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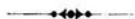
A STUDY

OF THE EVIDENCE GIVEN TO
THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON .
OPIUM, 1893=4.

By JOSHUA ROWNTREE.

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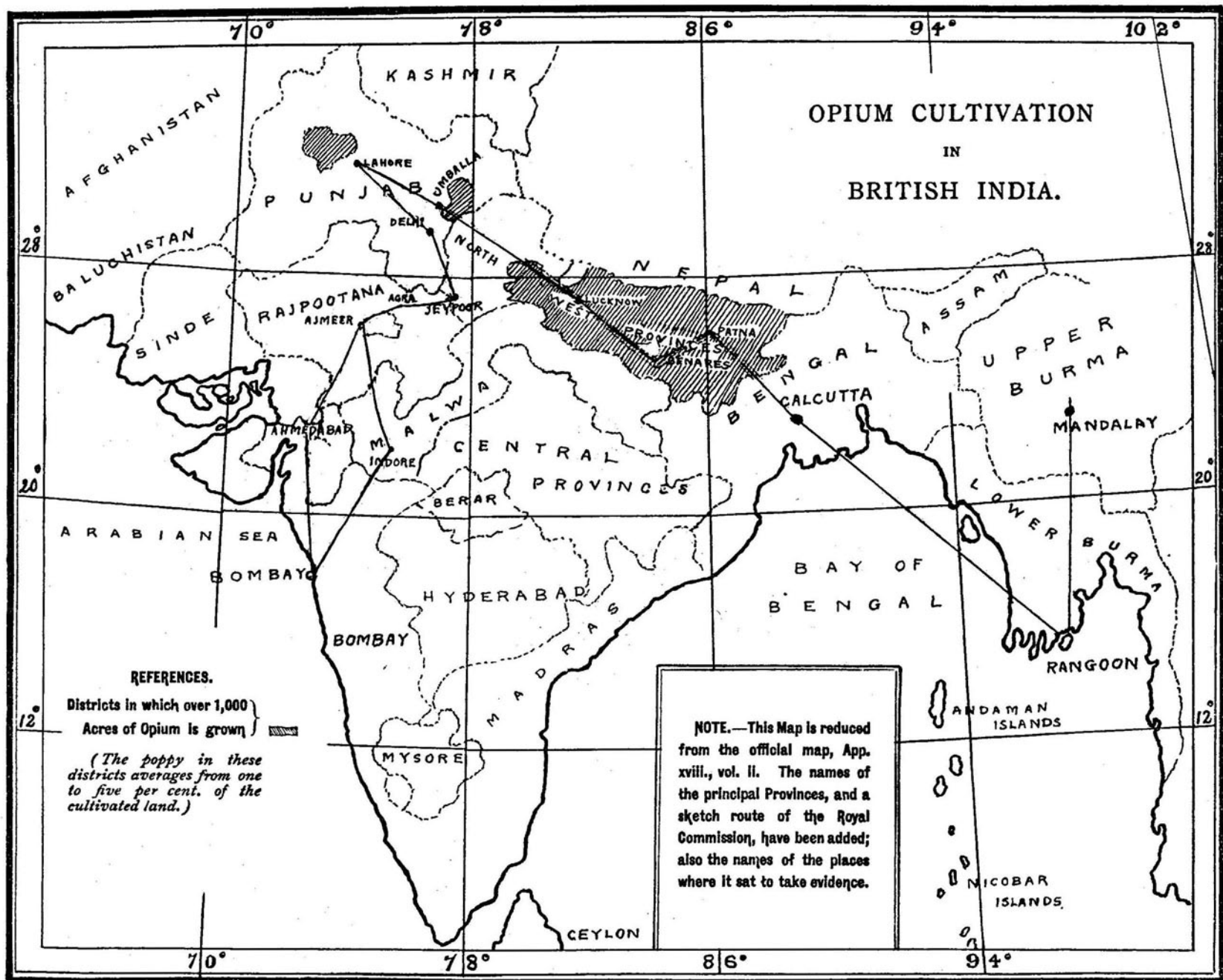
PREFATORY NOTE.



