present Additional Article shall remain binding for four years, after the expiration of which period either Government may at any time give 12 months' notice of its desire to terminate it, and such notice being given it shall terminate accordingly.

If it is, however, agreed that the Government of Great Britain shall have the right to terminate the same at any time should the transit certificate be found not to confer on the opium complete exemption from all taxation whatsoever whilst being carried from the port of entry to the place of consumption in the interior.

In the event of the termination of the present Additional Article, the arrangement with regard to opium now in force under the Regulations attached to the Treaty of Tientsin shall revise.

8. The High Contracting Parties may, by common consent, adopt any modifications of the provisions of the present Additional Article which experience may show to be desirable.

VII. p. 214.

Hansard
352, p. 316.

V. p. 229.

MEMORANDUM III.;

By Mr. HARIDAS VE HARIDAS.

I am in some doubt as to how I can best put on record a few comparatively trifling particulars with regard to which I differ somewhat from the conclusions at which my colleagues have arrived, as I fear that any attempt on my part to dissect any portion of the Report and introduce into the body of it phrases expressing my own view, will not only spoil the harmony of thought and composition, but will, perhaps, not meet with the approval of my colleagues. I agree with almost all the decisions given on the chief points of reference. Thus, if the Right Honourable Chairman will permit me, I would venture to submit separately a few observations on those points where I think my own views require a little more elucidation.

2. Had the policy of the Government of India with regard to its relations with opium not been assailed from a moral point of view—had the people of India not been impressed with the idea that any reduction in the Indian revenue effected by the proposed abolition of the production and sale of opium would have to be met by fresh taxation—had they not been afraid that the inquiries by the Opium Commission would probably result in a further restriction to the supply and sale of opium which would deprive them of the privilege of conveniently using it in many ways;—and had a number of Christian Missionaries as well as a few others not been somehow or other strongly prejudiced against the use of opium except for purely and authoritatively medical purposes—I am confident that opium would have been shown before our Commission with greater justice to itself, as regards its capability of doing both good and harm, than what we have been able to learn of during our Inquiry. I believe it is fair to say that opium was introduced to us by both sides in a more or less exaggerated form with respect to its faults or otherwise.

3. Bearing this in mind, I should be disposed to pass over without too careful scrutiny the whole of the evidence which bears the marks of exaggeration, whether medical, military, or missionary. I would, on the other hand, lay great stress on the evidence given on behalf of the Native States, where opium is grown and also where it is not grown, and by the people in general, who have expressed their desire not to prohibit the production and sale of opium as proposed, and also their unwillingness to bear any tax to make up the loss in the Indian revenue that would be caused by the enforcement of the proposed prohibition of the product and sale of opium. So far as can be seen from the evidence before the Commission, the laudable endeavours of the disinterested and philanthropic associations at whose instance the Commission has been appointed have not been successful in making out a case against the use of opium in a manner that would necessitate such prohibition. But the evidence has shown us very conclusively that any further restriction against the use of opium would contribute towards the increase of the use of alcohol, which is admitted by all parties to be much more injurious and mischievous than opium, not to speak of its objectionable character in a majority of cases from a religious point of view. But it is greatly to be wondered at and regretted that this has not adequately drawn the attention of Government, inasmuch as they have adopted much more stringent measures against the use of opium than that of alcohol. For instance, it is illegal to sell or to keep more than from two to ten tolas of opium, while country liquors can be sold or kept up to a gallon without hitch or hindrance, and any quantity of European liquors can be imported as well as sold and kept even without a license. We have also evidence to show that the use of alcohol is spreading far and wide. It strikes the people of this country as unfair that before any attempt is made to relieve India from the effects of alcohol, which is comparatively a far more injurious and objectionable article, there should have been a movement, disinterested and sympathising as it is, to suppress the use, except for medical purposes, of a stuff like opium, which is admittedly far less harmful and objectionable so far as India is concerned. I would now leave it to the British people, noble-minded and sympathetic as they are, to see their way to adopting effective measures to check the exportation of European alcohol to India.

4. As regards the exportation of Indian opium to China. To abolish it would result in a great loss to Indian revenue. This loss the Indian people are unwilling and unable to make up by accepting the imposition of any additional tax. They have no voice to

check or reduce the expenditure made in India or in England to be borne by India, which is admittedly poor and already over-taxed, while its resources are constantly drained off to foreign countries without adequate and substantial return from them. It may also be mentioned that India is a dependency of England, while China is not that of India. Under these circumstances it cannot be for a moment imagined that those British people, who have disinterestedly taken up this cause for the good of India and China, would ever expect India, helpless as it is, to extend its generosity, at a great loss, towards China, in the manner proposed before the Commission. Again, viewing this point in another light, it is the Chinese Government that should take stringent measures against the importation of Indian opium, if it believes that it is either injured or ruined by accepting the drug from India. This it can well do now when it has been publicly announced before Parliament on behalf of the British Government that the Chinese Government are under no Treaty obligations to accept Indian opium, if they choose to refuse it. But if the Chinese Government, from past experience, still entertain any fears as to the *bonâ fide* carrying out of the authoritative announcement made before Parliament, I would suggest that an official communication might be sent from the British Government to the Chinese Government, informing the latter that any action on their part towards the stoppage of the importation of Indian opium into China, would be unhampered by the treaty obligations entered into by them with the British Government. I am, however, afraid China would not be prepared to do so, so long as it allows an extensive growth of opium on its own land, and also accepts importation of the drug from Turkey and Persia. Thus any attempt from outside for the benefit of China, would, if I have been able to see through the subject correctly, be ineffective, unless China takes the initiative in adopting the strictest measures, first against the cultivation of opium on its own land, and then gradually against the importation of the drug from foreign countries.

5. Though I am not prepared to agree altogether to the reasons stated in Section VII. of the Draft Report, in support of the Bengal Opium Monopoly, I feel inclined to acquiesce in its continuance so long as no better, or less objectionable, way of the manufacture and sale of opium has been brought to the notice of the Commission. But from the evidence before us I see reason to believe that the convenience and interests of the improvident and ignorant opium cultivators have suffered in the interests of the monopoly. The zeal of the officers engaged on the monopoly establishment, with some exceptions, appears to have been mostly directed to secure the interests of Government.

6. In addition to the recommendations made in the Draft Report therefore, I would propose that a general notification should be issued, and promulgated in such a manner as to make its contents fully and correctly known to the cultivators concerned, to the effect that they are not in any way bound to cultivate opium, that it is altogether optional for them whether to continue growing opium or to give it up, as it may suit them from time to time. It was objected to this during our Inquiry that such a notification would result in the decrease of opium cultivation, and consequently in a great loss to the opium revenue. But evidence was produced before the Commission to establish that the opium crop is the most paying of all other crops; and if that is the case, I fail to understand why fears should be entertained of a decrease in opium cultivation from any number of notifications of the tenor proposed. Such a notification would, in my humble opinion, be the only way of knowing the real wishes and convenience of the cultivators concerned as to growing opium. My proposal is based on the simple principle that when a cultivator pays fixed rent for his land, he ought to have, as a matter of right, full and unfettered discretion as to what kind of crop he should grow on the land. If any considerable number of cultivators within the opium monopoly district gave up the cultivation of opium, Government should either extend the limits of the territory now under the opium monopoly or find another part of the country where cultivators are willing to grow opium. But to make the cultivators of a particular part of the country grow opium against their wish is, as it were, to realise a revenue at their expense for the benefit of the rest of the British Indian subjects.

7. I am sorry to be unable to endorse the opinion expressed in Section VI. of the Draft Report as regards the Vaid and Hakims who practice in Brahmanic and Musalman methods of medicine. They are, I must admit, not surgeons, but very good physicians in their own way, and, so far as my own experience and knowledge go, not at all less careful in treating their patients than those practising according to European methods of medicine. These Vaid and Hakims, more or less, undergo a regular course of study in books of medicine which show the properties of different medical

stuffs, and describe the prescription and preparation of the same. These men may, in my humble opinion, be much more safely entrusted with dispensing opium than the common ignorant opium farmers or vendors under the present system. I am against the prohibition of the use of opium except for medical purposes, not because I think that no arrangement could be made to carry out prohibition, but because it appears to me to be neither desirable nor necessary that such a prohibition should be made under the present circumstances.

8. I think the system of local option against the free use of opium might be introduced in India as a tentative measure. The Government of His Highness the Gaekwád of Barodá has, of late, introduced this system in connexion with some undesirable caste customs. Government might legislate an enactment on this subject, and let those who choose to come under the law, apply for its enforcement, as was once the case for municipalities. Such an enactment would eventually lead to another—and a more beneficial one—for the check of the increasing use of alcohol.

9. As regards opium-smoking, I do not think orders such as have been already issued to check it will practically bring about the desired result. We have found from evidence that the practice of opium-smoking goes on all the same by simply arranging to be just beyond the technical scope of the restrictions made in such orders. The practice of opium-smoking is generally condemned; but nothing short of its abolition by law will, in my humble opinion, put an end to it. It is most desirable that it should be made penal. There were some cases before the Presidency magistrate of Bombay, where the accused were acquitted only because there were in a house, say, eight persons, and the quantity of opium used by them for smoking did not exceed the total of what each of them was allowed by law to possess. This is in my view plainly ridiculous. Under the present state of law, the opium-smokers can indulge in their vicious practice with impunity. To remove this difficulty a strict law should be made prohibiting opium-smoking in any form and under any circumstances, and thus frustrating the attempts of the lovers of opium-smoking as well as those interested in the opium trade to escape from its clutches.

10. Knowing as I do, as a Native of India, the feelings of the Natives in general regarding the habit of opium-smoking and its effects, I do not feel myself justified in entertaining any fears like those expressed in Section VI. As the evidence has shown that the habit of opium-smoking is confined to a very small number of people, and that it is disreputable, I feel the more convinced as to the necessity of prohibiting it by means of legislation, so that it may not gradually increase. This weighs with me so much that with every deference to the views expressed in para. 195, I feel constrained to differ from them.

11. I do not see why the practice of opium-smoking can not be made illegal when gambling has been so treated. I do not find in the Bombay Act No. IV. of 1887 any restriction as to the number; but a qualification is made as regards the place of gaming. Such a qualification I would propose to remove in the case of opium-smoking. This meets the objection raised at our private sitting in Bombay against the practicability of my above proposal.

12. With regard to the estimated loss the opium-producing States would suffer, should the cultivation of opium in those States be discontinued. I may be allowed to bring prominently to the notice of the Right Honourable Chairman and my colleagues that the States concerned submitted these figures showing roughly estimated loss only because they were asked to do so. But almost all of them asserted that they would not be willing to undertake the abolition of the cultivation of opium in their territories for any amount of compensation, unless they were forced by Imperial orders to do so. Under these circumstances there remains no question of compensation.

(Signed) HARIDAS VE HARIDAS.

Junagadh,

24th January 1895.

REPORT.

ANNEXURE IV.

MINUTE OF DISSENT, BY MR. HENRY J. WILSON, M.P., WITH NOTES AND APPENDIX.

1. As I am unable to concur in the report prepared by my colleagues, it is necessary that I should submit a statement of my own views upon the principal subjects of the inquiry. I desire to do so as briefly as possible.

2. The resolution of the House of Commons in pursuance of which the Commission was appointed was proposed by Mr. Gladstone, and carried by 184 to 105. The minority, consisting mainly of those who may be described, for brevity's sake, as the Anti-opium Party, desired the appointment of a Commission for a very different and more useful purpose than that which was finally recommended by the resolution of the House.

3. The 722 witnesses who appeared before us may be roughly divided into three classes, 191 who disapprove of the general use of opium, or are opposed for various reasons to the present opium system, or anti-opiumists; 487 more or less approving that system, or pro-opiumists; and 44 neutral or unclassified, including those who appeared purely for statistical or other evidence of a restricted character.

4. The anti-opiumist witnesses who were Natives of India were, generally speaking, not equal to the pro-opiumists in wealth and social position, but were not on that account less able to represent the habits and opinions of the great mass of their fellow-countrymen. This class includes a majority of the native journalists, lawyers, teachers and professors. Of qualified non-official native medical practitioners, a considerable majority were either anti-opiumists or somewhat undecided in their views. An enormous majority of the medical and other Christian missionaries who appeared before the Commission also gave anti-opium evidence.

The pro-opiumists, on the other hand, represented the great majority of the official classes, both European and Native, including military medical officers, together with many titled personages, landowners, and persons who considered that their financial interests were at stake.

5. A change appears to have come over official statements in reference to opium within the last few years. These were, until very recently, almost invariably condemnatory of the drug. Illustrations of this are given in the Notes, and it will suffice to make here one quotation only. On the 24th October 1817 the Directors of the East India Company, writing to the Governor-General, referred to their desire "to restrain the use of this pernicious drug," and went on to say, "were it possible to prevent the use of the drug altogether, except strictly for the purpose of medicine, we would gladly do it in compassion to mankind."

It will be seen from the evidence, some of which is hereafter referred to, that a very considerable body of officials now adopt a decidedly altered tone. No definite cause has been assigned for this change, but it is impossible to dissociate it from the financial difficulties of India, and from the pressure of the anti-opium movement in England having been increasingly associated with the discussion on the reduction of Indian expenditure.

PRODUCTION OF OPIUM.

6. The production of opium in British India is not specially mentioned in the reference to the Commission, but it seems desirable to make some allusion to it.

So far as British India is concerned, the interest may be said to be almost confined to what is commonly known as the "Bengal Monopoly System,"*

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under which the cultivation of poppy is (for the convenience of surveillance) concentrated in two areas, known as the Behar Agency, with its head-quarters and factory at Patna, and the Benares Agency, with its head-quarters and factory at Ghazipur. The cultivation is by Act XIII. of 1857 restricted to cultivators who have received license to grow poppy.

Vol. II., p. 825.

On the average of the last three years (1890-1 to 1892-3), as to which returns were supplied, 243,605 acres of poppy were grown in the Behar Agency, and 229,574 acres in the Benares Agency, making together 473,179 acres.

Taking the average of the same three years, the licensed cultivators, numbering 1,247,941, delivered to the officials 78,944 maunds of opium, or about 57,995 cwts., for which they received Rs. 15,774,607, say, 854,457l.* including certain advances made before sowing or delivery.

From these figures it will be found that the average cultivator delivered about 5·20 lbs. and received Rs. 12·64, say 13s. 8½d.* It is claimed that the cultivator is greatly benefited by getting an advance "without interest," but this advance is under 6s. and for only part of the year, so that at 5 per cent. per annum the interest would amount to less than 2½d. per cultivator.

§254-8, 10,807-8,
12,226, 12,963,
13,679, 19,535.

NOTE C.

See Note C.

Return, C. 3378,
"Opium negotiations
with China," 1882.
Vol. II., 5300 to
5304.

7. It is said that there was a time when the poppy was a generally remunerative, and, therefore, popular crop. But it is certain from the correspondence which took place in 1881 between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, that it was not then by any means universally popular.

Vol. V., App. G.
NOTE D.

In 1883 a Commission was appointed to inquire into the administration of the Opium Department, and from official correspondence which arose out of the report of that Commission it is perfectly clear that in some districts many of the ryots were reluctant to undertake the cultivation of the poppy.

13,521 to 13,534.

The Commission of 1883 made numerous recommendations for improving the position of the poppy cultivator, but most of their recommendations have been neglected by the authorities.

2767, 6282, 10,909,
13,397, 11,362-3,
19,093.
NOTE E.

There is still difficulty in obtaining the quantity of ground desired by the Government, and methods, which in India are called "persuasion" and in England compulsion, have to be resorted to.

The evidence showed that this compulsion is greater in the Behar than in the Benares Agency; it is natural, also, that it should be greater in the places where the poppy is least productive.

(*) 13,457.

(*) 13,579.

(*) 2927, 3249,
19,343-4, 19,535-7,
10,795-6, 14,942,
19,126.

It is the duty of the zilladars, the lower officials of the Opium Department, who are distributed all over the opium districts, to induce the people to apply for licenses and advances and to bring them to the weighment places. Mr. Gregory called this "coolie driving" (*), and although he afterwards said it meant only to collect them (*), I fail to reconcile this kind of driving or collecting with anxiety on the part of the people to obtain the alleged privilege of cultivating (*).

The most conclusive evidence on this subject is furnished by what has happened since the Commission left India. The Indian Revenue Department's Resolution No. 2208, 20th April 1894, comments on the decrease in the area of cultivation, giving among other reasons the competition of other crops, and states "that the price of opium paid to cultivators will have to be increased in order to keep pace with the rise of prices of other produce." In accordance with this, the price paid to the cultivators has been raised 20 per cent., viz., from Rs. 5 to Rs. 6 per seer. This proceeding in the present condition of Indian finance is in curious and suggestive contrast with the official evidence presented to the Commission as to the profitable, and therefore popular, character of poppy cultivation.

(*) 2990, 19,181,
19,597.

8. The official witnesses denied that compulsion was practised (*). Mr. Forbes, who holds the important position of Commissioner of Patna, stated

* Here and elsewhere the value of the rupee has been taken at 1s. 1d. English.

(*) "as far as I know the cultivators grow it entirely of their own free will." (*) 10,829. He also said that the charge of compulsion had taken the officials by surprise (*). (*) 12,079, 5399. "The charge, in my opinion, arises entirely from the ignorance of the gentle-
"men, who, no doubt in good faith have conceived an entirely mistaken idea
"of the relations between ourselves and the inhabitants generally of the
"country" (*).

(*) 12,156.

Yet at the same time he informed the Commission that, in consequence of a rumour from Calcutta only a week before, he had been making special inquiries into the allegations, and that in that short time he had heard of three cases, as to which he undertook to make further and strict inquiry (*).

(*) 12,079.

It appears from Lord Brassey's remark (Q. 12,081) that Mr. Forbes had already spoken to him on the subject, and it was dismissed at the time by Lord Brassey's statement to Mr. Forbes:—

"You have assured me that you will not allow the matter to be neglected, and that if there is anything wrong the man shall be punished."

The result of these inquiries has been communicated by Mr. Forbes since our return to England, and will be found in Appendix XXXII., Vol. V., a perusal of which, and of Note F., will show that a zilladar, or inferior officer of the Opium Department, was seriously implicated in one case, that Mr. Christian, sub-deputy opium agent of Shahabad, was compromised in two cases, and Mr. Skrine, who holds the important office of Collector of Bhagalpur, was guilty of direct interference and pressure for the purpose of promoting opium cultivation.

NOTE F.

There is no evidence that any official has been subjected to any censure or discipline.

9. Exactions of every kind are practised by the zilladars and other subordinate officials on the ryots. The Commission of 1883 reported, "Every
"seer of opium which a cultivator delivers pays toll to the amlah (subordinate
"official) and from every rupee which a cultivator receives a per-centage
"is deducted for their benefit." It was admitted by official witnesses that
"illegal exactions have continued (*), that little attempt is made to detect them (*),
"and it is too plain from Mr. Wace's cautious answers, that even some
"European officials (*) are not altogether free from suspicion.

Report, 1883, par. 658

(*) 10,851, 12,336,

12,149.

(*) 12,325.

(*) 10,899, 10,901.

10. Cases were reported to us (*) showing that the officials of the Opium Department, not content with the severe law providing ample punishment for offences, take upon themselves to summarily destroy the crops of cultivators who have, or who are supposed to have, neglected to grow the full quantity of poppy for which they have taken advances. One very interesting and suggestive case of this kind, of which full particulars are given in the Notes, was proved beyond all doubt, and no attempt was made to disprove the others.

(*) 11,355-89.

12,396-454.

20,444.*

NOTE G.

Resolution of Revenue Department, No. 2208, of 20th April 1894, states that in nearly 70 per cent. of the cases of alleged infraction of the opium laws in the Aliganj Sub-Division in the year 1892-3, "departmental
"punishment was inflicted on the offenders, who were all opium cultivators,
"instead of sending them up to the criminal court." If this means that
"cultivators have been summarily punished as in one of the cases above
"referred to, it is much to be regretted that the Government of Bengal should,
"since the Commission left India, have expressed its approval of "the course
"adopted in the Aliganj Sub-Agency of punishing opium cultivators
"departmentally."

COMPENSATION ON TERMINATION OF POPPY CULTIVATION.

11. Some of the Government witnesses (*) as well as persons financially interested (*) suggested that if the Bengal monopoly system should be terminated, compensation ought to be paid to the zemindars and ryots. It has become common to speak of "prohibition" in connexion with this matter, but it must be remembered that prohibition has already been enacted by the

(*) 2080, 5254,

14,398, 26,882.

(*) 14,441, 12,943-60.

* The petition, which is not printed, alleges that part of a wheat-field was "unsowed" by officials of the Opium Department.

(^c) Vol. II., pp. 527 and 531. 2948.

Opium Acts of 1857 and 1878 (^c), and cultivation is punishable except in the case of persons duly provided with annual licenses under stringent conditions.

(^c) 19,117, 14,932. (^d) 19,109.

Cultivation has been terminated through the greater part of British India by general prohibitory enactment. It has also been terminated frequently and extensively simply by the non-issue of licenses. This course has sometimes been adopted, wholesale, in a given locality for the purpose of "facilitating excise" (^c), or because it is "unremunerative to the Department." (^d) This termination by the non-issue of licenses has also been continually practised when the accumulation of reserve stock, the falling off of the export trade, or other reasons, rendered such a course desirable in the interests of Government. (^e)

(^c) 2948 and 3019.

In none of these different cases has any compensation whatever been made by Government either to the zemindars or to the ryots. (^f)

(^c) 3020, 2122, 13,754, 19,153, 14,938, 5775.

(^e) 13,694, 17,369.

(^f) 5333, 10,821, 6095.

(^g) 5306-9, 6130, 5569, 6172, 8514-5, 14,371.

(^h) Vol. IV., p. 812, par. 18.

12. It was also contended by some witnesses that termination of poppy cultivation must needs be accompanied by reduction both of land revenue (^g) and of rents payable by the ryots. (^h) But repeated questions failed to elicit evidence of a single case of reduction of rent, (ⁱ) and only one instance was laid before us (so far as I know) in which a reduction of land revenue (^k) was said to be consequent on termination of poppy cultivation. In this solitary case the reduction was not made till after the lapse of some 14 years, during which period many other causes may have affected the assessment.

CONFLICTING POLICIES.

2086. Hansard, Vol. 352, p. 343.

13. In the opium debate in the House of Commons, on the 10th April 1891, the late Mr. W. H. Smith, the then Leader of the House, stated, "the course which this Government has taken, and which all Governments have taken during the last few years . . . has been to diminish the area of cultivation in India;" and Sir James Fergusson, speaking on behalf of the India Office, said: "I freely admit that the Government of India have never denied that it would be very desirable that this source of revenue should be altered. They have taken means to reduce it. They have diminished the number of licenses, and they diminished the area on which the poppy was grown. One million acres * less are now under poppy in Bengal than 10 years ago."

2086.

Sir David Barbour, Finance Member of the Governor-General's Council, having had his attention called to these utterances, said in reference to Mr. Smith's statements: "I should hardly say that he is speaking there of the policy of the Government of India. I should say he was speaking of the policy of the Home Government, and, I must say, I was not aware until that statement was made that it was the policy of the Home Government." He also said: "As regards the export of opium from Bengal, the policy has been for some time to sell about the same amount every year, neither diminishing that amount nor increasing it. This means, of course, that the average area under cultivation would remain about the same, rising or falling a little according to circumstances." In reply to other questions he said: "It is not to be wondered at that members of the Government at home should not be perfectly informed of the facts. . . . I believe that on various occasions inaccurate impressions have been conveyed to the House of Commons."

2077.

2087.

2089.

From this it will be seen that the important statements made by Ministers in the debate in question were entirely erroneous as to the policy really being pursued. They were also erroneous as to the actual facts. The average area under cultivation for the decade ending 1862-3 was 338,153 acres; 1872-3, 475,048 acres; 1882-3, 518,625 acres; and for 1892-3, 512,663 acres.

The resolution proposed by Mr. Gladstone and adopted by the House of Commons on the 30th June 1893 was based upon the same kind of erroneous information, because it pressed "on the Government of India to continue

* Hansard gives "one million acres," which is evidently a mistake. Other reports give 100,000.

"their policy of greatly diminishing the cultivation of the poppy, and the production and sale of opium." Two different Ministries, and two different Parliaments, were entirely misled as to the action of the Government of India.

THE PRINCIPAL PURPOSE FOR WHICH OPIUM IS PRODUCED IN BRITISH INDIA.

14. The main purpose of the production and sale of opium in British India unquestionably is to supply the Chinese and other Eastern markets.

The average production of opium in British India during the last three years as to which returns were supplied was 54,707 cwts., of which 49,512 cwts., or 90.5 per cent., was "intended for export to China and the Straits Settlements, technically known as *provision* opium"; the remainder "intended for consumption in India, technically known as *excise* opium," was 5,195 cwts., or 9.5 per cent. Of that which is exported to the Straits Settlements, a large proportion is re-shipped to China. Practically the whole of the Government opium thus sent to China and other Eastern countries is used for the purpose of smoking. That this practice of smoking is in the highest degree prejudicial, morally and physically, to those who indulge in it is established beyond all reasonable doubt.

Vol. II., p. 345, para. 6-7.

15. English officials resident in China and the far East have for the last 100 years continuously referred to opium smoking as a cause of moral and physical destruction. (See Note H.)

NOTE H.

The Chinese Government and Chinese officials have used similar, or even stronger language. (See Note J.)

NOTE J.

From the time when the earliest Christian missionaries became acquainted with the habits of the Chinese, down to the present year, they have persistently borne testimony to the same deplorable facts. (See Note K.)

NOTE K.

The oral (^a) and written (^b) evidence presented to the Commission is overwhelming in its force against the opium habit in China. Sir Thomas Wade (^c) who said that "the treatment of the question by the Anti-opium Association engages me on the other side" said also at the same time "no man who has lived the time that I have in China, and who has been in contact with Chinese of all kinds, can deny that the excessive use of opium in that country is an exceeding misfortune to that country." Such extenuating evidence as reached us is mainly negative in its character, and vague in its terms. The evidence of medical missionaries (Dr. Maxwell, Rev. Hudson Taylor, M.R.C.S., and others), after years of daily contact with the people, was not only definite and specific, but is in the main confirmed by the written opinions of other medical men received by the Commission. The majority of the English officials in China who sent answers to the questions agree in this condemnation. One of the questions sent was whether, if the Indian opium supply was stopped, the people would take to alcohol. The replies, in the proportion of about 40 to 6, are that it would not have this effect.

(^a) 165, 214, 287, 380, 430, 450, 498, 549, 609, 639, 673, 751, 790, 825, 1509, 1638, 1863, 1961. (^b) Vol. V., pp. 212-343. (^c) 1285.

214, 380.

It would occupy too much space to refer at length to the consular, missionary, and other evidence from China, which will be found in Vol. V., App. XXVI., but it is abundantly manifest that opium in China is a gigantic national evil.

16. It is, therefore, impossible to avoid the conclusion that it is altogether unworthy for a great dependency of the British Empire to be thus engaged in a traffic which produces such widespread misery and disaster. It is known that the cultivation of opium is now largely carried on in China, with the connivance, if not the express permission of the authorities, and without throwing any doubt on the sincerity of the desire of Chinese statesmen to rid their country of the blight of opium, it is impossible to say, especially in the present condition of the Chinese Empire, whether the cessation of importation of Indian opium would be accompanied or followed by any serious attempt on the part of the Chinese Government to exclude opium from other sources, and to prohibit its cultivation within the limits of their own empire. But however that may be, a traffic which is contrary to the principles of humanity cannot be justified on the ground that, if we do not engage in it, it will fall into the hands of others who have no such scruples.

Q. 11.

17. The effects of the consumption of opium in the Straits Settlements and other places in the east are substantially the same as already described in the case of China. A similar objection, therefore, exists to its production and sale for these other localities and nationalities.

18. The result of careful consideration of this part of the subject is that in my opinion the opium trade with China and the far East should be prohibited.

19. Sir James Fergusson, speaking as Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs on behalf of the Government, declared on the 10th April 1891, in the House of Commons, that—

"The Chinese at any time may terminate the treaty on giving 12 months' notice, and to protect themselves they may increase the duty to any extent they please, or they may exclude it altogether. This, I think I may say, that if the Chinese Government thought proper to raise the duty to a prohibitive extent, or shut out the article altogether, this country would not expend one pound in powder and shot or lose the life of a soldier in an attempt to force opium upon the Chinese."

Exception was taken to the accuracy of the first part of this statement by some of the witnesses opposed to the trade. A memorandum from the Foreign Office shows that Sir James Fergusson was mistaken in saying that China could free herself from all treaty obligations in the matter by giving 12 months' notice. The remainder of Sir James Fergusson's statement is sufficiently explicit as regards the policy of Her Majesty's Ministers at the time, but it is very important that the British Government should make a definite declaration in that sense to the Chinese Government.

THE CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM IN BRITISH INDIA.

20. Opium is consumed in three ways^(*); —I. By eating^(b) in the form of small portions, or pills; II. By drinking decoctions of the crude drug, known as *kasumba*^(c) and *amal pani*; or an infusion of poppy heads, or capsules called *post*^(d); III. By smoking preparations of opium, known as *chandu*^(e) (the Chinese form) and *madat*, or *madak*^(f), or *gpoli*^(g). The first method (eating, or more correctly, swallowing) is that by which far the greatest quantity of opium is consumed.

The evidence laid before us as to the prevalence of the opium habit was very contradictory. Many witnesses, including some of the most important officials, gave evidence which tended to show that the habitual use of opium is widely prevalent amongst the various populations. This view was urged upon us by repeated statements that the consumption is so necessary to the happiness, well being, and even life of the people that it would be impossible to contemplate prohibition, or even any serious increase of restriction of the supply, because the result would not improbably be such general discontent as would amount to serious political danger. (See Note L.)

Evidence of a directly contradictory character was given by many other witnesses, including a considerable proportion of natives of India, who may reasonably be supposed to be better acquainted with the habits of their relations, friends, and neighbours than officials, and especially highly placed officials, can possibly be. In order to arrive at some conclusion upon this conflicting testimony, it will be convenient to form some opinion as to what may be considered an average consumer's daily dose, and then to examine the actual statistics of consumption.

21. The particulars given in the Notes show that the average quantity taken daily by each adult male consumer is about 20 grains. Taking this in conjunction with the evidence of many Government witnesses as to the very wide prevalence of the habit, the impression conveyed to the mind must be that there is a consumption far in excess of anything that is shown by the actual statistics.

An examination of the statistics for each province shows that in Assam, where the consumption is largest, the quantity of opium issued is only sufficient to supply 20 grains daily to one person out of 52 of the entire population, while in the province of Madras, at the other end of the scale, the supply is only sufficient for one person out of 521 of the population.

But greatly as the provinces differ from each other, various localities in these provinces differ still more widely, for while in Calcutta the consumption is equal to 20 grains daily for one person out of 26, in Tippara it will only provide the same quantity for one person out of 8,588.

It is clear from the Notes above referred to, and from the evidence on which they are founded, that the popular ideas which seem to prevail among Europeans in India are entirely irreconcilable with the actual facts.

Even if it could be shown that the average consumption of individuals is less than 20 grains, the argument is not materially affected. Moreover in these calculations no allowance is made for legitimate medical use, nor for the practice which is said to prevail of giving opium to animals.

Vol. V., p. 127.
26,323.

USE OF OPIUM BY THE TROOPS.

22. A general impression has prevailed, and important witnesses^(*) gave evidence as to the general use of opium by the native troops, and especially by the Sikhs. The evidence taken in India shows this to be a delusion.

Major-General Sir Robert Low, K.C.B., in command of the Oudh District, stated^(b) that the highest number of opium-eaters reported in any one regiment under his command was 20; in the Ghoorka regiment only two consumers; and in another, none. Evidence was given by other military witnesses as to the consumption of opium by Sikhs in 12 corps. As to two of these,^(c) it was stated that opium was consumed by all. In two cases^(d) the proportion appears to average about 33 per cent. In eight cases^(e) the proportion varied from 1.3 per cent. to 6.5 per cent., or an average of 3.1 per cent. Colonel Jamieson, although a decided pro-opiumist, admitted^(f) that the Rajputs in his regiment, as a rule, do not take opium. Official information^(g) shows that while 23 regiments, including two Sikh regiments, made no arrangements for the supply of opium while on service, 3 lbs. were taken by the 23rd Bengal Infantry as sufficient for two years, and small quantities taken by the 32nd Bengal Infantry and the 3rd Sikh Infantry were brought back untouched.

(*) 872, 1559.

(b) 14,110-2.

(c) 14,117, 18,641.
(d) 18,688, 17,017.
(e) 19,704, 14,147,
15,751, 19,833, 17,059,
16,943, 7,108, 17,017.
(f) 14,163.

(g) Vol. II., p. 453.

NO ANALOGY BETWEEN ALCOHOL IN ENGLAND AND OPIUM IN INDIA.

23. In whatever way the statistics are looked at, they show that there are in India vast tracts where a mere fraction of the population are consumers of opium. In England, on the other hand, the great majority of the people are more or less consumers of alcohol. Any attempt therefore to treat the case as analogous is entirely fallacious; in the one case we have a nation of consumers, in the other a nation of abstainers.

PURPOSES FOR WHICH OPIUM IS CONSUMED.

24. It may be plainly stated at the outset that there is a general consensus of native opinion^(*) in almost all parts of India against the habitual use of opium by the healthy and able bodied.

25. The importance of opium, as a remedy in certain diseases, has never been disputed. It is daily used in many parts of India, not only for specific ailments, for which it would be prescribed by European practitioners, but in many other cases, with the object of relieving pain, although it may have no permanent effect on the cause of the pain. The theory was advanced by some witnesses^(b) that the habitual use of opium for non-medical purposes must have originated in the case of each consumer for the purpose of repressing some positive ailment, or to avoid disease which climatic or other conditions render probable. In accordance with this theory evidence was given before us^(c) as to the belief of the natives, in many malarious districts, that opium is a prophylactic against fever, and that such belief was shared by many Europeans,^(d) principally military medical officers. On the other hand, this view was strongly controverted by other witnesses,^(e) including medical practitioners, both European and Native, who disputed the value of opium as a prophylactic against malarial fever, or as a remedy in the disease, and as regards many parts of India there was no such belief amongst the natives.^(f) It was clearly established by the evidence that the habit of consuming opium is practised by a certain portion of the inhabitants in many parts of India for purposes which have no relation to the actual presence or even fear of disease.

Many men begin the consumption of opium at about the age of 40,^(g) under the impression that the system is stimulated and the declining bodily

(*) 13,336, 17,513-4
18,836, 20,133, and
24,937, 28,061,
many others.

(b) 13,089, 17,289,
23,107, 21,878, 2147,
4992, and many
others.

(c) 3657, 19,528,
25,583, 27,574.

(d) 2188, 3404,
3606, 21,901-2,
28,141, 9516-7.
(e) 4710-5, 13,116,
5837, 16,558, 16,902,
19,203, and many
others.

(f) 8642, 4280, 9132,
9852, 13,382 3,
18,195, and many
others.

(g) 3943, 12,576,
4060, 26,061, and
many others.

powers preserved by its use. Under these circumstances, it does not appear to incur popular disapproval.

26. There is a special and licentious purpose for which opium is taken, and when it is habitually used by young and healthy men it is usually for this purpose, which is universally reprobated as vicious and degrading. (See Note P.)

NOTE P.

(*) 10,038, 15,762,
19,192, 20,990,
(†) 8596-9, 8612,
9848, 18,253, 19,029,
23,457, and many
others.

27. Opium is in some districts frequently taken by persons requiring to make special or unusual exertion (b) in enterprises involving fatigue and exposure, while others entirely deny that any advantage is derived from such use, (†) and on the contrary maintain that the stimulation which it affords is merely temporary and delusive. This idea as to the benefit of opium under such conditions is similar to the belief which formerly prevailed in England as to the use of alcohol in the like circumstances, but which the experience obtained in Arctic and other arduous enterprises has now proved to be delusive.

20,982, 21,577,
23,656, 24,659.

28. The drug is also used in some provinces and castes as a mark of friendship and hospitality in connexion with family and social ceremonies.

(*) 23,104, 25,867,
13,994, 15,672,
11,808, 3502, and
many others.

29. To infants from the time of birth until they are three or four years of age opium in minute doses is habitually given in many parts of India, (b) partly with the impression that it protects them against disease, but chiefly in order to keep them quiet, and prevent them from crying in the absence of the mothers when engaged in household or field work.

(*) 16,266, 21,577,
23,261, 25,876,
(†) 16,902, 21,298,
23,491, 26,619,
25,894.

This practice is defended (a) in general terms by several witnesses, and strongly condemned (b) by many who are specific in their enumeration of the evils which follow. The best excuses offered are the poverty and the ignorance of the parents.

(†) 24,671, 25,865,
26,674.

Vol. IV., p. 498.

In Bombay there is an extensive use of Bala Gooli, (†) that is pills made of opium mixed with other drugs and spices for the use of children. This is at present carried on under the sanction of the authorities, which in my opinion should be withheld.

(*) 16,231, 20,990,
21,987,
(†) 22,776, 23,750,
26,429.

30. The practice of drinking the decoctions or infusions of opium, already alluded to, is somewhat restricted. It appears to be mainly confined to Rajputana and the Punjab, and to be chiefly associated with social and ceremonial observances. (m) There is some evidence that this use is declining. (n)

SMOKING OPIUM.

(*) 3510, 16,546,
(†) 16,766-7, 28,082,
18,564, 27,065,
(†) 27,388, 3843,
15,698, 19,527,
16,012, 17,705,
(†) 27,467, 20,598,
11,858, 21,870, 21,812.

31. The smoking of chandu and madak is usually a social (a), as distinguished from a personal, habit, and appears to be principally confined to the cities and large towns (b). It is almost universally admitted to be injurious and demoralising, is practised by the vicious and degraded (c), and is generally reprobated (d).

(*) Vol. II., p. 396.

In view of the evils attending the habit, smoking on licensed premises was forbidden throughout British India (e) on the 25th September 1891.

5008, 15,170-72,
16,684-709, 26,948.

Secretary of
State's letter, Vol. II,
p. 396.

Evidence was given that smoking clubs, so-called (though without any pretence of paid membership), existed before the issue of this prohibition, and have multiplied since. Very little effort had apparently been made to suppress them. There appears to be no reason why the authorities should not have taken steps to acquire any further powers which were needed for this purpose as they were invited to do by the Home Government.

Three missionaries and a newspaper editor at Bombay having exposed certain incidents connected with the sale of opium were proceeded against for defamation by the manager of the opium farmer in that city. At one of the trials which took place after we left India, Mr. Cooper, the presiding magistrate, stated in his judgment, "it is admitted that during the last " Mahim fair there were five or six of these clubs opened at Mahim, and " the statement in the article regarding the mismanagement of these " clubs appears to be true." In the course of these proceedings, the following remarkable evidence was given by the chief opium inspector at Bombay:— " There are about 150 clubs at Bombay. . . . I do not think the opium-

" smoking clubs at Bombay and at Mahim are undesirable. . . . I do " not think the opium-smoking establishments should be shut up, therefore " we have not tried to shut them up." It is noticeable that since the imprisonment of the missionaries the opium officials at Bombay have instituted proceedings against several of these so-called clubs, and have obtained convictions against them.

• The question of dealing with unlicensed opium-smoking clubs in India has been compared to that of preventing illegal sales of alcohol in clubs in England. There is this important difference, that the question in England is how to prevent the consumption in unlicensed places of beverages which are not disapproved by public opinion generally. In India it is a question of stopping a practice under all circumstances which incurs almost universal reprobation.

26,218, 26,948.

PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF THE HABITUAL USE OF OPIUM.

32. A large body of evidence of a conflicting character was given on this subject. Many medical and other witnesses stated that the habitual use of opium in any form for other than medical purposes is decidedly deleterious.

NOTE Q.

Other witnesses, including a majority of the official doctors, deny that there are any evil consequences from opium-eating in moderation, some maintaining that it produces no evil effects and others alleging that it is actually beneficial.

Allusion has already been made (paragraph 25) to the controversy as to the value of opium as a prophylactic against malarial fever. Copious references to important medical evidence will be found in the Notes, showing that this prophylactic theory is an entirely new one; not taught in the medical schools; never heard of by many practitioners; that opium is not used or recommended by many of those who have heard of the theory; that many practitioners who profess to believe in it prefer other remedies; that other practitioners, both pro-opiumists and anti-opiumists, deny altogether that opium does possess any such prophylactic properties; and that vast numbers of the people have no knowledge of or belief in opium as a preventive of fever.

NOTE Y.

It is incredible that if the highest medical and other authorities in India seriously believed in this prophylactic use of opium that they should have allowed so many members of the medical service to remain in ignorance of it. The opinion of the Government of Madras was indicated when a complaint was made that they were teaching the people of certain tracts to rely on opium as a febrifuge, for they replied that so far from that " we are doing " all we can to gradually wean them from their hereditary habit of using it " on all occasions."

"Consumption of
Opium in India,"
C.—6562, 1892, p. 52.

It is admitted on both sides that habitual consumers, who are unable to get the usual dose at the usual hour (a), besides suffering pain and inconvenience, are for a time, incapacitated wholly or partly for the discharge of their ordinary duties.

(*) 2173-6, 12,902,
20,331, 23,606,
27,916, and many
others.

MORAL EFFECTS OF THE HABITUAL USE OF OPIUM.

33. As to the moral effects there is the same diversity in the evidence, for while a large number of witnesses declare that the use of the drug is detrimental morally, leading to idleness, inactivity, weakening of control over the will, and bad habits generally, other witnesses maintain that in their experience these results have not been observable.

NOTE R.

It is obvious that the positive testimony of those who have witnessed the evil of which they speak is not displaced by the evidence of any number of witnesses who have not observed the injurious effects of the drug on other people. It is admitted on all hands that the opium habit obtains an imperious sway over those who become subject to it. It is surely playing with words to contend that a mastery so powerful is not lowering to the moral nature of man.

32030.

T

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ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

SOCIAL EFFECTS.

NOTES.

34. Violent crimes are not attributed to opium, but there was a good deal of evidence that there is, in the case of the habitual consumer, an imperious craving for the periodical dose which constantly leads him, when he is poor, to resort to petty thefts in order to obtain money for the purpose of getting opium.

This allegation again was denied by certain Government witnesses, but we had no evidence that it is the practice to inquire into the original cause of petty theft; indeed one witness distinctly stated that it was not.

8770.

OTHER CONSIDERATIONS.

18,868, 4200, 4235,
12,391-2, 26,770,
19,331, 27,102,
23,511, 25,954,
27,569, 28,114.

35. It is universally admitted, even by pro-opium witnesses, that the injurious effects of opium appear much sooner and more markedly in the case of the poor than of the rich, because the latter are able to provide themselves with abundance of good and rich food, which appears to counteract the action of the opium.

Nor is it denied by pro-opium witnesses that excessive use produces evil results both physical and moral. It is clear from the evidence that the excessive use is largely a matter of time, because as soon as a moderate dose fails in its effect, as it usually does sooner or later, the quantity must be increased.

The fact of this tendency to increase the dose was attested by the evidence of a large number of witnesses on both sides. The anti-opium witnesses were practically unanimous on this point, and were supported by not a few of those who defended the practice of eating opium. But other pro-opium witnesses denied this tendency to increase beyond a given point. How this point is to be determined, except indeed by dangerous experiment, was not explained.

The difficulty of discontinuance or even diminution of the habitual dose becomes greater in proportion to the length of the period of indulgence, until at last cessation becomes almost impossible.

5882, 8805, 15,145,
17,177, 19,032,
23,322, 2151, 25,960,
26,613, and many
others.

12,484, 15,912,
19,228.

NOTE U.

COMPARATIVE EFFECTS OF OPIUM ON NATIVES OF EUROPE AND OF INDIA.

36. The question has been raised as to whether the consumption of opium is a matter of race, whether there is any reason why opium is consumed more in the East than in the West, and whether there is any difference in the tolerance (to use the medical term) of the inhabitants of Europe and of India.

The evidence presented to us shows that if there be any difference, Europeans possess greater tolerance.

NOTE V.

INDIAN MISSIONARY OPINION.

37. In some Christian denominations in India there is actual prohibition, and in others a general understanding against the admission into church membership of converts who indulge in opium. This fact is strong proof of the sincerity of the opinions of the missionaries of those denominations, for it is obviously not to their interest to unduly restrict the number of their converts, and it is clear that they would not do it but for substantial reasons.

Several memorials were forwarded to the Commission from missionaries and others interested in mission work. Some of them (a) expressed strong views against the use of opium and the present opium system, these views being supported by some of the signatories appearing personally as witnesses. Other memorials (b) took a less unfavourable view, and it is important to observe that none of those who signed these latter memorials offered themselves as witnesses, and consequently were not subjected to any examination of their views and means of knowledge.

Of the 45 missionaries and others closely associated with them who appeared before us as witnesses, and submitted to the test of cross-examination, 41 (c) condemned the use of opium, two (d) may be said to have occupied neutral or indefinite positions, and two others, (e) one of whom declared himself an "abolitionist on purely moral grounds," to some extent defended or at least extenuated the use of opium.

See also Vol. I. Q. 26.

2302-4.
23,329.

(a) Vol. II., p. 314.
Vol. II., p. 460.
Vol. V., p. 137.

(b) Vol. II., p. 498.
Vol. V., p. 138.

(c) 2238, 2589, 2756,
5921, 11,015, 13,948,
21,382, 21,463, 23,308,
23,332, 23,456, 25,521,
26,484, 26,539, 27,322,
4278, 7739, 10,611,
19,894, 21,297, and
21 others.

(d) 8652, 17,246.
(e) 5457, 16,902.

RECOMMENDATION AS TO THE PROHIBITION OR RESTRICTION OF THE GENERAL USE OF OPIUM.

38. The balance of evidence shows that the non-medical use of opium is usually injurious to the consumer, and I am of opinion that much may be done to discourage the common use of the drug.