This pamphlet was commenced before the writer joined the Representative Board of the Anti-Opium Societies. It has no representative character, and is not even a personal pronouncement on the opium question in general. It is simply a study of the evidence published by the Royal Commission.

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THE OPIUM HABIT IN THE EAST.

A STUDY OF THE EVIDENCE GIVEN TO THE ROYAL
COMMISSION ON OPIUM, 1893-4.

THE Royal Commission on Opium has presented to the public a vast trackless expanse of opinions on the opium question, interspersed with clumps of more or less useful information by way of appendices. Five volumes of Blue Books, two thousand pages of double columns of close print, expressing the opinions of upwards of nine hundred persons, evolved by the aid of twenty-eight thousand questions, form a serious addition to the problems of the day. But they become more serious as it is found that the rule, which now happily obtains in England, of accompanying every Blue Book with an index, was lost sight of as the Commission left these shores; and the reader has to struggle with the last four volumes without the aid of any index, analysis, or arrangement of subject; as if it were intended to bring him into close mental sympathy with a jungle state of existence. No doubt the final report of the Commissioners, whenever it sees the light, will be an orderly and connected document, conspicuous for qualities absent from their publications already issued. But the past history of Royal Commissions does not warrant the placing of any high sanction on the conclusions they finally express. Their chief service to the nation has rather been in the materials they have collected, and the thoughts that have been elicited thereby. The present duration of human life is hardly sufficient to allow of many persons reading through these five volumes. They are more likely to serve as happy hunting grounds, from which the most startling contrasts, both of form and colour, can be easily procured. But much

Introductory.

Introductory. more than this is due to the greatness of the issues which are involved. Englishmen owe serious thought to the sixth part of the inhabitants of the globe, who are their fellow-subjects; and who trespass so little, from the hills and plains of India, upon the deliberations of the Imperial Parliament. They owe, further, an intelligent appreciation of the difficulties attendant on the administration of a great Empire, to the men who act as their vicegerents in the East; and they owe also relations of amity and goodwill to the vast population of China, now suffering the dangers of disintegration from the disasters of war. This pamphlet is an attempt to analyse the evidence on leading branches of the opium question; giving extracts from the statements of representative witnesses, and adding some of the conclusions which have been impressed on the writer in studying these volumes. The task has been a difficult one. It is too much to hope that its results are free from imperfections, but the effort has been made with a sincere desire to deal with the evidence on its merits. Combatants on both sides have alleged, with considerable force, that ample materials for the formation of opinion were already in existence, and that, therefore, the Commission has for the most part been engaged in the useless labour of piling up vain repetitions. It is self-evident that no Royal Commission can be regarded as a court to determine Christian morality; or to lay down a system of ethics in the treatment of native races; or even to decide on the properties of a well known drug. It may, however, be fairly urged that the evidence now collected is entitled to consideration,—that never before has the case of the Indian Government been stated with so much fulness and vigour; and that never before have the opinions of so many natives of India been accessible to English readers.

The steps leading up to the appointment of the Royal Commission must first be briefly indicated. The following sentence from a report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1832 may be taken fairly to represent the keystone of the British opium policy:—"In the present state of the Indian revenue it does not appear advisable to abandon so important a source of revenue; a duty upon opium being a tax which falls principally upon the foreign consumer." The present attack on this policy may be said to have begun on the 4th April, 1843, when Lord Ashley (better known as the Earl of Shaftesbury) went down to the House of Commons, 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 a due regard to the rights of governments and individuals, to abolish the evil." Lord Ashley had for two years held the office of a Commissioner of the Indian Board of Control, and was supported in debate by Sir George Staunton, who spoke from a long official experience in Canton. Sir Robert Peel promised cautious consideration to the resolution, and urged that it would, if pressed, impede the negotiations then on foot with China. The resolution was withdrawn. In 1859 Lord Shaftesbury renewed his attack in the House of Lords by moving that two questions respecting the legality of the opium trade be referred to Her Majesty's judges. The questions were referred to the law officers of the Crown, and to the standing counsel of the East India Company. The opinion given contained the following statement :—" We think now that opium is made contraband by the law of China, and that its importation into China is made by Chinese law a capital crime, the continuance of the company's practice of manufacturing and selling this opium in a form specially adapted to the Chinese contraband trade, though not an actual and direct infringement of the treaty, is yet at variance with its spirit and intention, and with the conduct due to the Chinese Government by that of Great Britain as a friendly Power, bound by a treaty which implies that all smuggling into China will be discountenanced by Great Britain." The next year the sceptre of the great East Indian trading company passed over to the British throne, and the legal offence referred to ceased, by reason of the introduction of opium into the Chinese tariff. In 1870, in the House of Commons, Sir Wilfrid Lawson moved the following resolution :—" That this House condemns the system by which a large portion of the Indian revenue is raised by opium." The division was taken on the previous question. 47 voted with Sir W. Lawson and 151 against. In 1875 Sir Mark Stewart, a Scotch Conservative member, submitted a motion for " the gradual withdrawal of the Government of India from the cultivation and manufacture of opium." This was rejected by 94 to 57. In 1883 Sir Joseph