The Minutes of Evidence contain a large body of testimony showing that prohibition or restriction would be approved by the mass of the people in many parts of India. More than a hundred witnesses (three-fourths of whom were natives of India) were in favour of prohibition, in addition to a number of others who desired some form of restriction, short of prohibition.

The difficulties in the way of any further restriction propounded by some of the witnesses appear to me greatly exaggerated.

It is contended that, were further restriction attempted, it would be impossible, except in the large towns, to find persons to whom the sale for medicinal purposes could be entrusted. But the present regulations authorise the issue of druggist's and doctor's licenses, and these are granted to hakims and vaid practising eastern systems of medicine. In Bengal alone, 1,264 of these licenses were issued in 1892-3.

Vol. II., pp. 427
and 467.

Vol. II., p. 429.

As the people of India are in the main abstainers from the drug, and its consumption is not general, except in certain districts, some form of local veto on the common sale, ought, I think, to be adopted. It might also with great advantage and with popular approval be made applicable to alcohol.

I would further recommend a change of system by which the present opium contractors or vendors, who profit directly in proportion to the amount of opium they sell, should be replaced by official vendors, with fixed salaries.

So far from having any inducement to push the sale of the drug they should be directed, as far as possible, to discourage the non-medical use, and regulations should be laid down authorising them to refuse to supply persons whose relatives or friends complain that it is improperly used. All opium sold should be labelled "Poison," as in England, and should be accompanied by a caution, printed in the vernacular and in English, against its use for non-medical purposes. These official vendors would usually be natives of India, on moderate salaries. They should be located in places suitable for supplying the legitimate medicinal requirements of the people and be vigilantly supervised.

The alterations suggested, if properly carried out, would undoubtedly be an important step towards the reduction of the consumption.

RECOMMENDATION AS TO PROHIBITION OF OPIUM SMOKING.

39. Although very diverse views were laid before the Commission as to the habitual use of opium by eating and drinking, there was a striking consensus of disapproval of smoking as an injurious and degrading practice. Not only did the anti-opium witnesses attribute the worst effects of opium to the habit of smoking, but practically the whole of the witnesses who justified or palliated the practice of habitually eating moderate quantities emphatically condemned smoking in all its forms, as being unquestionably injurious and pernicious, and constituting a low and vicious habit.

2761, 2510, 4921,
5001, 5913, 3843,
6341, 10,840, 14,228,
15,723, 19,594,
19,757, 20,047,
25,288, 28,025, 4448,
21,590, 21,812,
21,653, 26,271,
14,416, 16,009,
16,688, 17,422-3,
18,536-8, 22,038,
26,057, 21,870.

Most of these pro-opium witnesses were in favour of further reduction of the facilities for smoking, and some of them approved of its total prohibition.

Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Crombie said:—

3529.

"I think there is a consensus of opinion among all, including opium-smokers themselves, that the chandu and madak manufactures should be abolished."

The Hon. A. Cadell, member of the Revenue Board, North-West Provinces and Oudh, while approving of opium eating, said:—

19,097.

"Opium smokers are, if belonging to the upper classes, debauchees, and if belonging to the lower classes, disreputable persons, with a tendency to crime, caused not by any tendency of opium in that direction, but by the irresistible character of the vice and by the necessity felt to gratify a vice which is an expensive one. There is also a general feeling among the more respectable classes against opium smoking."

See Note W.

NOTE W.

T 2

40. Regarding the evidence on this particular subject as remarkably distinctive in its unanimity and conclusiveness, I consider that nothing short of absolute prohibition will satisfy the requirements of the case. The only proper action of the Government in accordance with public opinion should clearly be—

I. To discontinue all licenses in respect to preparations of opium for smoking

II. To make unlawful—

- (a) the manufacture, sale, purchase, or possession of chandu, madak, and other preparations of opium for smoking purposes;
- (b) the manufacture, sale, purchase, or possession of materials, utensils, or apparatus for making or smoking such preparations of opium;
- (c) the association of two or more persons at any place for the purpose of smoking opium or any such preparations.

The administration and enforcement of such a law prescribing proper penalties for breaches thereof ought to be easy and effectual, for the evidence of any actual offence must be readily obtainable.

The fear has been expressed that a prohibitory measure of this character would open the way to inquisitorial and domiciliary visits by the police, and their possible bribery by the more influential and wealthy opium smokers. But the existing law is similarly open to be used in an objectionable way, and absolute prohibition, is not liable to any greater objections than those which apply to more partial and inadequate measures of repression.

BURMA.

41. The case of Burma is exceptional and must be referred to separately.

Most of the British officials in Burma have frankly recognised the evil effects of the consumption of opium in that country, as well as the practically unanimous opinion of the Burmese people against its public sale, and notwithstanding serious revenue considerations, have strongly advised restriction or prohibition. The Government of India has yielded slowly and apparently with reluctance to the advice given by its own officers in Burma, and to representations made from Great Britain. New regulations came into force on the 1st January 1894. As a general rule the possession of opium, except for medical purposes, is now forbidden to Burmans. This rule is absolute in Upper Burma. In Lower Burma natives were allowed some months during which they might register themselves as consumers, and thus become entitled to purchase opium. The desire of the authorities in Burma that registration should be made compulsory for foreigners as well as for Burmans ought, in my opinion, to be acceded to. In some districts the sale of the drug to foreigners and registered Burmans is still in the hands of farmers. In other districts a system of retail sale by official vendors is being tried. This will, I think, be found to be a distinct improvement upon the old system of licensed shops. In every other practical way the consumption of opium should be restricted to the legitimate medical requirements of the people.

Sir David Barbour, in speaking of the special measures which had been taken to check the consumption of opium in provinces where its use was believed to be excessive (including Burma), said, "I am not at all sure now that those measures have not been carried too far, but they have been adopted to a great extent in deference to English public opinion."

The whole history of the sale of the drug in Burma under British rule; of the protests of the people of that country against it; and of the reluctance of the Indian Government to listen to their entreaties, furnishes, in my opinion, most powerful testimony to the need and to the value of the expression of English public opinion in these matters.

The Burmans are clearly entitled to demand that their wishes should be respected, and their right to the protection they have so long asked for should be fully recognised.

MALWA OPIUM.

42. The term Malwa Opium is employed to describe the opium produced in the Native States in the west of India, either for consumption in India or export from the port of Bombay.

A great part of this opium is produced in the ill-defined tract of land known as Malwa, comprising several Native States, the soil and climate of which are said to be specially favourable to the growth of poppy.

The extension of British territory in India has been so managed as to cut off the poppy-growing States from communication with the sea; and the transit of opium through British territory has been prohibited, except under an elaborate arrangement of passes, granted by British officers on payment of a heavy duty, and by certain duly authorised routes. This pass duty is not the subject of any agreements or treaty stipulations, but is imposed at the will and pleasure of the paramount power. It was fixed on the 1st October 1862 at Rs. 600; was raised on the 16th July 1877 to Rs. 650; on the 15th September 1879 to Rs. 700; on the 28th June 1882 it was reduced to Rs. 650; on the 5th July 1890 further reduced to Rs. 600; and on the 1894 was raised to Rs. 650. The amounts realised from this source, together with the quantity of opium, are as follows:—

Average of 3 Years.	Rx.	Chests.	Duty per Chest. Rs.
1883-84 to 1885-86	2,498,455	41,008	650
1890-91 to 1892-93	1,753,110	32,510	600

Vol. II., p. 347.

Vol. II., pp. 342 and 347.

These figures are in part taken from a table which will be found in Vol. II., p. 347, which shows that while the quantity of opium exported from Bombay has been considerably declining, that which is diverted for local consumption has been somewhat increasing.

THE NATIVE STATES.

43. No good purpose would be served by a detailed statement of the treaties and agreements made in regard to opium with the numerous Native States. They are described in App. X., Vol. II. By pressure, which they were not in a position to resist, most of these States have been induced to consent to arrangements the aim of which has been to safeguard and increase the revenue which the East India Company and the Indian Government have obtained from opium. In many cases it has been arranged that the rulers of Native States shall prohibit the cultivation of the poppy, and so regulate the traffic in opium as to increase the revenue of the State at the expense of their subjects. There is no evidence that in any of these States compensation has ever been given to cultivators or traders whose interests have been interfered with.

44. As to the power to stop the transit of opium through British territory, Sir Lepel Griffin said, "Of course you can prohibit the export." Sir D. M. Barbour said, "I think the export to China could practically be stopped," but he was confident smuggling into British territory could not. The Hon. W. Lee Warner, in his memorandum, lays down that "interference with the internal affairs of Native States has been justified in the past, either (a.) when adopted in the interests of the states, or (b.) when adopted in the interests of the British Government." He marshals instances "under class (a.)" into six recognised grounds, including "(vi.) to check offences against natural law or public morality." The suppression of seizing people for sorcery, and abolition of suttee, are given as instances.* Mr. Warner holds that opium does not come under any of these heads. Colonel Trevor, agent to the Governor-General, Rajputana, was asked, "would not it be an

1543.

2082.

Vol. IV., p. 495.

20,794, 20,839.

* In India, as elsewhere, officials are too much disposed to dread reforms and innovations. The case of suttee affords an illustration. Hunter, in his *Indian Empire*, page 475, says: "In spite of strenuous opposition, both from *Europeans and natives*, Lord W. Bentinck carried a Regulation in Council on the 4th of December 1829, by which all who abetted suttee were declared guilty of culpable homicide." Hunter also refers to other reforms which "were distasteful to the covenanted service, and to the officers of the Army," and adds that Lord Bentinck "was supported by the Court of Directors, and by the Whig Government at home."

"injustice not to allow" the produce of the States to be transmitted through British territory, and replied, "I do not quite see that. If you think a thing is bad, you are not bound to give a passage through your territory."

22,201.
Vol. IV., p. 117.
22,935.

45. Certain Native States, including such important ones as Indore, Baroda, and Bhopal, consider that interference or prohibition in regard to opium would be outside, or contrary to, treaty engagements. Some of the Sikh States, on the contrary, took a different position. General Sardar Ratan Singh, of the Jind State, said, "if the Government prohibits the use of opium in British territory, similar orders could be issued in the Jind State." He was not sure whether such a thing would be viewed as interference. Lala Dewa Singh, of the Nabha State, was asked what compensation, if any, His Highness' State would be fairly entitled to in the event of prohibition, and replied "As the prohibition is entirely beneficial to the people, this State does not wish for any compensation for the loss of revenue resulting from such prohibition." Pandit Sarup Narian, of the Faridkot State, gave a similar answer.

16,265.

16,271.

16,289.

16,372.

46. The fact that in the face of a greater falling off in the supplies of Malwa opium than of Bengal opium the Indian Government has, since the visit of the Commission, materially increased the payment to the Bengal cultivator and put an additional burden of duty on the Malwa produce, shows more clearly than any official evidence that the right of dealing at will with the export trade, Native as well as British, is quietly claimed and exercised by the paramount government.

47. It is not possible to treat the suggested claims for compensation placed before the Commission seriously. Though compiled at the instance of the Indian Government and revised by its political officers, they neither deserve respect nor criticism. A few illustrations must suffice. The Tonk State in claiming Rs. 132,900 for loss of land revenue, Rs. 59,919 for Customs revenue, and Rs. 94,600 for traders' profits, claims Rs. 104,030 for compensation for money lenders! One item in Colonel Abbott's summary is, "extra expense of living on account of great rise in price of opium" Rs. 489,873.

Vol. IV., p. 394.

20,922.

20,945.

Vol. IV., p. 395.

In the State of Bundi, the average out-turn for the 12 years ending 1892-3 is given at 1,007 maunds; for the last half of that period at 371 maunds. (In the last year it was only 93 maunds.) Yet compensation is claimed for an annual trade of 2,000 maunds, and Colonel Abbott reports that the "Political officer, Lieut.-Colonel Thornton . . . considers the Durbar's estimate of the losses, direct and indirect, both to itself and its subjects, as accurate as it is possible to make them under existing circumstances."

Vol. IV., p. 407.

Vol. IV., p. 407.

In the Central Provinces, Sailana claimed Rs. 160,475 for land revenue. Lieut.-Colonel Robertson estimates it at Rs. 60,000. The State claims Rs. 128,380 for cultivators. He reduces this to Rs. 40,000. Of Multan the same officer writes, "Losses to cultivators and traders were not given by the State, they were assumed by me."

It is clear that the evidence thus brought before us can be of no assistance if claims in equity should be seriously advanced by these States.

CONCLUSIONS.

48. The form of the questions submitted to the Commission makes it difficult to give categorical answers, but in reference to the paragraphs thereon I reply:—

- I.—(a.) That the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited, except for medical purposes.
- (b.) Such prohibition should not be forcibly imposed on the Native States, but the example of the British Government should be supported by such influence as may legitimately be employed.

II. The existing arrangements with the Native States in respect to the transit of opium through British territory depend absolutely on the will of the paramount power, and appear to have been dominated throughout by the financial policy of British India. When the Chinese trade from British India has been brought to an end, as I

hold it certainly should be, and when licenses to cultivate are no longer granted, licenses for the transit of opium through British territory may justly be withheld.* There is no legal claim for compensation. Any equitable claims must be tested by further inquiry and reliable evidence.

- III.—(a.) There is no precedent for compensation to landlords or cultivators on the termination of opium cultivation, and there would be no claim for compensation for withholding further licenses.
- (b.) Adequate information was not placed before us as to the cost of additional preventive measures, but the general statements that were made appear greatly exaggerated.
- (c.) The revenue derivable from opium has been for some years declining, and can no longer be safely relied upon. (See Note X.)
- IV. It is desirable to replace the present opium contractors and vendors by official vendors, with instructions and discretion to restrict the sale. I recommend the entire prohibition of smoking.
- V. The consumption of opium obtains more or less extensively amongst the races and in the localities most fully represented before the Commission. Little or no evidence was tendered from large districts where its non-medical use is little known. It is clear that the opium habit so far from being common amongst the people generally is relatively exceptional in British India. It is a vice in Calcutta and the large towns, but certainly not of the majority of the populations. It is common amongst the Rajputs and to a less extent the Sikhs, but the sweeping statements made as to its universal use by them are quite untenable. Women are seldom addicted to the habit. The moral effect is hurtful in tarnishing and weakening the will power of the user: the physical effect is generally injurious in proportion to the amount taken and to the inability of the consumer to protect himself against it by plenty of good food.
- VI.—(a.) The people of India do not, so far as regards the greater part of that country, regard the use of opium for non-medical purposes favourably.
- (b.) The people of India maintain that they are already taxed to the very limit of their ability, and that they are unable and unwilling to submit to any additional burdens.

Serious consideration should promptly be given to the question of reducing the expenditure now borne by the people of India.

49. In these pages I have given my conclusions on the evidence presented to the Commission. As stated in a Memorandum accompanying this Dissent, I do not think that the whole of the facts were presented to us with the impartiality and completeness due to such an inquiry. The Report adopted by my colleagues appears to me to partake more of the character of an elaborate defence of the opium trade of the East India Company, and of the present Government of India, than of a judicial pronouncement on the immediate questions submitted to us. On this ground also, as well as for the reasons already given, I am unable to join in it.

50. One of the last paragraphs in the Report (No. 274) refers to me, and includes the following sentence:—"We regret that in the discussions which took place during the preparation of our Report we were not placed in possession of the views of our colleague."

It will be seen by a letter to the Chairman from myself, a copy of which is appended, that I was distinctly precluded by him from taking part in the discussions referred to. At the first subsequent meeting of the Commission, I referred to my letter, and to Lord Brassey's desire that I should refrain from discussion. Lord Brassey intimated that I had correctly stated his wishes. I do not therefore understand the propriety of this reflection, by the majority, on the course which I took at the Chairman's direct instance and request, with the concurrence of four other colleagues.

18th March 1895.

HENRY J. WILSON.

* Legitimate medical requirements are not here alluded to.

B.—NOTES TO MR. WILSON'S DISSENT.

NOTE A. to par. 2.—RESOLUTION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS (30TH JUNE 1893) WHICH LED TO THE APPOINTMENT OF THE COMMISSION.

"That having regard to the strong objections urged on moral grounds to the system by which the Indian Opium Revenue is raised, this House presses on the Government of India to continue their policy of greatly diminishing the cultivation of the poppy and the production and sale of opium, and desires that an humble address may be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission to report as to :—

- "1. Whether the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited except for medical purposes, and whether such prohibition could be extended to the Native States.
- "2. The nature of the existing arrangements with the Native States in respect of the transit of opium through British territory, and on what terms, if any, these arrangements could be with justice terminated.
- "3. The effect on the finances of India of the prohibition of the sale and export of opium taking into consideration (a) the amount of compensation payable; (b) the cost of the necessary preventive measures; (c) the loss of revenue.
- "4. Whether any change short of total prohibition should be made in the system at present followed for regulating and restricting the opium traffic and for raising a revenue therefrom.
- "5. The consumption of opium by the different races and in the different districts of India, and the effect of such consumption on the moral and physical condition of the people.
- "6. The disposition of the people of India in regard to (a) the use of opium for non-medical purposes; (b) their willingness to bear in whole or in part the cost of prohibitive measures."

NOTE B. to par. 5.—OFFICIAL OPINION OF OPIUM.

Lieut.-Colonel James Tod, political agent to the Western Rajput States, in his work on the "Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan," written in 1820, published in 1832, writes :—

"This pernicious plant has robbed the Rajput of half his virtues. (Vol. I., p. 644.)
 "This drug, which has tended more to the physical and moral degradation of the inhabitants than the combined influences of pestilence and war." (Vol. II., p. 630.)
 "Execrable and demoralising plant" (poppy). (Vol. II., p. 634.)

Mr. C. A. Bruce, superintendent of the tea plantations in Assam (prior to 1840), refers to opium as the—

"Dreadful plague which has depopulated this beautiful country."
 "This vile drug has kept and does now keep down the population."
 "Few but those who have resided long in this unhappy country know the dreadful and immoral effects which the use of opium produces on the native."

Mr. A. Sym, 11 years in the opium district of Gorakhpur, and for a time in charge of the opium agency there, wrote in 1840 :—

"The health and morals of the people suffer from the production of opium. Wherever opium is grown it is eaten, and the more it is grown the more it is eaten, its pernicious effects are visible on the population of the opium districts, particularly in the neighbourhood of the depôts. . . . One opium cultivator demoralises a whole village."

A resolution by the Government of Bombay in 1881.—

"Ordered that the following letter be addressed to the Government of India :—

" . . . on the question of the expediency of permitting the cultivation of the poppy in Sind.
 "III. I am at the same time to state that this Government consider there are very strong objections to the introduction of an industry so demoralising in its tendency as opium cultivation and manufacture into a province where it is at present unknown. . . . It has already been tried in Gujarat, and the result was widespread corruption and demoralisation.

"At present the consumption of opium in this Presidency is very limited, but if the cultivation of opium and manufacture of opium were permitted, every village might have its opium shop, and every cultivator might contract the habit of eating a drug which is said to degrade and demoralise those who become addicted to it. On the ground of public morality, therefore, his Excellency the Governor in Council would strongly deprecate the grant of permission to cultivate the poppy in Sind, or in any other part of this Presidency."

NOTE C. to par. 6.—SHORT DESCRIPTION OF THE GROWTH OF POPPY AS IT AFFECTS THE INDIVIDUAL RYOT.

[The figures are not the same as in par. 6, because there the agencies are dealt with together, and here separately.]

In the Benares Agency.

In the month of September he proceeds to the head-quarters or weightment place of the district in which he lives, a distance, on the average, of about 20 miles, to receive license to cultivate a specified plot for the growth of the poppy, the plot being usually only a small portion of his farm or holding, averaging 61 of a bigah, equal to 38 of an acre, or 1,839 square yards. He receives at the same time the first advance of Rs. 3.66 (or, taking the rupee at 13d., 3s. 11½d.), being at the rate of Rs. 6 per bigah. Returning home, he prepares his ground and sows the poppy seed.

When the crop is a few inches above the ground he sometimes, not always, gets a further advance, not exceeding Rs. 1.22, or 1s. 3¼d., being at the rate of Rs. 2 per bigah. In February or March when the seed capsules or heads are formed, he lances or slits them, and carefully scrapes off the exuding juice or opium, which is preserved in earthen pots until April, when he again travels with it to the weightment place, where he delivers it to the officials of the Opium Department.

The average weight received from each cultivator is 2.77 seers, or 5 lbs. 11.17 ozs., and the payment on account which he then receives averages, say, Rs 7.92, or 8s. 7½d.

The opium is then forwarded to the factory at Patna, in the case of the Behar Agency, or to Ghazipur in the case of the Benares Agency. The "consistence" or proportion of moisture in the opium is there ascertained. An account is made out, and in July or August the cultivator, travelling again as it appears to the weightment place, receives the balance due to him, averaging, say, Rs. 1.06, or 1s. 1¾d., the price being calculated at the rate of 5 Rs. per seer, equal to 2s. 4½d. per lb. av. for opium of 70 degrees of "consistence." A somewhat higher or lower price will be paid in case it contains more or less than 30 per cent. of water. The total average amount paid to each ryot for opium is 15s.

In the Patna Agency.

In the Bihar or Patna Agency the ryot is in a worse position. He has to deliver his opium with 5 per cent. less moisture. Other arrangements of the Agency are less favourable to him. The land is less productive. The total amount of opium he weighs in is only 4 lbs. 11.70 ozs., for which he receives only 12s. 5½d.

NOTE D. to par. 7.—EXTRACT FROM CORRESPONDENCE ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE OPIUM DEPARTMENT.

"The railways and other means of communication which have been opened out, and the ever growing demands of the commerce of the country, have completely changed the state of affairs. Opium has lost its place as the most lucrative crop a cultivator can grow. . . . The Board are of opinion that much may be done to improve the popularity of the opium cultivation. . . . In conclusion I am to state that the policy the Board would recommend may briefly be summarised as follow :—I. An adequate price to be paid for crude opium, to be settled from time to time with reference to the competition of other crops. . . . IV. Adequate salaries to be paid to the native establishment and the abolition of all illegal gratification strictly enforced."

(Letter from Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 19th January 1884.)

NOTE E. to par. 7.—ON DIFFICULTY OF MAINTAINING POPPY CULTIVATION.

Mr. Kemble, opium agent, of Bihar, in his Annual Report of the Agency for the year 1890-91, says :—

"There can be no doubt that since the opening of the Bengal and North-Western Railway the difficulty of maintaining the cultivation of such a delicate crop as poppy has largely increased." (Par. 7.)

He adds that competition of other crops

"is becoming so keen that our department now have difficulty in maintaining their position." (Par. 8.)

Mr. Rivett-Carnac, opium agent, Benares, in his Annual Report for 1890-91, speaks of certain districts where the cultivation of the poppy is popular, but of others where the cultivators have "for the present lost heart," and of other cultivators as "gradually withdrawing from the industry." (Par. 6.)

Similarly in his Report for the year 1891-92, Mr. Kemble (Bihar) says :—

"We cannot be surprised at the disinclination generally of the cultivators to take advances. . . . The other main cause which tended to reduce the settlements was the difficulty in obtaining good lands for our cultivation, owing to the competition of other crops." (Par. 8.)

He quotes Mr. Christian, an officer of long experience, as saying :—

"The good lands are no longer under the poppy cultivation, but have either gone to indigo or other better paying crops. The crops that are competing with poppy, in fact, I ought to say, that have swamped and overcome it, are tobacco, potato, haldi, chillies, and other garden produce." (Par. 9.)

In his Report for 1891-92 Mr. Rivett-Carnac again discusses the competition of other crops, but takes a less gloomy view of the prospects of the opium department, than his colleague, Mr. Kemble.

NOTE F. to par. 8.—OFFICIAL INQUIRIES ON COMPLAINTS OF COMPELSION (OR PERSUASION) IN REGARD TO THE CULTIVATION OF POPPY.

In the first case referred to by Mr. Forbes, Mr. Lyon, settlement officer, had reported that certain officers had been bringing pressure to bear.

A deputy magistrate, Maulvi Syed Ali Hosain, who was directed to make an inquiry on the subject, gives the statements of a number of ryots.

"Bansi Mahton states: My brother is khattahdar of this village. His name is Tulsi. . . . the former zilladar (since transferred) induced us to cultivate poppy, and told us to try for this year. The land is not capable of producing opium. . . . he (the zilladar) took my brother to Hajipur; my brother was unwilling to go, and he said that we would not grow opium. . . . He (the zilladar) did not threaten us with punishment if we did not grow, but he pressed us to do so by taking my brother to Hajipur for receiving dadni (advance)."

Shaik Hidayat Ali, says that the Zilladar Rheda Bux—

"Insisted Tulsi to receive dadni (advance for poppy) . . . he stayed three or four days to persuade us to grow opium. . . . he did not beat any of us. . . . his fault was to compel khattahdar to receive advances, we had since fear that if we did not cultivate we would be falsely proceeded against by zilladar."

Gudri Mahton, referring to the zilladar, says :—

"I cannot say that he told each and every villager to grow opium, but he did me."

Tulsi Mahton says :—

"He (the zilladar) told me that we must grow opium. He advised us to cultivate poppy, as we had no mind to grow this year. He said that I must go to receive advances."

Other ryots made no complaints. Some said they cultivated willingly. It was suggested by them, or to them, that the zilladar stayed so long in the village because it was raining.

The Deputy Magistrate, reporting on the case, says :—

"What the zilladar, seems to have done was that he insisted a little too much upon the khattahdar to receive dadni (advances), and holding out good hopes for the poppy growth owing to rains," and he points out "that there was no kind of violence used by him in compelling them to grow opium."

It is instructive in the face of these statements that Mr. Hare in enclosing the report and depositions says :—

"No touch or trace of any attempt at compulsion appears."

Mr. Forbes in his letter says that—

"Market garden produce has admittedly of late years begun to compete successfully with opium. Cases of this kind must therefore be expected to occur."

This seems to show that compulsion, which is called in India "persuasion," is expected as a matter of course.

THE SECOND CASE REFERRED TO BY MR. FORBES.

Rai Jai Prakash Lal Bahadur, C.I.E., dewan (chief officer) of the Dumraon Raj, was interviewed on the 28th and 29th of August 1893, by Mr. Christian, sub-deputy opium agent of Shahabad, and Mr. Sen, assistant sub-deputy agent, in reference to the "reluctance of the cultivators to engage the full area" desired or required by the Opium Department. It was arranged that the dewan was—

"To use his influence with some of the ryots of the Raj to induce them to continue the cultivation . . . by using influence he only meant persuasion; that he had merely asked the ryots of certain villages for his sake to try cultivation for one year (this year) longer, and that they had consented to do so."

It is further explained that this influence or persuasion was exercised by a circular letter issued to the

tahsildars of the Raj, directing them to use their endeavours to help poppy cultivation.

A copy of this circular has been asked for, but has not yet been produced.

It appears further that Mr. Christian had a conversation himself with one of these tahsildars, who explained "the kind of help given by the Raj." So far as I understand, it amounts to this: that land was to be taken from one man and given to another for opium, if he would grow poppy; that if one man possessed a well another was to be allowed to take water from it to grow poppy, and that rent was to be reduced by the middleman to a ryot who would grow poppy.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the dewan was, as Mr. Forbes states, unwilling to give evidence. His position was extremely embarrassing.

Mr. Dane says that the dewan "attended at Bankipur on the first day that the Commission sat there" (January 3rd). If this means that he was present at the sitting and was ready to be called it does not accord with Mr. Forbes' statement.

Mr. Dane and Mr. Forbes agree that this important witness was present on a later date (January 6th). On neither occasion was his presence known to the Commission generally. It was most important that he should be heard, and no explanation has been given as to why any member of the Commission was kept in ignorance of his presence.

THE THIRD CASE REFERRED TO BY MR. FORBES.

Mr. F. H. B. Skrine, collector of Shahabad, and subsequently of Bhagalpur, had an interview about the middle of August 1893 with Mr. Christian, sub-deputy opium agent, already referred to, who desired—

"My co-operation in restoring the area under poppy to its normal. He told me that . . . the opium agent of Behar, had instructed him to consult me on the subject."

Mr. Skrine undertook to issue a circular, but delayed it for about a fortnight, when he was reminded of his promise by Mr. N. C. Sen, assistant sub-deputy agent. He says:—

"Thereupon I addressed a circular . . . to the sub-divisional officers of Bhabua, Buxar, and Sasaram, and the manager of D. & D. Kumar's Ward Estate, in which I informed them that it was the policy of the Government to extend opium cultivation in wards and Government estates. I asked them to give the sub-deputy opium agent a list of villages in their charge which contained land suitable for sowing opium, and to instruct their tahsildars to use their utmost efforts, in co-operation with the sub-deputy opium agent, to induce our ryots to take opium advances."

Mr. Skrine, being called to account, makes various statements in palliation of his conduct, which he does not attempt to defend, and Mr. Commissioner Forbes admits that—

"Things were pushed further than they ought to have been." Mr. Skrine's orders being "such as I should certainly not have approved had they come to my notice; nor are they warranted, so far as I am aware, by any instructions that have ever been issued by Government or by the Board of Revenue."

NOTE G. to par. 10.—POTATOES UPROOTED AT BARNI, NEAR PATNA.

On the 19th December 1893, Mr. Gennoe, assistant sub-deputy opium agent, destroyed a plot of potatoes at the village of Barni, near Bankipore, on the allegation of a zilladar that this was land on which the cultivator had engaged to grow opium. Evidence to this effect was given before us on the 6th January 1894 by my son and Mr. Gupta.

On the same day we were informed by Mr. Tytler sub-deputy opium agent, in the presence of Mr. Forbes, the Commissioner of Patna, Mr. Rivett-Carnac, opium agent at Benares, and other officials, that it is not lawful under any circumstances to pull up the crops.

At the request of the Commission a further inquiry was subsequently made, and the report of this inquiry has been forwarded to us since our return from India. The report shows that as a matter of fact the cultivator had committed no offence whatever. Mr. Wace says:—

"I have very little doubt that he lost his potatoes because he did not see the zilladar."

The Assistant Sub-Deputy Agent attempted, in a letter sent by him to Mr. Wace, to justify his action by reference to a rule and a form in the Opium Manual. Mr. Wace points out that the rule does not cover this case, that the form is irrelevant, and that the official in question had not availed himself of an opportunity given him to produce witnesses on his own behalf.

NOTE H. to par. 15.—CONDEMNATION OF OPIUM BY ENGLISH OFFICIALS RESIDENT IN CHINA AND JAVA.

Sir George Staunton, who was in China from 1792 to 1816, referred to opium as "an article of vicious luxury," and said:—

"The best lands of India might have been made to produce that which was beneficial to man, instead of being devoted to the cultivation of such a pernicious article."

Sir Stamford Raffles, who died in 1826, said:—

"The use of opium, it must be confessed and lamented, has struck deep into the habits, and extended its malignant influence to the morals of the people, and is likely to perpetuate its power in degrading their character and enervating their energies, as long as the European Government, overlooking every consideration of policy and humanity, shall allow a paltry addition to their finances to outweigh all regard to the ultimate happiness and prosperity of the country."

Mr. Montgomery Martin, Colonial Treasurer at Hong Kong, refers to opium as—

"Desolating China, corrupting its Government, and bringing the fabric of that extraordinary Empire to a state of more rapid dissolution."

Sir Harry Parkes refers to opium as "a baneful article."—See his life by Stanley Lane Poole, Vol. I., p. 421.

Mr. L. E. Oxenham, late British Consul in China, says:—

"Do the Chinese, . . . desire the continuation of the trade now? Would the Chinese Parliament vote for such a traffic? No one with any knowledge of China would answer in the affirmative. The opium is equally denounced by the Government, by the Confucian literati, and by the Buddhist and Taoist priesthood."—"Society of Arts Journal," April 1892, p. 485.

NOTE J. to par. 15.—CHINESE OFFICIAL CONDEMNATION OF OPIUM.

Sir Robert Hart, G.C.M.G., who is in the service of the Chinese Government as Director of Customs, in the special report on opium issued in 1881, said:—

"Chinese who have studied the opium question are opposed to a traffic which more or less harms smokers. . . . They do not find in . . . the revenue produced . . . any sufficient reason for welcoming the growth of the trade, or for desisting from the attempt to check the consumption of opium."

The Chinese Foreign Office wrote to Sir Rutherford Alcock in July 1869:—

"That opium is like a deadly poison, that it is most injurious to mankind. . . . The officials and people of this Empire . . . all say that England trades in opium because she desires to work China's ruin, for (say they) if the friendly feelings of England are genuine, since it is open to her to produce and trade in everywhere else, would she still insist on spreading the poison of this hurtful thing through the Empire?"

Sir Rutherford Alcock, at that time Her Majesty's Minister at Peking, said in reference to this:—

"He had no doubt that the abhorrence expressed by the Government and people of China for opium was genuine and deep-seated."

In a letter in the "Times" of July 29th, 1881, Li Hung Chang, then Grand Secretary and Viceroy of China, said:—

"I may assert here once for all that the single aim of my Government in taxing opium, will be in the future, as in the past, to repress the traffic . . . never to desire to gain revenue from such a source."

Mr. Montgomery Martin, Colonial Treasurer of Hong Kong, states that the Emperor of China had remarked:—

"It is true I cannot prevent the introduction of the flowing poison. Gain-seeking and corrupt men will for profit and sensuality defeat my wishes, but nothing will induce me to derive a revenue from the vice and misery of my people."

NOTE K. to par. 15.—CONDEMNATION OF OPIUM BY MISSIONARIES IN CHINA.

The Rev. Dr. Medhurst, one of the earliest missionaries of the London Missionary Society, which was the first Protestant Society to enter China, in his "China" (London, 1838), says:—

"Those who have not seen the effects of opium-smoking in the eastern world, can hardly form any conception of its injurious results on the health, energies, and lives of those who indulge in it. . . . In proportion as the wretched victim comes under the power of the intoxicating drug, so is his ability to resist temptation less strong, and debilitated in body as well as mind he is unable to earn his usual pittance, and not infrequently sinks under the craving of an appetite which he is unable to gratify. . . . Those who grow and sell the drug while they profit by the speculation would do well to follow the consumer into the haunts of vice, and mark the wretchedness, poverty, disease, and death which follow the indulgence, for if they did but know the thousandth part of the evils resulting from it they would not, they could not, continue to engage in the transaction."

Numerous testimonies were communicated to the Commission by the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, and by the Secretary of the China Inland Mission, all testifying to the evil effects of opium.

See also an important memorial signed by 17 Chinese Missionaries of all denominations (including two Bishops), and all of more than 25 years standing in China.

NOTE M. to par. 21.—AVERAGE OF OPIUM TAKEN BY ADULT MALE CONSUMERS.

The analysis of the evidence of 85 witnesses shows that:—

		Grains.	
The average of what 31 witnesses consider strictly moderate use is	-	-	7.77
" " 34 " customary use	-	-	15.12
" " 20 " excessive use	-	-	41.00
Thus the 85 witnesses give a gross average of		-	18.53

NOTE L. to par. 20.—QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO ALLEGED EXTENSIVE USE OF OPIUM AND POLITICAL DANGER FROM INTERFERENCE.

Sir Joseph Fayer, K.C.S.I., M.D., says:—

"It is well known that over large areas of country in India, by tens of thousands of people, opium in moderation is habitually used by the natives."

Dr. K. C. Bose, President of the Calcutta Medical Society, says:—

"Amongst the permanent residents of Calcutta only 10 per cent. of the people actually take opium, whilst amongst those who come from other portions of the country nearly 20 per cent. use opium in some shape or other."

Rai Sheo Bux Bogla Bahadur, merchant and banker, representing the National Chamber of Commerce, says:—

"About 70 or 80 per cent. of both Rajputs and Sikhs take opium as a daily ration."

Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn, M.D., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals in the Punjab, says:—

"I fancy that about 50 or 75 per cent. of the inhabitants of Lucknow take opium."

Mr. J. J. S. Driberg, Excise Commissioner of Assam, says:—

"Bearing in mind the conditions of the climate, and the fact that opium has been consumed in the Province from time immemorial, so that it has now become a necessity of life, it is certain that any attempt to stop consumption or even to limit or reduce it more than has been done in the past 10 years would have a disastrous effect on the physical condition of the people. . . . Then you say that stopping it would depopulate whole tracts?—Yes."

Sir Charles Crosthwaite, K.C.I.E., Lieut.-Governor of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, says:—

"There is no doubt that the people use opium very largely, not in great quantities, but very widely. I think nearly all of them give it to their children, and believe that it is necessary. . . . My opinion is that we could not actually prohibit the use of opium except for medical purposes without a very large and oppressive force, and without an inquisition into the habits of the people which would be very unpleasant to them, and would make the Government, I think, exceedingly unpopular."

The Hon. D. R. Lyall, C.S.I., Member of the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, says:—

"I hold that, in a political point of view, total prohibition would be so dangerous, and would alienate so large a body of Her Majesty's subjects in India, as to be impossible. . . . The dissatisfaction would be enormous, and I am not prepared to say that, fanned as it would be by professional agitators, it would not amount to disaffection, and require the presence of more British troops in India."

The Hon. T. D. Mackenzie, Commissioner of Customs, Salt, Opium, and Abkari, Bombay, says:—

"In my opinion to prohibit the sale of opium in British India, except for medical purposes, would be to invite a general rising all over the country against what would be regarded, and, in my mind, justly regarded as cruel and causeless oppression."

See also Q. 4999, 6059, 14,059, 15,700, 15,793, 19,530, 20,425, 27,029, 27,036, &c.

NOTE S. to par. 31.—QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO INJURIOUS SOCIAL EFFECTS OF OPIUM.

Dr. Isan Chandra Roy says:—

"They must satisfy their opium craving; they are necessarily driven to have recourse to all sorts of vicious acts, such as petty thefts, pickpocketing, &c."

3,191. Judge Ram Kali Chandhuri (already quoted) says:—

"Where there is little or no means, the habit leads the consumer to commit petty thefts and trickeries."

See also 12,569, 3,413, 9173, 25,490, 16,902, and many others.

QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO NON-INJURIOUS SOCIAL EFFECTS OF OPIUM.

Sir John Lambert, K.C.I.E., Commissioner of Police in Calcutta, says:—

5080. "I fail to discover any connexion between opium and crime of a serious nature."

Mr. James Mouro, C.B., formerly Commissioner of Police in Bengal, now engaged in missionary work, says:—

5463. "The conclusion which I came to from wide experience was that so far as regards crime, opium has no perceptible influence in causing it."

See also 3184, 14,414, 19,749, 19,797, 25,583.

NOTE T. to par. 35.—PRO-OPIUMISTS' EVIDENCE AS TO PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF EXCESSIVE USE.

Surgeon-Major J. Anderson, already quoted, says:—

14,226. "When taken to excess it causes both moral and physical deterioration. It produces emaciation, gastric disorder, loss of appetite, gives premature senile expression, and no doubt shortens life. Morally, over-indulgence makes the victim idle and timid and engenders a habit of exaggeration."

Surgeon-Major G. W. P. Denny, civil surgeon in the Punjab for many years, says:—

18,731. "A confirmed excessive opium eater is generally a physical and mental wreck, emaciated to an excessive degree, and incapable of performing any ordinary work. He is a deplorable object to behold. Excessive opium eaters have no stamina whatever, and succumb to comparatively trivial ailments."

Mr. G. B. Prabhakar, L.R.C.P., a medical practitioner of Bombay, says:—

25,989. "Opium when taken in excess impairs the digestive system in general, engenders lazy habits, causes dulness of intellect, and produces anaemia and emaciation."

See also 12,608, 21,675, 25,657, 26,022, &c.

PRO-OPIUMISTS' EVIDENCE AS TO MORAL EFFECTS OF EXCESSIVE USE.

Lieut.-Colonel A. J. F. Reed, in command of 29th Punjab Infantry, says:—

18,706. "The habitual (i.e., excessive) opium eaters are marked men in the regiment, and are not trusted like the rest."

Surgeon-Major T. R. Mulroney, M.D., referring to those taking opium in large doses, says:—

19,918. "They are regular drunkards, a depraved lot, generally belonging to the criminal class, thieves and burglars."

See also 24,087, 25,022, &c.

NOTE U. to par. 35.—DIFFICULTY OF DISCONTINUANCE OF HABIT.

The personal experience of Mr. Datta may be usefully cited:—

"I took opium myself for three months, for chronic diarrhoea and dyspepsia. The first day it acted like

"magic, but gradually the dose had to be increased, until I used to take 20 grains of it. I keenly felt the after effects and thought of relinquishing. It took me some time before I gave it up by gradually reducing the doses."

"If I did not take opium at the regular time, when I was used to taking it, I was seized with nausea, pains all over the body, a sort of uneasiness which cannot be described, a bad scalding sense of uneasiness all over the body. Even if I took a lesser dose the diarrhoea would reappear, and with greater violence. I could not retain the smallest quantity of food, and I was not able to work."

"It took me about four months to relinquish the habit, gradually reducing the dose all that time. I took other remedies to restore my health. I had to place myself under other treatment."

There is abundance of other uncontradicted evidence to the like effect.

See also Q. 2593, 18,927, 25,513, 5913, 16,219, 28,168, and many others.

NOTE V. to par. 36.—COMPARATIVE EFFECTS OF OPIUM ON NATIVES OF EUROPE AND OF INDIA.

Surgeon-General Sir Wm. Moore, K.C.I.E., Q.H.P., was asked by Sir Wm. Roberts:—

Q. "You would not admit it was due to some profound constitutional difference."

A. "No, I don't think so."

Q. "But of course you would not be positive."

A. "I do not think the constitutional difference has anything whatever to do with it."

Surgeon-Major-General Rice, head of the Indian Medical Department, says:—

"I have satisfied myself in my professional practice that Europeans are more tolerant, that is, require larger doses of opium than natives, bulk for bulk."

Dr. Rice further says:—

"To produce the same effect from a medicinal dose of opium in a European you would have to give a larger quantity of it than you would to a native."

Hon. D. R. Lyall, C.S.I., says:—

"The ordinary native takes an amount of opium that would be almost laughed at in England as a dose of opium."

Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel J. McConaghey, M.D., was asked by Sir W. Roberts:—

Q. "Have you been able to notice, or been led to the opinion, that there is a difference between the European constitution and the constitution of the natives of India, in their relation to opium?"

A. "I do not know that there is much difference. I have had Europeans under my treatment who were quite as much addicted to the use of the drug as natives."

"Taking the population of the Europeans I meet with, it will be very nearly the same proportion."

Dr. G. R. Ferris, M.R.C.S., was asked by Sir W. Roberts:—

Q. "Has it never struck you that there was a difference of tolerance, depending upon race or climate, or food, or the environment of Europeans on the one hand, and of the inhabitants of India on the other?"

A. "No. In Calcutta I have seen the greatest quantity taken by Europeans. The maximum I have seen has been taken by a European."

Lieut.-Colonel A. J. Wilcox, M.D., was asked by Mr. Mowbray:—

Q. "Have you had any experience of Europeans taking opium in this country?"

A. "Yes. I have stated that the worst cases I have met with have been Europeans."

Q. "You think that the effect of opium on the Europeans who take it is worse than on the natives?"

A. "I do not think so. These cases I speak of were cases of extreme abuse."

See also 3387, 21,298, 19,363, 24,708.

NOTE V. V. to par. 38.—QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO PROHIBITION OF OPIUM, EXCEPT FOR MEDICAL PURPOSES.

Rai Lal Madhub Mookerjee, Bahadur, President of the Calcutta Medical College, approves of the production of opium for medical use only:—

"To that extent and no further."

Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar thinks it would be desirable to prohibit the sale of opium, except for medical purposes:—

"So far as I can gauge public opinion, they (the people of India) will support it (prohibition)."

Dr. Isan Chandra Roy says:—

"I am for limiting the use of opium strictly for medical purposes. Its use as a narcotic indulgence should be prohibited by laws."

"And you believe that such a prohibition would be received with favour by the people?—Yes."

Babu Bepin Behari Bose, M.A., a barrister at Lucknow, is in favour of prohibition, except for medical purposes, and says that such action would be supported by the general opinion of the country:—

"The opinion of the country is very settled on this point—that opium eating is not good at all."

Pandit Gopi Nath, assistant manager of three newspapers, and secretary of two bodies of orthodox Hindus, is in favour of prohibition except for medical purposes, and thinks it would be generally approved:—

"It is nonsense to think that because opium is prohibited there will be any riots."

Babu Ganga Prasad Varma, proprietor of two native newspapers at Lucknow, and a member of the Municipal Board, says:—

"It would be a blessing to my city if the Government stops the sale of opium, and strictly orders that none but those who require opium for medical purposes should have it."

"I think the majority of the opium smokers themselves will agree with me."

Rai Goonabhiram Borooah, Bahadur, retired Extra Assistant Commissioner of Assam, thinks it would be desirable to prohibit the use of opium except for medical purposes:—

"All but opium sellers and opium eaters will be in favour of it. Even they would like it because their children would be saved."

Gobind Ram Chowdry, Tahsildar, Assam, says:—

"I wish it could be prohibited except for medical purposes."

"The great majority, not being opium consumers, would certainly support it. There is nothing to fear from the natives of the country in regard to prohibition."

Mr. Kali Sankur Sukul, M.A., Professor in the City College, and Rector of the City Collegiate School, says:—

"The sale of opium, except for medical purposes, should be stopped."

"Undoubtedly public opinion would favour the total prohibition of opium, except for medical purposes, especially if the country were assured that no other taxation would follow."

See also 9932-3, 13,389, 15,009-10, 15,626-9, 18,261-2, 27,843-4, 11,692-3, 10,504-5, 4583, 16,569-76, 4298, 8021-2, 8342, 18,033-36, 19,733, 24,301, 8646-51, 9053-4, 9467-8, 11,449, 23,457, 24,335-6, 26,518, 26,587, and nearly a hundred others.

NOTE W. to par. 39.—FURTHER EVIDENCE AS TO OPIUM-SMOKING.