Parliamentary
Opposition.

W. Pease brought forward another anti-opium resolution, when the previous question was carried by 126 to 66. In 1889 a similar motion, submitted by Mr. Samuel Smith, was rejected by 165 to 88. In 1891 Sir Joseph Pease moved:—"That 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 it should cease to grant licenses for the cultivation of the poppy, and the 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." 160 members voted with Sir Joseph W. Pease, and 130 against. This victory of the assailants of the drug was followed up on the 3rd June, 1893, by Mr. Alfred Webb, who moved the following resolution, viz. :—

"That, having regard to the opinion expressed by the vote of this House on the 10th 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 enquire both in India and in this country, and to report as to (1) What retrenchments and reforms can be effected in the military and civil expenditure of India; (2) By what means Indian resources can be best developed; and (3) 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."

Mr. Gladstone, on behalf of the Government, moved a counter resolution in these terms :—

"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 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 :

Instructions
to Royal
Commission.

“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.”

Mr. Gladstone's resolution was adopted by 184 votes to 105, the anti-opiumists voting against the Government. The Prime Minister's proposals differ from Mr. Webb's, in extending the enquiry from an investigation of ways and means to the whole range of the opium question in India. They ignore the vote of 1891, introduce the question of compensation, and lay more stress on the disposition of the Indian people to bear the whole or part of the cost of prohibitive measures. It will be noted further, that the China trade and its effect on the Chinese, which were the source of the controversy, are not mentioned in the resolutions. The personal investigations of the Royal Commission were, so far as the effects of the opium habit are concerned, diverted from the larger issue at stake to a minor one. It is well known that the opium habit in India differs widely from that which obtains in China. In the former country the drug is taken as a pill, in the latter it is smoked. In India the amount of opium consumed is very much less, both relatively and absolutely, than in China, and its use for other than medical purposes is admitted to be exceptional. The opium exported to China exceeds that retained for home con-

sumption in British India in the proportion roundly of 9 to 1. The Government was asked in the House of Commons, whether it would include among the subjects to be enquired into, the allegation that opium had been forced, or is now being forced, upon China. Mr. George Russell replied—"There is nothing to prevent the Commission from raising the question if they think fit so to do. . . . They will be at liberty to deal with it in their report." As a matter of fact, the Royal Commission heard evidence on the past relations of Great Britain and China, and circulated a schedule of questions, including some inserted by the Indian Government, to merchants, medical men, and others in China, through the British Consuls in that country. A large number of replies to these questions are to be found in Vol. V. of the evidence.

Members
Appointed.

The Commission was appointed as follows :—

Chairman : The Right Hon. Lord Brassey, K.C.B.

Sir James B. Lyall, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. ; Mr. Arthur N. Fanshawe, Director-General of the Post Office of India.

Sir Lachhmeswar Singh Lahadur, Maharajah of Darbhanga ; Mr. Haridas Veharidas, late Dewan (Prime Minister) of Junagarh.

Mr. Arthur Pease ; Mr. Henry J. Wilson, M.P. (Liberal).

Sir William Roberts, M.D.

Mr. Robert G. C. Mowbray, M.P. (Conservative).

Secretary : Mr. J. Prescott Hewett, C.I.E.

On the return of the Commission to this country Mr. Hewett was recalled to India, and Mr. Baines, who was in England, took his place as Secretary.