Mr. G. M. Ogilvie, Second Financial Commissioner for the Punjab, said in reference to smoking:—

"This use of opium is generally reprobated. It is not practised by the peasantry, and is, I believe, generally confined to the vicious classes of the population."

He added an opinion that in consequence of the discontinuance in the Punjab of licensing the sale of chandu and madak, the practice of smoking is rapidly decreasing in that province.

Mr. T. Stoker, Commissioner of Excise for the North-west Provinces and Oudh, says:—

"I have nothing to say in favour of opium smoking."

"Speaking of these provinces, I regard it as a low and vicious habit, practised, broadly speaking, by low or by vicious people. It would be unreasonable to say that any physical or moral deterioration which may have been observed in opium smokers is necessarily due altogether to that particular practice and not to other demoralising habits and associations or physical infirmities. But in these parts people who pursue the habit do in my opinion often or generally suffer from it or its surroundings. The policy of the Government of the North-Western Provinces has always been directed to repress and check the practice and has been attended with success."

Surgeon-Major T. R. Mulroney, M.D., civil surgeon at Amritsar, referring to that district, says:—

"The class of opium smokers is very limited. Four years ago the opium-smoking shops were closed by order of the Government, and since then opium-smoking has apparently decreased; it is confined to a very few, generally a disreputable, debauched, and depraved lot."

Numerous native witnesses, some holding important official positions, gave similar evidence, particularly Mr. K. G. Gupta, Excise Commissioner of Bengal, who said:—

"The effects of chandu and madak smoking are, however, distinctly harmful in the case of Indians, specially when they are unable to obtain nourishing food. Opium eating is not looked down upon, nor does it cause loss of respectability. But smoking chandu or madak is regarded as a degrading habit. The chandu or madak smoker is usually known by his appearance, and he is also generally believed to have deteriorated in many respects. I think the effects of madak or chandu smoking in this country cannot well be concealed."

NOTE X. to par. 48.—OPIUM REVENUE.

According to the figures in App. VIII. the average of the net opium revenue for the four years ending 1892-3 was Rs. 7,299,249.

The Budget Estimate for 1893-4 was Rs. 5,967,104.

According to the "Financial Statement," the Budget Estimate for 1894-5 is Rs. 4,138,200, to which must be added the net revenue from excise, which for the average of the five years ending 1893-4 was

making a total of Rs. 5,123,329

which taking the rupee at 1s. 1d. gives 2,775,136l.

NOTE Y. to par. 32.—MEDICAL EVIDENCE AGAINST THE NEW THEORY THAT OPIUM IS A PROPHYLACTIC AGAINST FEVER.

A new theory—never heard of,—

4317; 4710; 8824-36; 10,617; 10,684; 11,851-69; 15,868; 16,168; 16,665; 19,378-80; 24,173.

Not used or recommended,—

3619; 4070; 4174-6; 8828; 12,476; 12,585; 12,633-4; 12,695; 13,337; 16,876; 17,275-7; 17,508; 24,777.

Not prescribed, even by pro-opiumists,—

3574; 11,895-6; 16,879-81; 19,258; 19,407; 21,459-60; 24,675; 25,383.

Prophylactic properties denied,—

4710; 5837; 16,167; 16,558; 16,902; 17,152; 17,772-6; 19,203; 25,308.

Not known or used by the natives as a preventive,—

4277-80; 5836; 17,173; 19,406; 21,177-8; 25,361; 25,727; 25,861; 25,967; 26,041.

NOTE Z. to par. 50.

Osgathorpe Hills, Sheffield,
January 21, 1895.

DEAR LORD BRASSEY,
I HAVE carefully considered your letters of the 2nd and 7th instant, the latter enclosing a copy of your letter to Sir James Lyall of the same date.

In the former of these letters you point out that if I am unable to agree with you and the majority, it will be "unprofitable to enter into a prolonged discussion," and that it will become my duty to state my own views in a dissentient report. You add that in the report which you will submit you "do not suppose that there will be found much room for amendment," and that "taking this view" you "do not anticipate that our further deliberations round the table need occupy many days."

In your letter to Sir James Lyall you "strongly insist that the completion of our work has become of extreme urgency," and you say that "having received two communications from the Secretary of State within the last few days, I feel that my duty calls for some decided course of action. I do not believe that long discussion round the table will be necessary or desirable." * * * "I shall in any case relieve the Commission from further collective work on the 26th."

Believing that full examination and consideration was the usual course, I was prepared to give all the time needful for the purpose. But as the majority of the Commission will probably be guided by your wishes in the matter, that course appears to be precluded.

Under these circumstances, it would not be right for me to attempt to discuss a few statements or

arguments here and there in the Majority Report; for were I to do so, it would convey the impression that I was satisfied with whatever I did not challenge, and might be open to other objections. I must therefore confine myself, as you suggest, to a statement of my own views, some of which, I believe, are in accordance with those of Mr. Pease.

Entirely apart, however, from the considerations already referred to, I think it right to point out that in your letter to Sir James Lyall, you advise "personal revision of the draft as now being circulated on the part of each member of the Commission," adding that you would go "carefully through each revise and endeavour to incorporate all suggestions which do not conflict with the main conclusions."

Four new portions or chapters, apparently intended to form part of the report, have been circulated within the last few days; a further chapter has come to hand this morning, and at least three or four portions or chapters have yet to be supplied.

As we are to meet the day after to-morrow, it is impossible that your wish as to revision by each member, and the incorporation of suggestions, can now be carried out; and it cannot be right or proper that the Commission should adopt, as its own, any chapters or documents which its members have not had adequate means and opportunity to consider and approve.

I remain,

Dear Lord Brassey,
Yours faithfully,
HENRY J. WILSON.

The Right Hon. Lord Brassey, K.C.B.,
Chairman Royal Commission on Opium.

C.—APPENDIX TO MR. H. J. WILSON'S DISSENT.

MEMORANDUM ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE AUTHORITIES IN INDIA.

1. While in India I was obliged to express disapproval of the action of the Government of India, and of various officials, in relation to the Commission. As the after proceedings did not remove but strengthened this objection, it is due to the Commission and myself to place the main grounds of this objection on record.

In doing so I readily acknowledge the difficult position of the Indian authorities. Rightly or wrongly, they appeared to hold in the main that the good government of India is bound up with the Opium Revenue. The difficulties arose from assuming an impartiality on the part of the Indian authorities which could not be, and was not, continuously enforced.

2. Some of the circumstances to which I am about to refer were stated in a letter addressed by me to Lord Brassey while we were in India, but the consideration given to them appeared to me inadequate. I have here omitted some and added others.

3. On the 18th November 1893 it transpired that a telegram had been sent from the Government of India to the Secretary of State on the 15th August, containing the following passage:—"We shall be prepared to suggest non-official witnesses, who will give independent evidence, but we cannot undertake to specially search for witnesses who will give evidence against opium. We presume this will be done by the Anti-Opium Society." As anti-opium evidence was easily available, without any special search, this official statement seemed to show that the authorities were taking up a partisan attitude.

4. Two days later a letter from Lord Lansdowne, then Viceroy of India, to Lord Brassey, Chairman of the Commission, was passed round to the members for perusal. It contained a statement in favour of the existing opium system, and against interference with that system as likely to lead to serious trouble. This appeared to me a departure from the judicial attitude which might have been expected from Her Majesty's Representative.

5. The Government of Madras was not allowed to present its own case to the Commission, but was instructed by the Government of India (13th December 1893) to send to Calcutta abstracts of evidence of proposed witnesses. A letter of similar purport was addressed on the same day to the Resident at Hyderabad with regard to the evidence of other witnesses. Similar instructions were given to the Government of the North-West Provinces. I submit that this requirement was distinctly detrimental to the free expression of opinion and unprecedented in the history of Royal Commissions.

6. An official letter was sent [30th December 1893] from the Government of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, to all Commissioners of Divisions, and other officials in these provinces, calling attention to the fact that some officials had "communicated direct with the Secretary of the Commission, submitting to that officer abstracts of the evidence," and pointing out "that there is no authority for this procedure, and that all communications should be addressed to this Government." Here, again, the authorities seemed determined that no evidence should be submitted to the Commission which had not been subjected to official scrutiny in high quarters. Moreover, this circular was not communicated to officials alone, but even to non-official persons who were intending, and were considered qualified, to give evidence on the subject of the inquiry.

7. At Benares Mr. Isan Chandra Roy, M.B., stated that he had been officially invited to be a witness and to furnish an abstract of his intended evidence. After he forwarded his statement, he was informed by official letter, in which no reason was assigned, that his evidence was not required. The fact that he entertained anti-opium opinions was subsequently proved by his volunteered evidence before the Commission. Other proposed witnesses at Benares were similarly treated.

8. At Bankipur, a list of witnesses intended to be called on the 3rd January was supplied to me. It included the name of Rai Bahadur Jai Prakash Lal, C.I.E., Dewan of Dumraon. This gentleman represents a large estate in which poppy is extensively cultivated. He was not called. Information

from two sources led me to believe that his evidence would not have been altogether favourable to the Government. The official version of this circumstance will be found in Vol. V., p. 355, paragraphs 4 to 10, and as I have commented on it in the Appendix to my dissent from the Report of the majority of the Commission, I will only add a strong expression of my opinion that as the Dewan was not called on the 3rd January, the Commission ought to have been informed that he was present on the 6th January. The withholding of that information was not creditable to those concerned.

9. At Lucknow 24 witnesses were called at the instance of the Government, 23 of whom gave evidence generally favourable to the Government case. Thinking that a different kind of evidence might have been omitted, Mr. R. M. Dane, who accompanied the Commission to manage the case on behalf of the Government of India, was, at my request, asked by Lord Brassey to put in the list of persons who had been asked by the authorities to give evidence at Lucknow, together with such abstracts of their evidence as had not already been produced. I thought the Commission was entitled to know the method that had been followed in making the selection of witnesses, and that the original list of witnesses, with the marks and notes upon it, would throw light on the subject. The list was not produced. It was stated that the names of Lucknow witnesses were included in the general list of all the witnesses for the North-West Provinces and Oudh, but that circumstance seems quite irrelevant, and an altogether insufficient reason. However, the names of 17 rejected witnesses extracted from the list were supplied, together with the abstracts of evidence of 16—four of whom seem to entertain anti-opium views, and four others make some strong observations against the use of opium. I would draw particular attention to the fact that two of these gentlemen, namely, Mr. P. Wyndham, C.S., Assistant Commissioner and Excise Officer, Sultanpur, and Mirza Muhammad Beg, Deputy Collector of Basti, make the important statement that in their opinion revenue and rents derived from land would not be sensibly affected by the prohibition of poppy cultivation.

10. At Bombay another instance of the anxiety of the authorities to prevent the free communication of information on the opium question was brought to light by the Rev. A. W. Frautich. An official circular had been issued desiring that information applied for by Mr. Ernest Hart, Chairman of the British Medical Association, should not be replied to, on the ground that "to reply to such applications might prove embarrassing."

11. I learned at Bankipur, that the police at Gya had been searching out the movements of two of my friends and myself for the purpose of ascertaining with what persons we had had communication. As this matter formed the subject of protest on my part before the Commission, I need only refer to the Minutes of Evidence. I do not know whether on any other occasion we were similarly tracked.

12. Perhaps the most notable instance of the Government method of preparing for the fair and honest inquiry expected in England will be found in the correspondence relating to the Native States of Rajputana. On the 9th September 1893, the Government of India directed the agent of the Governor-General in Rajputana to invite the durbars of the Native States to appoint witnesses to give evidence before the Commission, and also to nominate a British officer to give evidence as to those States. An abstract of his evidence was, as in other cases, to be forwarded to the Government of India. Accordingly, on the 22nd September, the agent, Colonel G. H. Trevor, sent out a circular "to all political officers in Rajputana," desiring that the durbars [courts] of the Native States should be invited to nominate witnesses, and requesting the British officers addressed to furnish information and statistics. On the 5th October, Lieut.-Colonel Abbott was appointed to give evidence himself, as well as to produce the witnesses, and arrange the evidence from the Native States—the request for a draft of his evidence being again repeated by the Government of India. Colonel Abbott then prepared a note on opium, which will repay careful perusal. He indicated the principal heads of evidence, and, among other things, suggested "that some stalwart Sondhia, Mewati, and Rajput lumberdars and patels should be among the witnesses selected." He made numerous other suggestions as to

Vol. V.,
p. 368.

Vol. V.,
p. 362.

Vol. V.,
p. 368 and
p. 371.

Vol. V.,
p. 373.

Vol. V.,
p. 370.

III., 13, 166.

Vol. IV.,
p. 373.

Vol. III.,
pp. 10, 24, 25.

Vol. IV.,
p. 364.

Vol. IV.,
p. 385.

matters of detail entirely in favour of the existing state of things, and without any provision for ascertaining and proving any matters of an adverse character, either of fact or of opinion. He advised that the witnesses "should reach Ajmere a week in advance" of the Commission, and supplied the reason, namely, "that I may become acquainted with all, and see if each one understands on what points he is required to give evidence." He also made careful suggestions for preparing ample claims for compensation. On the 29th November "all political officers" were again addressed on the subject as follows:—"Mr. R. M. Dane, C.S., the officer selected by the Government of India to advise local administrations in the matter of preparing for the inquiry to be held by the Opium Commission, has had an opportunity of seeing the previous correspondence on that subject in this office, and has pointed out that the great importance of the inquiry . . . has apparently not been fully appreciated . . . that Rajputana is vitally interested in the inquiry," and that "there should be no lack of evidence, both official and non-official, to prove before the Commission the full extent of their rights and interests in opium." The suggestion was repeated that witnesses were, if practicable, to be "ready in Ajmere about a week in advance of the Commission's arrival there." Taken altogether, this correspondence, is, in my opinion, as one-sided as the instructions in a brief in a partisan cause, and the evidence, which in accordance with these suggestions, was prepared and put before the Commission at Ajmere, was of an unusually partial and one-sided character.

13. The instances I have given as to the action of the authorities appear to me inconsistent with any real desire on their part that the whole of the facts should come in a perfectly unbiassed manner before the world. Whatever the Government of India intended by their determination not to seek for evidence of an anti-opium

character, its action was likely to be understood, and was undoubtedly understood, to mean that pro-opium evidence was to be sought for, and anti-opium evidence was not. See Par. 4.

14. Lord Brassey himself had early recognised the true position of the Government, as is clear from his statement to Mr. Alexander, the secretary of the Anti-Opium Society, at the close of his evidence before the Commission:—"We all appreciate that in the encounter in which you are engaged with the Government of India upon its own ground you are placed in circumstances of no ordinary difficulty."

15. My contention on this subject is, that having regard to the nature of British authority in India and to the moral timidity of many residents in India, both Native and European, it was the duty of the Government, in the presentation of evidence to be adduced before the Commission, to have publicly assured the people generally that no harm would come to them by giving free expression to their views, however opposed such views might be to the interests of the Revenue, or the known predilection of English officials. In fact it should have given practical effect to Mr. Westland's message read by the Chairman at the commencement of the proceedings on the 27th December:—"The Government, however, will not reply to such evidence [that is anti-opium evidence] as a defendant, but will merely pursue their course of enabling the Commission to fully ascertain the actual facts."

16. In view of the various incidents which came to my knowledge, and some of which are here set forth, I am driven to the conclusion that the authorities in India have not pursued their declared "course of enabling the Commission to fully ascertain the actual facts."

HENRY J. WILSON.

MEMORANDUM V.

TELEGRAM.*

Private.]

From HEWETT to BAINES.
(Simla) (London)

MAHARAJA DARBHANGA telegraphs eighth:—

"Kindly telegraph Lord Brassey following summary of my Note:—

"First, the opium trade with China should not be suppressed unless China specially asks for suppression. Otherwise it only means sacrifice of a large revenue, fresh taxation, and probably great discontent, without any benefit to any class of people. The Chinese Government, and not we, are the best judges of the evils and benefits of opium in China.

"Second, non-medical use of opium has not been proved an unmixed evil. It is largely used as a harmless stimulant, and people should not in such case be deprived of its use. Local Governments and local bodies like the district boards should, however, be empowered to put on necessary restrictions in localities where opium-smoking and opium-eating becomes an abuse.

"Third, the Benares system of direct dealing with ryots should be introduced in Behar, and the price paid to the ryots should be raised in proportion to rise in wages and price of food.

"Fourth, any sudden interference with opium policy of Native States, like Indore, is injudicious, and likely to interfere with their financial equilibrium."

* Received at 4.45 p.m. on 9th April.

MEMORANDUM VI.

ON THE COURSE OF THE MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND AGAINST THE OPIUM TRADE, WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ACTION TAKEN IN CONNEXION WITH IT IN PARLIAMENT

BY THE SECRETARY.

For many years before the movement against the opium trade between India and China assumed a definite shape, objections had been raised by individuals to the traffic on the grounds of the injury caused by the use of the drug to the population of the latter country. The question was made the subject of special inquiry by the Select Committees of the Houses of Parliament which reported between 1830 and 1832 on the general trade relations of China with both India and the United Kingdom. In arriving at a decision, the House of Commons was apparently influenced by two main considerations; first, that the trade, though contraband in name, was conducted with the full connivance and aid of the Chinese authorities, and, secondly, that in the financial circumstances of India, the revenue derived from this branch of exports could not be abandoned without seriously impeding the development of the country.

2. When the events of 1839-40 came before Parliament in the latter year, the opium question, though mentioned in the Resolution moved in the House of Commons by Sir James Graham, was not placed in the van of the attack, nor was it more than casually mentioned by most of the leading members who took part in the discussion, and who were, presumably, acquainted with the circumstances in which the trade had come under the consideration of the House seven years before. A Motion specifically condemnatory of the traffic in the drug had apparently been contemplated by Lord Sandon and Sir George Staunton, but it was not brought forward, as it seems from the speech of Sir Robert Peel on the occasion, that it was considered desirable to conduct the attack on the Government on other lines. The Resolution, as moved, ran as follows:—

"It appears to this House, on consideration of the papers relating to China, presented to this House by command of Her Majesty, that the interruption in our commercial and friendly intercourse with that country, and the hostilities which have since taken place, are mainly to be attributed to the want of foresight and precaution on the part of Her Majesty's present advisers in respect to our relations with China, and especially to their neglect to furnish the Superintendent at Canton with powers and instructions calculated to provide against the growing evils connected with the contraband traffic in opium, and adapted to the novel and difficult situation in which the Superintendent was placed."

The wording of the Resolution and the course of the Debate which followed shows clearly that the point of attack was not the cause or conduct of the war, but the attitude of the Government, or, more correctly, of an individual Minister, in connexion with the transactions at Canton which preceded the outbreak of hostilities. In the division which took place on the Motion, the Government of the day vindicated the reputation of Lord Palmerston by the narrow majority of nine, in a House of 533 members.

3. About a month afterwards Lord Stanhope presented a petition from a meeting recently held in London, denouncing the opium trade and deprecating the war with China. The Earl of Rosebery drew attention to the language used, and to the fact that it has been resolved that the terms of the petition should be translated into Chinese and presented to the Emperor of China through Commissioner Lin, the leader of the hostilities against the British in Canton. Lord Stanhope thereupon announced his intention of bringing the question of the continuation of the opium trade between India and China directly before the House of Lords; and a few days later moved—

"That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, to express to Her Majesty the deep concern of this House in learning that an interruption has occurred in the friendly relations and commercial intercourse which has so long subsisted with the Chinese Empire; and to represent to Her Majesty that these calamities have, in the opinion of this House, been occasioned by British subjects having persevered in taking opium to China in direct and known violation of the laws of that Empire; and to request that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to take immediate measures for the prevention of such proceedings, which are so dishonourable to the character and so detrimental to the interests of Her subjects, and to assure Her Majesty that if any additional powers should be found requisite for the purpose, this House will readily concur in granting them to Her Majesty."

The Motion was opposed by Lord Melbourne as the Head of the Government. The Duke of Wellington, as Leader of the Opposition, moved the previous Question, which was carried without a Division.

4. In 1843 the opium question was brought directly before the House of Commons by Lord Shaftesbury, who, as Lord Ashley, laid on the table petitions from the

London, the Baptist, and the Wesleyan Missionary Societies in China on the subject, and moved the following Resolution:—

"That it is the opinion of this House that the continuance of the trade in opium and the monopoly of its growth in the territories of British India is destructive of all relations of amity between England and China, injurious to the manufacturing interests of the country by the very serious diminution of legitimate commerce, and utterly inconsistent with the honour and duties of a Christian kingdom; and that steps be taken as soon as possible, with due regard to the rights of Government and individuals, to abolish the evil."

The Head of the Government, Sir R. Peel, pointed out that the adoption of such a Resolution would have material effect upon negotiations then in progress between the two countries, and on this consideration the Mover withdrew his proposition.

5. The question, though occasionally the subject of questions to Ministers, was not again formally debated in Parliament till 1870. It was casually brought into the debate of 1857, regarding the second war with China, but as it was recognised that opium had nothing to do with the rupture on that occasion, the issue was narrowed, at least professedly, to the conduct of the British Agent at Canton in precipitating a conflict which, as in the case of 1839-40, could not be avoided in the circumstances created by the attitude assumed by the Chinese authorities relative to their Treaty engagements.

6. It is obvious from the line taken by most of the speakers, as well as from the political history of the time, that, just as in 1840, the particular subject of debate was little more than a convenient cover for a parliamentary attack upon the general foreign policy of the Government of the day or, rather, of its chief representative. As it appears that the war of 1856-58 has been on several occasions quoted as the "second opium war" by a responsible statesman as well as by some of the leaders of the movement against the opium traffic, it is well to give the Resolution moved by Mr. Cobden on this occasion:—

"That this House has heard with concern of the conflicts which have occurred between the English and Chinese authorities in the Canton River; and, without expressing an opinion as to the extent to which the Government of China may have afforded this country cause of complaint respecting the non-fulfilment of the Treaty of 1842, this House considers that the papers which have been laid upon the table fail to establish satisfactory grounds for the violent measures resorted to at Canton in the late affair of the *Arrow*.
"That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the state of our commercial relations with China."

This was carried by a majority of 16 in a House of 510 Members. Lord Palmerston appealed to the country, which responded by returning him to power with an increased majority.

7. Shortly after the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown, suggestions were made by Sir R. Hamilton and Sir W. Muir for replacing the Bengal, or monopoly system, by that of Malwa, so that the revenue from opium might be levied by a duty on export. A few years later the same proposal was brought forward by Sir C. Trevelyan, Financial Member of the Governor-General's Council, and it was renewed by Sir W. Muir when he occupied that office in 1868. In an Appendix to the Proceedings of this Commission is given a general abstract of these propositions, with the correspondence to which they gave rise.

8. It may be noted that throughout, the fiscal side of the question is ever in the van, and, whatever might be the change suggested, it was always assumed that the financial results would be at least as favourable as those under the system it was proposed to displace, and in some instances it was anticipated that they would be even more lucrative than the latter. Sir C. Trevelyan considered that an expansion of trade would follow the substitution of sound commercial interests for a State monopoly. Sir R. Hamilton held that the revenue was likely to rise in consequence of throwing open the cultivation of the poppy freely and without restriction to any landholder who chose to engage in it. Sir W. Muir proposed to retain the system of licensing cultivation and manufacture, but he thought that the private manufacturer would be able to obtain from the cultivator the whole of the produce, instead of the portion, which, under the monopoly he considered, alone reached the State storehouse. It appears to have been assumed, too, by all who advocated the change, that China must have opium, and could not grow it at home; so that, as Sir W. Muir put it, by the adoption of a uniform system and rate of taxation, the Government of India would have the China market far more under its control than before, because "the pass duty for all India " would regulate the prices which the Chinese will always be prepared to give for a commodity they cannot do without, and which, practically, India alone can supply."

This assumption, so far as the position of India in the opium market is concerned, has long since proved untenable. On the moral side of the question, where it is brought forward, both Sir R. Hamilton and Sir W. Muir confined themselves to the advantage of removing the stigma which they mention as being attached by some, to the direct connexion of the State with the production and sale of opium, and which would disappear under the plans they respectively suggested. To the trade itself no objection seems to have been raised. It is not necessary to enter into the details of the schemes, as the latter, though in accordance with the earlier views on the subject, are connected with a phase of the general question which has now almost, though not entirely, passed away. The Society now engaged in promoting the movement against opium has informed the Commission, through its Secretary, that Sir W. Muir's scheme has been repudiated by it. So far as their efficacy as a substitute for the Bengal system is concerned, reference should be made to the despatch of Lord Ripon's Government of the 19th of December 1881 in which the subject is exhaustively treated.

9. In 1869 the subject was brought to notice in the House of Commons during the discussion on the Indian accounts, and those who advocated the abandonment of the revenue from opium were challenged by a private member (Mr. Denison) to bring the question fairly before the House on a definite issue. Next year, accordingly, Sir Wilfred Lawson moved—

"That this House condemns the system by which a large portion of the Indian revenue is raised from opium."

The Motion was opposed by the Government of the day, Mr. Gladstone observing that the question was one that should be dealt with, not by abstract Resolution, but by Bill, in order that the Mover might show that he had thought the matter out, and give the House some means of judging whether the measures he proposed were adapted and well proportioned to his ends.

On a Division in a House of 196, the Motion was lost by a majority of 104.

10. The autumn of 1874 saw the foundation of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, which has been mentioned more than once in the course of our Report. Its first President was the late Earl of Shaftesbury, who was succeeded by Sir Joseph Pease. According to the evidence given before the Commission by Mr. J. G. Alexander, its present Secretary, the Society, has at various times advocated or supported different measures in furtherance of the object for which it was established. In its early years its action appears to have been directed mainly against the military and diplomatic influence under which it considered that the admission of Indian opium into China was maintained. Whilst, therefore, the Chefoo Convention was under consideration, the Society was strenuous in its endeavour to secure the ratification of that Agreement. Regarding the general question, the following shades of opinion have been from time to time countenanced by the Society:—

- (a.) The abandonment of the monopoly in Bengal, in order that the trade might pass from the hands of the Government into those of private traders, leaving the former free to regulate and repress the operations.
- (b.) Gradual suppression of the trade, with the co-operation, if obtainable, of the Chinese Government.
- (c.) Immediate and total suppression of the production and sale of opium in India except for medical purposes.

11. In the middle of the year following the organisation of the above Society Sir Mark Stewart called the attention of the House of Commons to certain evidence given before the Indian Finance Committee of the preceding year, and moved:—

"That this House is of opinion that the Imperial policy regulating the opium traffic between England and China should be carefully considered by Her Majesty's Government, with a view to the gradual withdrawal of the Government of India from the cultivation and manufacture of opium."

A House of 151 Members divided on the Motion, which was negatived by a majority of 37.

12. In June 1880, Sir Joseph Pease re-introduced the subject on the question of the House going into Committee of Supply.

The Motion proposed was as follows:—

"That this House is of opinion that Her Majesty's Government, whilst asking admission into China for all exports from Great Britain, India, and British Possessions on the terms granted to the most favoured nation,

Hansard, Vol. 68, p. 386.
Vol. 225, pp. 584, 596.
Vol. 232, pp. 1245, 1280.
Vol. 305, p. 288.
Debates, XIV., p. 603.
Friend of China, xi. p. 290.
I., 475.
II., p. 378, and Return, C. 3378 of 1882.
Hansard, 198, p. 1352.
Hansard, 201, p. 480.

I., 168.
II., 247-8.
I., 2, 112, 461.

I., 147.
Hansard, 225, p. 617;
260, p. 764;
335, p. 1143.
345, p. 278.

June 1875.
Hansard, 225, p. 571.

Hansard, 252, p. 1227.

should not, in carrying out existing, or negotiating new, Treaties, insist upon terms facilitating the introduction of opium, which the Government of China is unwilling to grant; and this House is also of opinion that Her Majesty's Government should encourage the Government of India to take steps for their gradual withdrawal from participation in the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of opium, and dependence upon a revenue derived from its cultivation and transit."

As an Amendment to the Question had already been moved and negatived, no further Amendment could be proposed. Sir Charles Cameron, therefore, moved the adjournment of the Debate, but after some further discussion, the Motion was withdrawn.

April 1881. Hansard, 260, p. 764. 13. In 1881, too, a lengthy exposition of the main views of the Society was given by Sir Joseph Pease, though, for the same reason as in the preceding year, no Division on the Amendment could be taken.

It was apparently this discussion which gave rise to the despatch on the subject of opium by the Secretary of State, answered by the Government of India in the following December, as was mentioned above.

October, 1881. 14. In the autumn of the same year a meeting was convened at the Mansion House, on the invitation of the Lord Mayor of London, who was one of the leading members of the Anti-Opium Society, at which the following Resolutions were adopted.

"That in the opinion of this meeting:—

(1.) The opium trade as now carried on between India and China is opposed alike to Christian and International morality and to the commercial interests of this country.

(2.) It is the duty of this country not only to put an end to the opium trade as now conducted, but to withdraw all encouragement from the growth of the poppy in India except for strictly medical purposes, and to support the Chinese Government in its efforts to suppress the traffic.

(3.) It will be the duty of this country to give such aid to the Government of India as may be found reasonable, in order to lessen the inconvenience resulting to its finances from the adoption of the policy advocated in the previous resolutions.

(4.) The results of the sale of opium in British Burma are a disgrace to our Government of India, and demand the most thorough and immediate remedy."

It was also resolved that a deputation from the meeting should be appointed to lay the above resolutions before the head of Her Majesty's Government, and press upon him the duty of adopting the policy therein approved. An influentially signed memorial on the lines above laid down was presented to Mr. Gladstone, the purport of which it is worth while to mention here, as it is declaratory of the then views and objects of the Society under whose auspices the meeting in question was held.

L, Q. 479. 15. It is superfluous to refer to the views set forth in the memorial in respect to the Chinese trade, since they were based, as Mr. Alexander has stated, on the anxiety of the Society to secure the ratification of the Chefoo Convention, and dealt, accordingly, with a phase of the question which passed away in 1885. As to Burma, the memorialists gave their grounds for considering as inadequate the measures taken in respect to the sale of opium. Referring to the taxation of opium by the Government of India, they contradicted the statement sometimes made that under the present system of administration the consumption of opium is held in check, and asserted that it was in the power of the Government to put an immediate stop to the cultivation of the poppy within British territory, if not in the Protected States also. They altogether repudiated the suggestion that had been made that the Government might continue to raise revenue from opium whilst ceasing itself to manufacture and deal in the drug, because, so long as the trade was allowed to continue, whether the Government were directly or only indirectly concerned, the Chinese Government would consider themselves debarred by external pressure from taking effective means to put an end to the consumption of opium in that country. For these reasons the memorialists were not prepared to accept any half measures, but demanded the extinction of the trade as a whole, and the prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy, except in so far as its produce was necessary for medicinal use.

Hansard, 277, p. 1633. 16. Sir Joseph Pease in April 1883 moved in the House of Commons:—

"That an address be presented to Her Majesty praying that in all the negotiations between Her Majesty's Government and China, having reference to the duties levied on opium under the Treaty of Tien-tsin, Her Majesty's Government will be pleased to intimate to the Chinese Government that in any revision of that Treaty, or in any other negotiations on the subject of opium, the Government of China would be met as that of an independent State, having full right to arrange its own import duties."

In a House of 192 members, the Motion was opposed by 126, and was therefore lost.

17. On the conclusion, in July 1885, of the Chefoo Convention between England and China, the dissolution of the Society was discussed, but it was decided to continue its

work on a revised basis, which was explained in a "Statement of facts and principles," issued early in 1886. Whilst admitting that the conclusion of the above Convention terminated what it considered to have been a system of coercion, the Society pointed out that the question could not be allowed to rest. In the altered position of affairs it was considered necessary to adopt a different policy in opposing the opium trade. The attack, accordingly, was no longer directed against the British Government for encouraging importation into China, but against the Government patronage and promotion of production and sale at the sources of the trade in India. The Society, it stated, saw an opportunity, of which advantage was to be taken, to remind the Government of China of the responsibility now resting upon it in respect of the adoption and enforcement of measures to stop the spread of the consumption of opium, whilst the British Government was being urged to restrict and ultimately to suppress the exportation of the drug from India. As regards the production and the export sales of opium in the latter country, the Society protested against the direct connexion of the State with both classes of transactions, whilst strenuously opposing the transfer of the trade to private hands. The measure suggested was to discontinue the issue of licences for growing poppy, leaving for further consideration the arrangements for stopping the cultivation of that plant in Protected States and for discontinuing the duty on opium exported from those States after the production had ceased in British territory. It was recognised that the former step would tend to stop the use of opium in British India, a result, which though only mentioned casually and not as one of the main objects in view, would be welcomed, it was stated, by the Society.

18. In pursuance of the policy above described, Sir Joseph Pease moved in the House of Commons on May 4th, 1886:—

"That in the opinion of this House, it is expedient that the Indian Government should take measures to terminate gradually its direct connexion with the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture and trade in opium, and that it should use the power it possesses to prohibit in British India the cultivation of the poppy, except to supply the legitimate demand of opium for medical purposes."

The discussion ended in a count out.

19. No further action was taken in Parliament in this matter till May 1889, when, on the Motion being made "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the chair," Mr. Samuel Smith called the attention of the House of Commons to the opium trade between India and China, and moved, in the form usual on such occasions, to substitute the following words:—

"This House views with deep regret the history of our opium policy towards China, and regards the traffic in that drug as repugnant to the true interests of that country. It calls upon the Government of India to take steps looking to the final extinction of the trade, and urges upon Her Majesty's Government to intimate to the Chinese Government that in the next revision of the Treaty of Tien-tsin full power will be given to extinguish the trade in opium if it thinks fit."

A Division was taken on the question "That the words proposed to be left out 'stand part of the question'; the result being that of 253 members voting, 165 were in favour and 88 against. The Motion was therefore lost by a majority of 77.

20. In the beginning of the following year, the first opportunity occurred for the Chinese Government to terminate the arrangements regarding imported opium which had been made in 1885. No step in this direction, however, was taken by them, nor was any indication given of any intention of moving in the matter.* The attention of the Society for the suppression of the trade was therefore transferred to the use of opium in India. It was stated that the Government of India was recouping its loss of opium revenue, due to Chinese home competition, by extending the sale of the drug in India, and in pursuance of resolutions passed at the annual meeting of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, a memorial was presented to Viscount Cross, then Secretary of State for India, to the effect that the Society had received during the past two years information tending to show that in various parts of India the habit of smoking opium and preparations from it was on the increase, and that houses licensed in some towns by the Government for smoking such drugs on the premises were causes of great demoralization. The memorialists pressed for the imposition in India of restrictions on the sale of opium such as are placed in the United Kingdom, under the Pharmacy Act of 1868, and for the prohibition of all shops for the sale of opium and preparations from it to be consumed on the premises. They also urged the authorities to prohibit the licensing of opium shops in Upper Burma, and to reduce and ultimately extinguish such shops in the lower division of that Province.

* Hansard, Vol. 335, pp. 1152-3, 1158, 1174.

Opium in
India,
C. 6562 of
1892.

21. The memorial, with the voluminous correspondence and statistical tables to which it gave rise, was presented to Parliament in 1892. In connexion with the present subject it is sufficient to mention that the inquiries made by the Government of India resulted in proving that the consumption of the drug was comparatively small; certain minor changes in the regulations then in force had however been found advisable. The licences for opium-smoking saloons, for instance, were not to be renewed on expiration of the current term. The amount of the various preparations of opium for smoking which it was lawful to sell to unlicensed individuals, or which such individuals are allowed to possess at a time, was closely restricted, and the Government of Bombay was requested to put a stop to a practice introduced into that Province, in order to check smuggling, of requiring licensed vendors to sell yearly a guaranteed minimum quantity of taxed opium. As regards Lower Burma, the Government of India expressed their willingness to put aside considerations of loss of revenue from the measure, and to support the proposal of the Chief Commissioner to prohibit the sale of opium and the possession of it by those of Burman race, provided that the necessity and practicability of so stringent a measure were established, and it was made clear that the remedy would not involve evils as great as those that were found to prevail under the existing system.

Despatch
No. 94, 17th
December
1891.
C. 6562 p.
108.

Hansard,
352, p. 285.

The Secretary of State for India communicated his approval of these steps and of the policy of the Government of India in checking and limiting the habit amongst the people of consuming licensed opium, as far as is possible without driving them to smuggling, or to the use of more harmful narcotics.

22. On the 10th of April 1891, before the reply to the above-mentioned memorial had been received, Sir Joseph Pease, on the motion "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," moved to leave out from the word "that" to the end of the question in order to add the words:—

"This House is of opinion that the system by which the Indian opium revenue is raised is morally indefensible, and would urge upon the Indian Government that they should cease to grant licences for the cultivation of the poppy and sale of opium in British India, except to supply the legitimate demand for medical purposes, and that they should at the same time take measures to arrest the transit of Malwa opium through British territory."

After considerable discussion, a Division was taken in a House of 290 members upon the question "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question," which was lost by a majority of 30. The main question was then proposed, and the late Sir Robert Fowler moved an amendment that at the end of the question the words be added:—

"And this House, feeling the pressure of taxation on the people of India, will take steps to reimburse the deficiency so caused to the Indian Government."

The Debate on this Amendment not having been concluded by one o'clock in the morning, the House adjourned without a Division.

Hansard,
352, p. 900.

23. Sir Joseph Pease subsequently explained that, apart from the inconvenience of placing his proposition as a substantive Motion before the House at that time of the Session, even if he were so minded, he would not ballot for the opportunity of so doing, because Sir Robert Fowler's amendment involved the question of handing over money to the Indian Government without a vote of the Crown, and would possibly be ruled out of order. The Question, therefore, was never put, and the Speaker explained that the House had passed no definite decision either on the first Amendment as a substantive Question, or upon the Amendment which was moved as an addition to the substantive Question.

Do. pp. 383-
4.

24. In March 1892 the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade presented a second memorial to the Secretary of State, condemning, in the first place, the opium policy of the Government of India in Burma, and, whilst acknowledging the beneficial tendency of the action taken by that Government since the previous memorial had been presented, urged still further measures to check consumption, pointing out that in the opinion of the Society no sufficient reason had been shown for the difference between the law of India and that of the United Kingdom in respect of the sale of opium.

Vol. I.,
p. 162.
I. Q. 492.

25. A third memorial was presented to the Secretary of State in November of the same year, after the change of Government. This is appended to the first volume of the Commission's Proceedings, as constituting the latest official exposition of the views of the Society. The demand for the stringent restriction of production to the amount required for medicinal use, and for that of the sale to the limits prescribed under the Pharmacy

Act of the United Kingdom, was once more pressed. Instructions to the Government of India were called for to immediately suspend the official sales of opium in Calcutta, the hope was expressed that the system of licensing poppy cultivation in the Punjab would be immediately abolished, and that the measures suggested by Sir A. Mackenzie for controlling the consumption of opium in Burma would be at once brought into operation. The Society also expressed its belief that the people of England would be ready to make up any deficiency which, in the judgment of the responsible Government of the day, might be properly attributed to the withdrawal of the Indian Government from the export trade in opium. At the same time it suggested that in several directions retrenchment should be effected, which would go far towards filling the deficiency in question, whilst it was alleged that the stoppage of the opium exports would probably have the effect of stimulating the export of other produce from India to China, and of steadying exchange by putting an end to the drain of silver from the latter country, besides enabling the Chinese to displace their copper coinage in favour of the more valuable metal.

26. In reply, Lord Kimberley pointed out that, dealing with the question as a practical one, whilst the declaration of Sir J. Fergusson, in the House of Commons in April 1891, made it clear that the British Government would never resort to compulsion to enforce the importation, it was by no means certain that the Government of China were anxious to stop the consumption of opium. Not only was a considerable revenue derived from the drug, but the production of opium in China was reported to have largely increased, and owing to improved methods of preparation, the home-grown article had secured a wider market. Then again, whilst the Government of India had recognised that it was their duty to restrict and regulate the consumption of opium in a manner in which they would not regulate that of a perfectly harmless drug, opinion as to the results of the use of this drug was divided. The strong views of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade were not shared by a very large number of persons, and while the tendency of the policy of the Government of India was towards restriction, they were not prepared to go as far in that direction as the Society no doubt desired. From the financial point of view, those responsible for Indian affairs in England did not see their way to dispense with such a revenue as that derived from opium, nor had the Secretary of State for India the slightest reason to suppose that there would be any disposition on the part of the Treasury to place a heavy burden on the taxpayers of the United Kingdom for the purpose of supplying the deficiency in the resources of India caused by the loss of that revenue. Any proposition to that effect would not be likely to meet with a favourable response. On the subject of the consumption of opium in Burma, authorities seemed to be unanimous that the Burman race was affected by the drug in a manner very different from that in which the Indian population was affected, and, whilst it had been found practicable to restrict the use of the drug to Chinese, Shans, and hill tribes in the Upper division of the Province, it had not then been decided whether the necessary machinery was available in the Lower division to enable the authorities to enforce the same system there, and the inquiries on this point alone delayed the introduction of uniformity in practice throughout. The Secretary of State concluded his reply with a few remarks upon the comparison that might reasonably be drawn between the treatment proposed for opium in India and that adopted in the case of alcoholic drink in the United Kingdom, observing that there are in use in India certain drugs more pernicious in their effects than opium, the consumption of which it was impracticable to stop, and which, if the use of opium were to be effectually prohibited, would probably spread widely through the population.

27. The last Parliamentary discussion of the opium question took place in the House of Commons on the 30th of June, 1893, when Mr. Webb, on the motion for going into Committee of Supply, moved to substitute the following words:—

Debates
XIV., p. 591.

Having regard to the opinion expressed by the Vote of this House on the 10th of April, 1891, that the system by which the Indian opium revenue is raised is morally indefensible, and which urged the Indian Government to give practical effect to that opinion by ceasing to grant licences, and by taking measures to arrest the transit of Malwa opium through British territory; and recognising that the people of India ought not to be called upon to bear the cost involved in this change of policy, and that oppressive taxation, and the stoppage of expenditure necessary for the welfare and progress of the Indian people must be avoided, this House is of opinion that a Royal Commission should be appointed to inquire both in India and in this country, and to report as to:—

(1.) What retrenchments and reforms can be effected in the civil and military expenditure of India;

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- (2.) By what means Indian resources can be best developed ;
 (3.) And what, if any, temporary assistance from the British Exchequer would be required in order to meet any deficit of revenue which would be occasioned by the suppression of the opium traffic.

28. On the suggestion of Mr. Gladstone as Head of the Government, the Motion for going into Supply was negatived without a Division, and the following, which stood in the name of Mr. G. W. Russell, Under Secretary of State for India, was moved by Mr. Gladstone as an Amendment to that above quoted :—

Debates XIV., p. 626. To leave out from the words "having regard to the" to the end of the proposed Amendment, in order to add the words "strong objections urged on moral grounds to the system by which the Indian opium revenue is raised, this House presses on the Government of India to continue their policy of greatly diminishing the cultivation of the poppy and the production and sale of opium, and desires that an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission" [the remainder of the Amendment has been already quoted in full at the beginning of the Report].

p. 634. On the Question being put "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed Amendment," a House of 284 members voted, of whom 105 were in favour of the retention, which was lost, therefore, by 179 votes. The main Question as amended was then put and agreed to, resulting in the appointment of this Commission.

Friend of China, XIV. pp. 109 and 146. This decision, it may be added, was characterised by the Anti-Opium Society as "the greatest and most solid forward step that the movement for the suppression of the opium trade had yet made," whilst the Commission as constituted was "as fair-minded and impartial a tribunal as the Society could have desired to hear its case."

This Memorandum may be appropriately closed by quoting statistics bearing on the question of the varying interest taken by the House of Commons in the Opium Debates :—

Year.	Mover.	Per-centage	
		Of Members voting on the full House.	Of Supporters of the Resolutions on Members voting.
1870	Sir Wilfrid Lawson	29	23
1875	Sir M. Stewart	23	37
1883	Sir J. Pease	29	34
1886	Sir J. Pease	—	—*
1889	Mr. S. Smith	38	36
1891	Sir J. Pease	43	55
1893	Mr. Webb	42	37†

* House counted out.

† This per-centage represents the number voting against Mr. Gladstone's Amendment to Mr. Webb's Motion.

29. *Summary.*—The above sketch serves to show that the object aimed at by those interested in the suppression of the trade has, throughout been the stoppage of the introduction of Indian opium into China. In the early days of the movement, the general assumption was that the whole of the opium which entered that country was directly provided by the Government of India, under the Bengal monopoly, and it was against that system, therefore, that the objections were directed. The place occupied by the Malwa system in the trade was gradually realised, and it was considered that the moral aspect of the situation would be somewhat improved if the identification of the State with the operations were to be abrogated, and the Government were to altogether restrict its connexion with the trade to taxing the opium produced by others, whether in British India or Malwa. On the conclusion of the Treaty of Tientsin, in 1858, the movement took the form of protesting against the admission of opium into China, even on payment of a specially high rate of duty. This concession, it was alleged, had only been made by China under pressure and intimidation exercised by Great Britain in virtue of her position, for the time being, of the dominant Power. The conclusion, in 1885, of the revision of the arrangements under the Treaty of 1858, left China entirely master of the situation after the expiration of four years from that date. As the night, it appeared from the speeches of the leaders of the Convention drew England, introducing the Resolution of 1889, that there were grounds for supposing that the Chinese, for some reason or other, would not avail themselves of the opportunity opened to them. The efforts of the Society for the Suppression of the Trade were

accordingly directed towards the prohibition by the British Government of the production of the drug in India, independently of, and without regard to, the possible inaction of the Court of Peking in the matter. Parliament having declined to support the course of action suggested, and several opportunities for revision having been let pass by the Chinese without the manifestation on their part of any desire to denounce the opium arrangements, the direction of the movement was again changed, and the question was next brought before the House of Commons from the standpoint of the great evil that was being caused by the consumption of the drug, not only in China, but in India itself, a matter which up till then, though sometimes casually referred to in the discussions on the general question, had not become the subject of special reprobation or inquiry. This remark does not apply to Burma, because shortly after the Chief Commissioner of that Province had communicated to the Government of India in 1880 the strong views held by himself and local officials of experience as to the injurious effects of the opium habit on the Burman race, those views were adopted by the Anti-Opium Society in England, and were pressed upon the attention of the Secretary of State for India in the memorial presented to him in 1881. The movement entered its present phase in 1890. Though the consumption in India has ever since been placed in the foreground of the case, the course of the Debates of 1891 and 1893, still more the memorials and other representations on the part of the Society for the Suppression of the Trade indicate that the habit as it is alleged to exist in India and the direct connexion of the Government of that country with the production are regarded mainly in connexion with efforts to secure the discontinuance of the exportation of opium from India to China.

July, 1894.

J. A. BAINES,
 Secretary to the Commission.

MEMORANDUM VI.

THE GOVERNMENT POLICY IN REGARD TO THE SUPPLY OF BENGAL OPIUM;

By THE SECRETARY.

1. In the discussion of the opium question considerable prominence has been given to the policy of the Government of India in regard to the cultivation of the poppy in the tracts under the monopoly system. The subject is not one of the issues immediately before the Commission, but a short description has been thought advisable of the course of procedure in respect to this branch of agriculture and the considerations on which it has been regulated by the Government during the last 10 years. By adopting this plan it is possible to explain the discrepancy between the statements made in Parliament and before the Commission, respectively, on this matter.

2. The opium year, from the point of view of the producer, begins in September, when the cultivator enters into the engagement with the departmental official as to the area to be placed under poppy. The seed is sown almost immediately afterwards. The crude opium is collected during the winter and spring, so that by the end of May, or shortly before, the amount of the season's outturn is known to the local agents, and most of it has been delivered at the central factories for manufacture. The crop, it must be mentioned, is unusually precarious. Excessive or deficient rain, just at the time of sowing, spoils the whole prospect of the season, and even at the last moment before ripening a most promising field is not unfrequently utterly wasted by hail, frost, insects, or blight. The disposition of the cultivator, therefore, is a factor in the situation of peculiar importance. After a few unlucky seasons he is discouraged, and holds back for a while from undertaking to grow poppy. On the other hand, a couple of years of good returns creates such an anxiety to obtain a license that the refusal of permission is elevated into a grievance of sufficient moment to be carried before the Supreme Government and even higher authority.

3. This tendency, unfortunately, is apt to run contrary to the policy of the Government in respect to this cultivation. Up to 1875 it was the practice to sell each year the whole, or nearly the whole, of the stock of opium available. Since then the policy has prevailed of selling, as far as possible, the same quantity every year, keeping up a reserve to supplement the deficiency caused by a bad outturn. The market as well as the revenue is thus steadied. The reserve is fixed, as a rule, at one half the amount required for the year's sales, but as the opium is kept a year before issue, the stock of one season fixes the reserve at the end of the calendar year following. A series of good years accordingly, which stimulates the cultivator to extend his operations in poppy, puts the Government beyond the necessity of yielding to his desire, since not only is a larger sum sunk in the advance and payments for the crude drug, but the latter loses in weight, and consequently in value, by remaining more than one season in stock.

4. If, then, we omit the competition of Chinese and Persian opium, and assume that a certain amount of consideration is given to the condition of the Malwa supply, the factors in the case are reduced to three, the amount of opium available for sale from the current season's crop, the state of the reserve, and the area under poppy. The policy above described keeps the first constant. The second bears a fixed proportion to the first, so that the third is left as the only variable. A brief review of the circumstances of the last few years will suffice to show how this policy has been carried out and in what particulars it has been abandoned.

5. The figures given at page 325 of Vol. II. of the Commission's Proceedings indicate that a bad outturn in 1882-83 was followed by a run of good luck almost unprecedented. To save the trouble of reference, the figures for the years in question,

together with those of the sales and reserve stocks from page 346 of the same volume are here reproduced:—

Opium Year (September to August).				Calendar Year.		
Year.	Number of Licenses.	Area cultivated.	Outturn of Crude Opium.	Year.	Amount sold.	Reserve.
		Aeres.	Cwts.		Chests.*	Chests.*
1882-3 -	1,288,922	495,740	52,979	1883 -	54,400	11,625
1883-4 -	1,345,915	505,843	96,801	1884 -	46,698	2,265
1884-5 -	1,379,326	565,246	102,312	1885 -	50,994	18,274
1885-6 -	1,483,863	594,921	92,903	1886 -	54,750	29,205
1886-7 -	1,448,508	562,052	82,258	1887 -	57,000	36,705
1887-8 -	1,408,519	536,607	94,082	1888 -	57,000	37,205
1888-9 -	1,195,767	459,864	51,792	1889 -	57,000	49,705
1889-90 -	1,274,587	482,557	73,305	1890 -	57,000	31,010
1890-1 -	1,306,741	501,719	63,540	1891 -	56,250	18,770
1891-2 -	1,241,211	463,664	53,849	1892 -	48,852	9,292
1892-3 -	1,195,871	454,156	63,702	1893 -	43,704	104†

* Of about 140 lbs. each.

† Approximately.

6. The success of 1883-4 resulted in a large increase of cultivation in the succeeding year, when the Benares agent reported that disappointment had been caused amongst the cultivators owing to his inability to comply in full with all applications for extension of area to be licensed. In 1885-6 the same good fortune was experienced, causing still more pressing demands for extension. It is stated, however, both in the report and in the Government review of it, that in consequence of the stock in hand from the previous good seasons, the Lieutenant-Governor had directed that the area should not be increased.

7. Orders to the same effect were issued as regards the operations in the Benares agency for the season of 1886-7, when it was considered that the existing area might be maintained, as the reserve had not reached the limit at which cultivation might safely be reduced. In the season of 1886-7, the Benares agency showed a smaller outturn owing to the loss of the early sowing. But the popularity of the cultivation enabled the departmental officials to exercise their discretion in selecting men and localities, so that by process of weeding, the operations were concentrated in the most profitable tracts and amongst the best agriculturists.

8. The next year, 1887-8, was remarkable for the success in fulfilling the object of Government, namely, to obtain an increased outturn from a curtailed area. In reviewing the work of the year, the Lieutenant-Governor remarked:—

"The department is to be congratulated on its success in extending the system to which special attention was drawn in last year's resolution, of limiting the area of cultivation and affecting settlements to the greatest advantage by insisting on the judicious selection of the best and most conveniently situated lands, as well as of experienced and successful cultivators only. The extension of cultivation was formerly the object of Government, but a departure was made in the year 1885-6 in consequence of the large stock of opium in hand at the commencement of that season, and orders were then passed with a view to prevent any further increase in production. The change of policy thus initiated has recently been given a still more pronounced turn by the issue of instructions directing a specific reduction of cultivation, a step necessitated by the further accumulation of an excessive reserve both at Calcutta and in the factories. . . . Unremunerative tracts were abandoned, advances refused to unsatisfactory cultivators and bad villages, inferior cultivation in the neighbourhood of large towns closed, and by these means the . . . area was reduced to 427,569 bighas."

9. The instructions mentioned in the above passage are probably those contained in one of the letters from the Government of India to which reference was made before the Commission by the present Secretary in the Financial Department. In their letter No. 4035 of the 23rd July 1888, that Government informed the Government of Bengal that they accepted the proposal that the area under poppy should be reduced to an extent sufficient to provide for an out turn of only 30,000 chests of opium, instead of 57,000. They requested, however, that in giving effect to this policy the following principles should be borne in mind: first, that it was undesirable that any risk should be run of having, for want of stock, to reduce the sales materially below 57,000 chests; and secondly, that in the event of the stock being depleted by a bad year of production, it should not be out of the power of the Government to expand cultivation. The normal quantity of opium to be annually sold under the above policy was fixed at 57,000 chests, with a reserve of 30,000.

10. The area licensed in 1888-89 was materially reduced in accordance with these instructions. In the Behar Agency the reductions were effected merely by the process

Departmental Reports.

Bengal letter No. 925 T.R., dated 5th July 1886.

II. 5160.

of weeding out the less profitable cultivators and by the elimination, as far as possible, of the men who engaged for poor land with the object of securing the advance without sowing more than a fraction of the land specified in the agreement. In the Benares agency the reductions were far more extensive. In the outlying districts to the west, where supervision was difficult and the outturn comparatively small, the cultivation was altogether stopped, and licenses were refused freely in other parts of the agency, where the cultivation was not satisfactory. The operations were thus restricted to the best tracts, yielding the most profitable results. On the whole, the reduction amounted to nearly 20 per cent. of the area sown in the preceding year. This, however, was somewhat below the extent prescribed by the Local Government; but the main object in view, namely, the prevention of a still greater accumulation of stock, was attained, since the outturn of the season was very short, rendering unnecessary the continuance of the policy of reduction.

11. The final results of the year's operations were, in fact, so much below the average, that for the next season, 1889-90, the Government of India, in their letter No. 4093 of the 8th August 1889, sanctioned such an extension of area as would, in an average season, provide the equivalent of 57,000 chests. As it turned out, the Behar cultivator, disheartened by the failure of the preceding season, applied for a somewhat less area than before. In Benares the increase was in nearly the same proportion as the decrease in the area of 1888-9 as compared with that in 1887-8. The outturn, however, was again unsatisfactory in both agencies, though worse in Behar than further west.

Bengal letter
205, T.R., of
14th June
1890.
Bengal
Resolution
1870, of
23rd March
1891.

12. It was considered that with an average season the outturn in the Benares agency would be enough to obviate the need of material extension of area, so for the ensuing year, 1890-1, special extension was sanctioned by the Government of Bengal in Behar only. At the same time, a discretionary power was given to the Benares agent to accept applications for what might be considered the normal expansion of poppy cultivation in the tracts already specified as those best suited to this crop, in order that the cultivation might gradually resume its former limits and bring the reserve up to the prescribed amount. Hail and untimely rain, however, brought the outturn still lower than in the preceding season, so that the question arose whether the amount offered for sale should be reduced or the area licensed be extended.

13. The former alternative was adopted by the Government of India in their letter to the Government of Bengal, No. 2953 of the 13th July 1891, on the grounds that—
“it is not considered safe to assume that the average annual production will be sufficient to provide more than 54,000 chests for sale annually, without taking measures for the extension of cultivation which are not deemed expedient.”

It was pointed out, however, as in the preceding year, that there was no objection to allowing the normal expansion to continue, as the cultivator should be left free to decide for himself whether it is or is not profitable for him to cultivate the poppy on his land in preference to other crops, and where his interests harmonize with those of the Government, no impediment need be placed on his liberty of action.

Bengal
Resolution
940, of 8th
March 1892.

14. The results of the season of 1891-92 were the worst on the 20 years' record. The sudden contraction of the area at a time when the cultivators, at all events in the Benares agency, were most in favour of poppy, together with the failure of the crop four times in succession, disheartened those who were formerly eager to obtain licenses, and the rumour that the Government was likely to prohibit the cultivation altogether, which was current in parts of Behar, helped to keep back applications. The Government of India was obliged to curtail its sales during the last quarter of 1892, and to notify for the following year a lower number of chests than had been sold since 1874, exhausting, even with this reduction, the whole reserve.

Letter
2802a of 6th
July 1892.

15. In order to re-establish the operations on their former basis, the Local Government proposed to license cultivation in 1892-93 up to the previous limit. On this the Government of India sanctioned any increase directly applied for by cultivators, on the understanding that there should be no permanent excess over the average of past years. In Behar the increase was but slight, whilst in the Benares agency the downward course was not stayed. In both, however, the outturn was somewhat better than in 1891-92.

16. It is clear, from the above account of what has taken place during the last ten years, that the object at which the Government of India have consistently aimed is the sale of as nearly as possible the same quantity of opium every year. For several

years in succession the season was so favourable that the stock of opium considerably exceeded the requirements for the above purpose. The attention of the departmental officers was accordingly directed towards the restriction of the supply, a result that could be best obtained by the contraction of the area licensed for the growth of the poppy. The glut was followed, however, by a still longer period of depression, during the first years of which it was the object of the Government to maintain the area at its existing figure in the hope of a full outturn, or else to increase it up to its previous extent, so that, in case of continued bad luck, the requisite outturn could be obtained from a wider surface.

17. This system of regulating the supply placed on the market came however to an end, as has been shown in paragraph 13, at the opening of the season of 1891-92. In spite of the depletion of the reserve and the proposals of the Local Government to adopt the steps that had been customary in previous years, the Government of India then determined to adapt their sales to the changed conditions, and to abandon the attempt to replenish their stock by extending the area licensed for poppy. The reserve was drawn upon to its utmost capacity, so that for the supply in the immediate future the Government were at the mercy of the season.

18. The explanation of this change of system has been given before the Commission by Sir David Barbour, who stated that the fluctuations in area were not due to any definite policy, adding—

“But it is a fact that in very recent years we have rather avoided any appearance of increase, because we were liable to be attacked on account of the increase. We were liable to have it said of us that more opium was being grown, and that we were stimulating production and consumption, and therefore during the last few years we have rather avoided any increase of the cultivation.”

19. On referring to the historical review of the Anti-Opium Movement given in the preceding Note, it will be seen that since 1886 the agitation against the opium trade had been diverted from the consumption of the drug in China to its production in India. The questions raised in the memorial presented to the Secretary of State for India in 1890 were under the consideration of the Government of India when the truncated discussion of April 1891 took place in the House of Commons, three months before the Government of India communicated to the Government of Bengal its view that an extension of cultivation was not expedient. It appears, therefore, that up to the latter date the policy of the Government was to contract the poppy area only when the stock of opium in hand was large, and to extend it when that reserve was getting low. Since July 1891, so far from reducing the area thus licensed, the Government has directed its efforts towards maintaining it, with the intention of increasing it up to the average of past years, though not permanently beyond that limit. It is this last policy that finds expression in the information given by Sir David Barbour, as above cited.

20. But the action of the Government, both up to and after 1891, has been differently interpreted in the House of Commons, where it has been taken to signify a policy of gradual extinction of the system of direct production of opium. In the Debate of the 10th of April 1891, for instance, Sir James Fergusson said:—

“I freely admit that the Government of India have never denied that it would be very desirable that this source of revenue should be altered. They have taken means to reduce it. They have diminished the number of licenses, and they diminished the area on which the poppy is grown. One million acres less are now under poppy in Bengal than 10 years ago.”*

Hansard,
352, p. 323.

Mr. W. H. Smith said on the same occasion:—

“The course which this Government has taken, and which all Governments have taken during the last few years, . . . has been to diminish the area of cultivation in India to an extent, in the last five years at any rate, of 20 per cent. The production and sale of opium has been decreased considerably in each year, and that must be taken as an indication of the policy of the Government.”

Hansard,
352, p. 343.

21. These statements carried some weight, for amongst other reasons given by the Mover of the proposition under discussion for not balloting for an opportunity of bringing the Motion regarding the opium trade again before the House, Sir J. Pease expressed himself quite content, for the time being, with the declaration made by the First Lord of the Treasury, that the policy of Her Majesty's Government had been in the past a steady reduction of the quantity of land in India placed under poppy cultivation, and that this policy would be persevered with in the future.

Hansard,
352, p. 901.

22. This announcement was made on the 20th of April. On the 23rd of that month a correction was given by Sir John Gorst, Under Secretary of State for India, who had

* Or, more correctly, 100,000 acres less than five years ago.

been absent when the subject was first brought forward. The following question was asked by Mr. J. M. Maclean, then Member for Oldham :—

Hansard 552, p. 1152. "Whether the India Office has any evidence to show that the recent reduction in the area of poppy cultivation in Bengal is due to the intention of the Government of India to do away with the opium revenue little by little, and not to the commercial necessity for reducing production in order to keep up the price in face of the increasing competition of opium grown in China; and whether the policy of the Government of India with regard to this source of revenue is correctly expressed by Sir David Barbour, the Indian Finance Minister, who, in introducing his Budget for the year 1891-92, said :—

"The opium revenue has, no doubt, fallen largely, and at this moment there are no indications of a recovery. On the other hand, the fall up to date has been discounted, and provision made to meet the consequent loss of revenue. As the fall has been so great, we may fairly hope that, for the present, we have seen the worst."

In answer, Sir J. Gorst said :—

"The reason given for the reduction of the area of poppy cultivation in Bengal is that the reserve stock of opium had become unduly large. The statements of Sir David Barbour, no doubt, do express correctly the policy of the Government of India."

23. It may be noted that whilst Sir James Fergusson had ascribed the policy he set forth to the Government of India only, Mr. W. H. Smith, then the Leader of the House, used words identifying with it Her Majesty's Government. It was, perhaps, for this reason that the explanation of Sir John Gorst passed unheeded. For example, in the Debate on the Address in February 1892, Sir J. Pease observed that the late Leader took credit for Her Majesty's Government that they had during the last five years decreased the area under poppy. The same Member reverted to this declaration of policy in the course of the discussion of June 1893, pointing out that it had been strengthened by the announcement made in February 1892, by Mr. Curzon, then Under Secretary of State for India, to the effect that in order to restrict the area of cultivation, the Government of India reduced the number of chests to be sold that year by 3,000. Finally, the first substantial portion of the Resolution of the House of Commons in consequence of which the present inquiry has taken place "presses on the Government of India to continue their policy of greatly diminishing the cultivation of the poppy."

24. The fact has been sufficiently insisted on above that, down to the year 1891, the policy of the Government was not one of reduction, but of regulation, according to the demands of the market and the revenue. Since that date, again, the tendency (for the policy may be said to be in abeyance) has been to reduce the sales, not with the object of restricting cultivation, as Mr. Curzon expressed it, but of obviating the necessity for allowing it to resume its former extent. Having regard to the importance that has been given to this misapprehension in the discussion which ended in the appointment of this Commission, it is hardly enough to merely call attention to it, but it is advisable to also account for its origin on the part of those responsible for the statements which first gave it currency. It appears most probable that the misunderstanding is based on certain passages in the Moral and Material Progress Report published annually by the Secretary of State for India, which may therefore be quoted in elucidation of this question.

25. The Reports for the years to which reference is necessary contain a summary as well as a more detailed sketch of the year's operations. In that for 1886-87, presented in August 1888, the summary merely quotes the area under poppy for the last and penultimate years respectively. In the body of the work it is stated that :—

"With a considerable stock of opium in hand at the beginning of the year, there was no necessity for increasing the area under cultivation in Bengal, and the agents were accordingly instructed to refrain from doing so."

26. In the Report for 1887-88, presented in August 1889, the summary contains the following words :—

"The area of opium cultivation in Bengal was 536,610 acres; steps are being taken to reduce the area, because the good opium harvests of the past few years have yielded more than was required to supply the monthly sales and keep up the reserve."

In the body of the Report it is stated that :—

"The instructions issued in 1885-86 to reduce the area of cultivation and to confine it as far as possible to the best lands and the most experienced cultivators are still in force, in consequence of the large accumulation of manufactured opium at Calcutta and in the factories."

It will be noticed that the acreage mentioned is not identical with that entered in the return presented to the Commission. The policy is set forth in almost the same words in both passages.

In the Report for 1888-89, presented in August 1890, the area again differs from the Indian return. As to the policy, the statement in the summary is :—

"Steps have now been taken for two years to reduce the area, because the good opium harvests of the past few years have yielded more than was required to supply the monthly sales and keep up the reserve."

In the Report itself, however, the statement runs :—

"In pursuance of the policy of reducing the opium area, the land actually cultivated with opium in the Ganges Valley was reduced to 518,930 acres, or 3 per cent. below the area of 1887-88, and 7½ per cent. below the opium area of 1886-87. The contraction of the opium area caused some dissatisfaction among the ryots, among whom the opium cultivation, with its accompanying cash advances at a critical season of the year, is popular."

The reason for the reduction is here omitted.

28. In the Report for 1889-90, presented in May 1891, only the area for the preceding year is quoted. In the summary occur the words :—

"Steps have now for four years been taken to reduce the area, because the good opium harvests of the past few years had yielded more than was required to supply the monthly sales and keep up the reserve."

In the body of the Report the sentence, except for the figures, is that of the preceding year :—

"In pursuance of the policy of reducing the opium area, the land actually cultivated with opium in the Ganges Valley was further reduced to 459,860 acres, as compared with 518,930 acres in the previous year, and 556,527 acres in 1885."

It was apparently on these figures that the statements in the House of Commons were based.

29. In the Report for 1890-91, presented in May 1892, the summary merely mentions the area, which nearly corresponds with that in the opium departmental tables for that year. In the body of the Report the following remarks occur :—

"In pursuance of the policy of reducing the opium area, the land actually cultivated with the poppy in the Ganges Valley had been reduced in 1888-89 to 459,860 acres, as compared with 556,527 in 1885. The yield of opium had been very short in 1888-89, and the total quantity manufactured was 38,305 chests, as compared with 69,500 chests in 1887-88. Some extension of the cultivation then occurred, and the area rose in 1889-90 to 482,560 acres. In 1889-90 the opium crop was again short, especially in Behar; . . . and the total quantity manufactured was 44,760 chests. In 1890-91 the poppy area increased to 500,683 acres; but the yield was again short, and the outturn of opium was 41,522 chests. . . . It is reported that cultivators of opium have lost heart, after experiencing three bad opium seasons in succession. . . . In 1891 the Government of India decided not to arrange for any extension of the opium area, and to reduce the quantity of opium advertised for sale during 1892 to 54,000 chests, as against 57,000, the number that had been sold annually for several years past."

30. On the above quotations it may be remarked that after the Report for 1887-88 there is no mention of the reason for the reduction of area in that portion of the work to which a reader would naturally turn for information. Nor, again, in the Report for 1890-91, is the connexion shown between the extension that took place in 1889-90 and the policy of the Government with regard to it. Finally, in respect to the orders of the Government of India in 1891, the statement in the Report is incomplete without mention of the acquiescence of that Government in any increase that might arise from what has been called above the "normal" expansion of the cultivation of the poppy.

31. It must be borne in mind that Mr. W. H. Smith had no personal or immediate official connexion with Indian administrative detail, and Sir James Fergusson was only called upon to address himself to this branch of the opium question by reason of the temporary absence of the Under Secretary of State for India. It is highly probable, therefore, that they both referred for their information to the official reports presented to Parliament, in which the elasticity of the policy of the Government of India is nowhere distinctly set forth. An early opportunity was taken by the responsible Minister, on his return, to place the matter before the House in its true light, but a statement made in answer to a question by a private Member may fairly be assumed to be less widely known and to carry less weight than a declaration made in formal debate.

32. The only evidence that appears to give colour to the notion that the Government of India has abandoned its former policy consists of the two statements that have been already quoted in the course of this Note; first, that any more than normal expansion was inexpedient, and, again, a year afterwards, that the average area of past years was to constitute the limit of further permanent increase. Both these declarations were made after the discussion of April 1891, and, as Sir David Barbour has assured the Commission, out of deference to what then took place in the House of Commons.

J. A. BAINES,
Secretary to the Commission.

September 1894.

MEMORANDUM VIII.

TABLES SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION, BY DISTRICTS, OF THE
OPIUM HABIT IN BRITISH INDIA;

PREPARED BY THE SECRETARY.

In the Second Section of the Report the average annual consumption of licit opium per head, is shown by Provinces or large divisions of Provinces. In the tables accompanying the Excise Memoranda included in Vols. II., IV., and V., of the Proceedings of the Commission, corresponding figures are given by administrative districts. The averages are not, however, calculated in uniform weights, so that comparison is impracticable without further computation. It has been found, also, that in several instances the figures have been incorrectly printed, and in the case of Bengal that some of the calculations are wrong.

It has been thought advisable, therefore, to reduce the whole of the tables on a uniform basis in a form which will render them available for detailed comparison as well as for the exhibition, if necessary, of the facts they represent in the more useful and popular shape of a shaded or coloured map.

There is a slight difference between the census returns and the figures of area and population now presented. In the first place, it has not been considered worth while to include figures for the small Province of Coorg or the British territory in Balochistan. The consumption of opium in the former is very limited; and in the case of the latter the population over which the consumption is distributable is not on record. Ajmer-Merwara, again, has been excluded, as no complete statistics are there collected. In the Punjab, about 6,000 Baloch wanderers, encamped at the time of census in the Dera Ghazi Khan district, have been excluded from the settled population.

The first table gives the total population of each district, grouped by Provinces, with the average yearly consumption of licit opium per head. In the second table, the districts are brought together according to their average consumption, the provincial order falling into a subordinate place. The third table is merely a proportional reduction of the second; showing, first, the general geographical distribution of each degree of prevalence, and, second, the variety of prevalence found within the individual Province:—

TABLE I.

District.	Population (1891).	Average yearly consumption of Licit Opium per Head, 1892-93.	District.	Population (1891).	Average yearly consumption of Licit Opium per Head, 1892-93.
I. ASSAM			Grains.		
1. Sylhet	2,154,593	6.5	5. Rajshahiye	1,313,336	13.3
2. Kachar	367,542	41.8	6. Dinajpur	1,555,835	14.4
3. Goalpara	452,304	16.9	7. Rangpur	2,065,464	20.6
4. North Kachar	18,941	170.2	8. Pabna	1,362,392	6.6
5. Naga Hills	122,867	60.5	9. Bogra	817,494	11.9
6. Khasia	197,904	19.8	10. Bardwan	1,391,880	22.8
7. Garo	121,570	5.6	11. Bankura	1,069,668	8.2
8. Kamrup	631,249	136.6	12. Birbhum	797,833	15.9
9. Darrang	307,761	374.9	13. Santhal Pargannahs	1,754,196	3.3
10. Nowgong	344,141	353.7	14. Hughli	1,076,710	41.4
11. Sibsagar	457,274	442.2	15. Nadia	1,644,108	10.9
12. Lakhimpur	254,053	747.1	16. Murshidabad	1,250,946	23.5
II. BENGAL			17. Midnapur	2,631,516	25.0
1. Darjiling	223,314	15.7	18. Howrah (rural)	587,905	30.5
2. Jalpaigori	681,352	6.0	19. The 24 Pargannahs	1,832,449	32.7
3. Purneah	1,944,658	13.8	20. Calcutta & suburbs	874,450	276.1
4. Maldah	814,919	33.9	21. Khulna	1,177,652	10.1
			22. Jessore	1,888,827	7.3
			23. Bakarganj	2,153,965	7.7
			24. Faridpur	1,797,320	2.2
			25. Noakhali	1,009,693	1.1
			26. Tipperah	1,782,935	0.8
			27. Dacca	2,420,656	5.1

* Omitting the hill tracts in North Lushai, Chittagong, and Angul.

District.	Population (1891).	Average yearly consumption of Licit Opium per Head, 1892-93.	District.	Population (1891).	Average yearly consumption of Licit Opium per Head, 1892-93.
Grains.			Grains.		
28. Maimansingh	3,472,186	5.8	8. Nimar	253,486	42.2
29. Chittagong†	1,290,167	31.8	9. Hoshangab	527,702	36.9
30. Cuttack†	1,937,671	37.5	10. Narsinghpur	367,026	35.2
31. Puri	944,998	27.5	11. Jabalpur	748,146	27.4
32. Balasore	994,625	86.3	12. Sangor	591,743	19.7
33. Hazaribagh§	1,164,321	3.7	13. Damoh	325,613	12.0
34. Lohardaga	1,128,885	9.2	14. Balaghat	383,331	68.2
35. Palamau	596,770	3.0	15. Mandla	339,373	29.3
36. Singhbhum	545,488	11.3	16. Chindwara	339,443	41.7
37. Manbhum	1,193,828	4.8	17. Seoni	370,767	56.8
38. Champaran*	1,859,465	0.8	18. Betul	323,196	27.8
39. Saran*	2,467,477	0.9	MADRAS		
40. Muzaffarpur†	2,711,445	2.6		35,630,440	14.0
41. Darbhanga†	2,801,955	3.0	1. Ganjam	1,896,803	12.8
42. Patna*	1,769,004	14.8	2. Vizagapatam	2,302,992	40.7
43. Gaya*	2,138,331	5.2	3. Godavari	2,078,782	130.6
44. Shahabad*	2,063,337	2.0	4. Kistna	1,855,582	18.6
45. Monghyr†	2,036,021	2.4	5. Nellore	1,463,736	1.9
46. Bhagalpur	2,032,696	6.2	6. Karnul	817,811	6.9
BERAR			7. Cuddapah	1,272,072	3.5
	2,897,491	91.0	8. Anantapur	708,549	1.9
1. Buldana	481,021	90.6	9. Bellary	900,126	3.6
2. Basim	398,181	34.7	10. North Arcot	2,180,487	3.5
3. Wun	471,613	48.5	11. Chenglepat	1,136,928	1.0
4. Akola	574,782	127.3	12. Madras City	452,518	26.5
5. Amraoti	655,645	95.7	13. South Arcot	2,162,851	0.8
6. Ellichpur	315,798	154.4	14. Tanjore	2,228,114	1.8
BOMBAY			15. Trichinopoly	1,372,717	2.3
	15,985,270	47.0	16. Madura	2,608,404	1.5
1. Ahmedabad	921,712	114.7	17. Tinnevely	1,916,095	0.6
2. Kaira	871,589	81.2	18. Salem	1,962,591	2.3
3. Panch Mahals	313,117	74.6	19. Coimbatore	2,004,839	2.7
4. Broach	341,490	179.6	20. South Kanara	1,056,081	1.0
5. Surat	649,989	33.4	21. Malabar	2,652,565	5.4
6. Thana	904,868	8.2	22. Nilgiris	99,797	27.1
7. Kolaba	509,584	10.0	NORTH-WEST PROVINCES AND OUDH		
8. Bombay Island	821,764	155.2		46,905,085	18.0
9. Ratnagiri	1,105,926	1.7	1. Dehra Dun	168,135	65.4
10. Kanara	446,351	2.1	2. Tarai (Naini Tal)	210,568	38.0
11. Khandesh	1,460,851	62.6	3. Pilibhit	485,366	20.7
12. Nasik	843,582	44.1	4. Gorakhpur*	2,994,057	6.6
13. Ahmednagar	888,755	73.9	5. Basti*	1,785,844	3.1
14. Poona	1,067,800	58.9	6. Gonda*	1,459,229	4.4
15. Sholapur	750,689	60.3	7. Bahraich*	1,000,132	8.0
16. Satara	1,225,989	18.4	8. Almora (Kumaun)	563,181	1.6
17. Belgaum	1,013,261	3.9	9. Garhwal	407,818	3.4
18. Dharwar	1,051,314	3.9	10. Saharanpur	1,001,280	32.2
19. Bijapur	796,339	4.3	11. Muzaffarnagar	772,874	29.2
SINDH			12. Meerut	1,391,458	36.6
	2,871,774	44.0	13. Aligarh	1,043,172	39.6
Karachi	564,880	54.8	14. Bulandshahr	949,914	31.4
Hydrabad and Thar.	1,216,849	57.9	15. Agra	1,003,796	39.5
Shikarpur and Jacobabad.	1,090,045	22.7	16. Mathura	713,421	29.9
CENTRAL PROVINCES			17. Etawah†	727,629	21.8
	10,016,546	34.0	18. Cawnpore†	1,209,695	69.1
1. Nagpur	757,862	55.7	19. Farakhabad†	858,687	12.7
2. Bhandara	742,850	32.0	20. Etah†	702,063	23.4
3. Wardha	400,854	71.1	21. Mainpuri†	762,163	7.7
4. Chanda	697,610	19.0	22. Allahabad†	1,548,737	36.5
5. Raipur	1,255,698	40.3	23. Fatehpur§	699,157	30.7
6. Bilaspur	827,433	32.9	24. Jalaun	396,361	44.1
7. Sambalpur	796,413	28.5	25. Jhansi	683,619	34.3
			26. Banda	705,832	19.9
			27. Hamirpur	513,720	42.7

* Omitting the hill tracts in Chittagong and Angul.
† Extensive poppy cultivation.
‡ Considerable poppy cultivation.
§ Small poppy cultivation.

* Extensive poppy cultivation.
† Considerable poppy cultivation.
‡ Small poppy cultivation.
N.B.—Oudh districts are given in italics.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM:

	Population (1891).	Average yearly consumption of Licit Opium per Head, 1892-93.	District.	Population (1891).	Average yearly consumption of Licit Opium per Head, 1892-93.
		Grains.			Grains.
28. Mirzapur -	1,161,508	22·9	5. Amritsar -	992,697	81·2
29. Benares§ -	921,943	87·7	6. Lahore -	1,075,379	75·5
30. Bareilly -	1,040,691	22·1	7. Jalandhar -	907,583	59·5
31. Budaun† -	925,598	7·3	8. Ferozpur -	886,676	141·5
32. Shahjahanpur†	918,551	19·2	9. Gurdaspur -	943,922	44·5
33. Moradabad -	1,179,398	33·3	10. Sialkot§ -	1,119,847	21·5
34. Bijnor -	794,070	21·8	11. Gujrat§ -	760,875	6·3
35. Sitapur†	1,075,413	10·7	12. Hoshiarpur -	1,011,659	33·4
36. Kheri† -	903,615	18·5	13. Gujranwala -	690,169	29·7
37. Hardoi† -	1,113,211	7·3	14. Jhilmam -	609,056	16·3
38. Lucknow†	774,163	106·8	15. Rawal Pindi -	887,194	21·1
39. Bara-Banki†	1,130,906	5·4	16. Hazara§ -	516,288	12·2
40. Unao† -	953,636	15·2	17. Peshawar -	703,768	19·6
41. Faizabad* -	1,216,959	13·1	18. Kohat -	203,175	18·4
42. Ghazipur†	1,077,909	8·1	19. Bannu -	372,276	6·8
43. Balia† -	942,465	1·6	20. Dera Ismail Khan -	486,201	9·1
44. Jaunpur -	1,264,949	17·7	21. Dera Ghazi Khan§	404,031†	16·3
45. Azamgarh* -	1,728,625	4·6	22. Muzaffargarh -	581,095	14·5
46. Pratapgarh* -	910,895	6·0	23. Multan -	631,434	17·3
47. Rai Bareilly* -	1,036,521	8·5	24. Jhang -	436,841	6·3
48. Sultanpur* -	1,075,851	6·3	25. Montgomery -	499,521	23·7
PANJAB§ -	20,860,913†	42·0	26. Shahpur†	493,588	8·2
1. Simla§ -	44,642	136·8	27. Delhi -	638,689	35·8
2. Kangra§ -	763,030	9·9	28. Gurgaon -	668,929	9·2
3. Ambala* -	1,033,427	74·8	29. Karnal -	683,718	41·2
4. Ludhiana -	648,722	176·8	30. Hissar -	776,006	20·1
			31. Rohtak -	590,475	11·7

N.B.—Oudh districts are given in italics.
 * Extensive poppy cultivation.
 † Excluding 5,934 Baloch.
 ‡ Considerable poppy cultivation.
 § Small poppy cultivation.

‡ Considerable poppy cultivation (for opium).
 § Small poppy cultivation (for opium).
 † Excluding 5,934 Baloch.

TABLE II.
 SHOWING the DISTRICTS of BRITISH PROVINCES arranged according to their AVERAGE ANNUAL CONSUMPTION of LICIT OPIUM per Head.

TABLE II.
SHOWING the DISTRICTS of BRITISH PROVINCES arranged according to their AVERAGE ANNUAL CONSUMPTION of LICIT OPIUM per Head.

Six Grains and under.			From 7 to 12 Grains.			From 13 to 24 Grains.			From 25 to 48 Grains.			From 49 to 96 Grains.			From 97 to 144 Grains.			145 Grains and upwards.		
District.	Popu- lation.	District.	Popu- lation.	District.	Popu- lation.	District.	Popu- lation.	District.	Popu- lation.	District.	Popu- lation.	District.	Popu- lation.	District.	Popu- lation.	District.	Popu- lation.	District.	Popu- lation.	
TOTAL, BRITISH PROVINCES.	83,046,039	TOTAL, BRITISH PROVINCES.	24,840,925	TOTAL, BRITISH PROVINCES.	36,103,918	TOTAL, BRITISH PROVINCES.	38,709,947	TOTAL, BRITISH PROVINCES.	17,011,112	TOTAL, BRITISH PROVINCES.	5,915,086	TOTAL, BRITISH PROVINCES.	4,384,394							
ASSAM	2,276,183	BENGAL	10,429,087	ASSAM	650,208	ASSAM	397,542	ASSAM	122,887	ASSAM	684,240	ASSAM	1,382,170							
1. Sylhet.		1. Bogra.		1. Goalpara.		1. Kachar.		1. Naga Hills.		1. Kamrup.		1. North Cachar.								
2. Garo Hills.		2. Bankura.		2. Khasi Hills.		BENGAL		BENGAL		BENGAL		2. Darrang.								
BENGAL	35,345,576	3. Nadea.		BENGAL	12,312,270	BENGAL	11,116,335	BENGAL	984,026	BENGAL	574,782	3. Nowgong.								
1. Jalpaigori.		4. Khulna.		1. Darjiling.		1. Maldah.		1. Balasore.		1. Akola.		4. Shilong.								
2. Pabna.		5. Jessore.		2. Purneah.		2. Hughli.		BENGAL		BOMBAY		5. Lakhimpur.								
3. Santal Parganahs.		6. Bakarganj.		3. Rajshahye.		3. Midnapur.		1. Buldana.		BOMBAY		BENGAL								
4. Faridpur.		7. Lohardaga.		4. Dinajpur.		4. Howrah.		2. Amraoti.		BOMBAY		1. Calcutta suburbs.								
5. Noakhali.		8. Singhbhum.		5. Rangpur.		5. The 24 Parganahs.		BOMBAY		BOMBAY		2. Broomfield.								
6. Tipperah.		BOMBAY	1,414,453	6. Bardwan.		6. Chittagong.		BOMBAY		BOMBAY		3. Broomfield.								
7. Dacca.		1. Thana.		7. Birbhum.		7. Cuttack.		1. Kaira.		1. Lucknow.		4. Broomfield.								
8. Mainamtingh.		2. Kolaba.		8. Murshidabad.		8. Puri.		2. Fanch Mahala.		1. Lucknow.		5. Broomfield.								
9. Haoribagh.		BOMBAY	925,613	9. Patna.		BENGAL		3. Khandesh.		1. Lucknow.		6. Broomfield.								
10. Palamau.		CENTRAL PROVINCES	1,896,803	BOMBAY	1,225,989	BENGAL		4. Ahmednagar.		1. Lucknow.		7. Broomfield.								
11. Manthua.		1. Danoh.		1. Satura.		1. Basim.		5. Poona.		1. Lucknow.		8. Broomfield.								
12. Champaran.		MADRAS	3,024,357	2. Shikarpur and Jacobabad.		2. Wun.		6. Sholapur.		1. Lucknow.		9. Broomfield.								
13. Saran.		1. Gaojam.		CENTRAL PROVINCES	1,286,353	BOMBAY	1,493,571	SINDH		1. Lucknow.		10. Broomfield.								
14. Muzaffarpur.		NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.	4,225,577	1. Suat.		1. Saura.		1. Karachi.		1. Lucknow.		11. Broomfield.								
15. Darbhanga.		1. Farakhabad.		2. Chikpur and Jacobabad.		2. Nasik.		2 and 3. Hyderabad and other Parkar.		1. Lucknow.		12. Broomfield.								
16. Gaya.		2. Mainpuri.		CENTRAL PROVINCES	1,855,582	BOMBAY		CENTRAL PROVINCES	1,912,814	1. Lucknow.		13. Broomfield.								
17. Shahabad.		3. Budam.		1. Saugar.		1. Basim.		1. Nagpur.		1. Lucknow.		14. Broomfield.								
18. Monghyr.		4. Ghazipur.		2. Chanda.		2. Wun.		2. Wardha.		1. Lucknow.		15. Broomfield.								
19. Bhagalpur.		MADRAS	1,414,453	MADRAS	1,855,582	3. Bilaspur.		3. Balaghat.		1. Lucknow.		16. Broomfield.								
BOMBAY	4,413,191	1. Kistna.		4. Santalpur.		4. Santalpur.		4. Seoni.		1. Lucknow.		17. Broomfield.								
1. Ratnagiri.		NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.	7,800,080	5. Ninar.		5. Ninar.		NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.	2,298,773	1. Lucknow.		18. Broomfield.								
2. Kanara.		1. Pilibhit.		6. Hoshangabad.		6. Hoshangabad.		1. Dehra Dun.		1. Lucknow.		19. Broomfield.								
3. Belgaum.		2. Etawah.		7. Narsingapur.		7. Narsingapur.		2. Cawnpore.		1. Lucknow.		20. Broomfield.								
4. Dharwar.		3. Etah.		8. Jabalpur.		8. Jabalpur.				1. Lucknow.		21. Broomfield.								
5. Bijapur.		PANJAB	2,928,034	9. Maudla.		9. Maudla.				1. Lucknow.		22. Broomfield.								

MADRAS	20,145,006	1. Kanara.		10. Chindvara.		8. Benares.		10. Chindvara.		8. Benares.		10. Chindvara.	
1. Nellore.		2. Hazara.		11. Botul.		PANJAB	4,000,086	1. Amhala.		PANJAB	4,000,086	1. Amhala.	
2. Karnul.		3. Dera Ismail Khan.		MADRAS	3,855,307	2. Amritsar.		2. Amritsar.		2. Amritsar.		2. Amritsar.	
3. Cuddapah.		4. Shabpur.		1. Vizagapatnam.		3. Lahore.		3. Lahore.		3. Lahore.		3. Lahore.	
4. Anantapur.		5. Gurjaron.		2. Madras City.		4. Jalandhar.		4. Jalandhar.		4. Jalandhar.		4. Jalandhar.	
5. Bellary.				3. Nilgiris.									
6. North Arcot.				NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.	12,107,475								
7. South Arcot.				1. Tera.									
8. Chingleput.				2. Saharanpur.									
9. Tanjore.				3. Muzaffargarh.									
10. Trichinopoly.				4. Meerut.									
11. Madura.				5. Aligarh.									
12. Tinnevely.				6. Agra.									
13. Salem.				7. Mathura.									
14. Coimbatore.				8. Allahabad.									
15. South Kanara.				9. Fatehpur.									
16. Malabar.				10. Jalaun.									
NORTH-WEST PROVINCES	8,421,990			11. Jhansi.									
1. Gorakhpur.				12. Hamirpur.									
2. Basti.				13. Moradabad.									
3. Almora.				PANJAB	3,908,157								
4. Garhwal.				1. Gurdaspur.									
5. Bala.				2. Hoshiarpur.									
6. Azamgarh.				3. Gujranwala.									
7. Gonda.				4. Dehli.									
8. Bara Banki.				5. Karnal.									
9. Pratapgarh.													
10. Sultanpur.													
PANJAB	1,860,992												
1. Gujrat.													
2. Bannu.													
3. Jhang.													

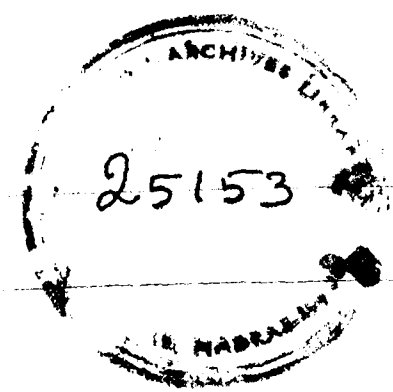


TABLE III.

SHOWING the POPULATION under each GROUP of AVERAGE CONSUMPTION by PROVINCES, in relation to the TOTAL POPULATION of the GROUPS and the PROVINCES respectively.

Province.	A.—Per-centage of Provincial Population in each Group on the Group Total.								B.—Per-centage of Provincial Totals on the Total of British Provinces.		C.—Per-centage of Provincial Population in each Group on the Provincial Total.							
	Average Annual Consumption of Licit Opium per Head.								Consumption of Opium in 1892-93.	Population (1891).	Average Annual Consumption of Licit Opium per Head.							
	Under 7 Grains.	7-12 Grains.	13-24 Grains.	25-48 Grains.	49-96 Grains.	97-144 Grains.	145 Grains and over.	Under 7 Grains.			7-12 Grains.	13-24 Grains.	25-48 Grains.	49-96 Grains.	97-144 Grains.	145 Grains and over.	Total Population.	
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	
Assam	2.8	—	1.8	0.9	0.7	10.7	31.5	13.2	2.6	41.9	—	11.9	6.8	2.3	11.7	25.4	100.0	
Bengal	42.6	42.0	34.1	27.9	5.6	—	19.9	19.1	33.6	49.7	14.8	17.3	15.6	1.4	—	1.2	100.0	
Berar	—	—	—	2.3	6.4	9.7	7.2	4.6	1.4	—	—	—	30.0	39.3	19.8	10.9	100.0	
Bombay	5.3	5.7	3.4	3.8	39.4	15.6	26.6	13.1	7.5	27.5	8.9	7.7	9.3	33.5	5.8	7.3	100.0	
Sindh	—	—	3.0	—	10.1	—	—	2.2	1.4	—	—	38.0	—	62.0	—	—	100.0	
Central Provinces	—	1.3	3.6	16.4	10.9	—	—	6.2	4.7	—	3.2	12.8	64.9	19.1	—	—	100.0	
Madras	31.8	7.6	5.1	8.4	—	35.2	—	9.0	16.8	74.3	5.3	5.2	9.4	—	5.8	—	100.0	
North-West Provinces	10.1	14.6	21.6	30.4	13.1	—	—	14.3	16.2	24.6	10.6	22.8	35.3	6.7	—	—	100.0	
Oudh	5.5	17.0	8.5	—	—	13.1	—	3.3	5.9	30.2	33.4	24.3	—	—	6.1	—	100.0	
Punjab	7.9	1.8	18.9	9.9	22.8	15.7	14.8	15.0	9.9	7.5	14.0	32.6	19.0	19.3	4.5	3.1	100.0	
Total, British Provinces	1.00	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	39.2	11.7	17.1	18.8	8.3	2.8	2.1	100.0	

N.B.—Parts A. and B. should be read vertically. Part C. horizontally.

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