The occasion will be memorable in India as the first appointment of natives as Royal Commissioners. It is said that in some quarters it will also be remembered from the momentous fact that native witnesses in giving evidence were invited to sit in the chair previously used by high officials of the land. The Commissioners held six sittings in London, from the 8th to the 16th September, 1893. They resumed their labours, with the additional aid of their Indian colleagues, at Calcutta, on the 18th of November. A section was thence detached to visit Burma. They then crossed India, holding enquiries, occasionally in sections, in various centres, and concluded at Bombay on the 22nd

February, 1894. The grouping of witnesses was determined by convenience rather than locality; some from Madras for instance, appearing at Calcutta, others at Bombay;—no clear divisions of evidence, therefore, according to provinces or to time or place of hearing are practicable. The only method of dealing with this tangled skein of testimony, is to select the more important heads under which the opium question presents itself, and to consider the evidence received upon them. Amongst the seven hundred and twenty-two witnesses examined, there were:—

See Sketch Map.

Native Medical Men	55
European „ „ (official)	74
„ „ „ (non-official)	25
Missionaries	47
Pleaders.....	29
Landowners	57
Cultivators	6
Official	131
Titled and Magistrates	46
Officials of Native States	89
Merchants, etc.	62
General	101

The classification of the evidence given on the page of contents appears to offer the clearest insight into the enquiry as a whole, and is therefore adopted in these pages.

GOVERNMENT POLICY.

The earliest indication of the policy of the East Indian Government brought before the Commission, was a despatch to their Governor, Lord Cornwallis, in 1817, quoted by Sir J. W. Pease, as follows:—“We wish it, at the same time, to be clearly understood that our sanction is given to these measures, not with a view to the revenue which they may yield, but in the hope that they will tend to restrain the use of this pernicious drug, and that the regulations for the internal use of it will be so framed as to prevent its introduction into districts where it is not used, and to limit its consumption in other places as nearly as possible to what may be absolutely necessary. Were it possible to prevent the use of the drug altogether, except for the purposes of medicine, we would gladly do it in compassion to mankind.”

Q. 29

Individual officials have continued to express strong anti-opium opinions since this date, but in view of the great and lucrative extension of the trade to China, the foregoing quotation must be regarded as a landmark of past times. Disclaimers of any intention to push the trade in recent years have been much more cautiously worded. In reply to an anti-opium deputation in 1876, Lord Salisbury said :—"The Government does not view with any favour an extension of the system, and there is no project of the kind in existence. Without taking the view as to its moral condemnation which is held by many persons present, I feel that there are inconveniences of principle connected with it which would have prevented any Government in the present day from introducing it. I entirely disclaim any intention to push the Bengal system farther."

Sir James Fergusson, when Governor of the Bombay Presidency, partially echoed the earlier note of the directors when he wrote thus :—"The 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 at present it is unknown, and, so far as his Excellency in Council is aware, not asked for by the people. If opium cultivation were allowed in Scinde, it could not, with consistency, be prohibited in the rest of the Presidency. It has already been tried at 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 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 Scinde, or in any other part of this Presidency."

On the other hand, Sir Cecil Beadon, secretary to the Indian Board of Revenue, and afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in giving evidence before a Select Committee on East India finance in 1871, was asked by Mr. Fawcett :—"I understand you to say that opium is grown in India simply for purposes of revenue ; no moral considerations at all influence the Government?" and he replied : "The Government only regard opium as a means of obtaining revenue." Mr. Fawcett : "That

if, for instance, they thought they could obtain more revenue by doubling the cultivation of opium in India they would do so, and would not be deterred from adopting such a course by any considerations as to the deleterious effects which opium might produce on the people to whom it was sold?" "Probably not." In reply to the remark by Sir R. Fowler: "But it has been the wish of the Government not to encourage the consumption of opium among their own subjects." Sir C. Beadon said: "I do not think the consideration has had much weight with the Government as far as I know. I think their object has been to get as much revenue out of the consumption of opium as they possibly can." "The profit upon opium sold for exportation is very much greater," the witness said, "than the largest profit which we obtain upon opium sold to our own people." That this purely economic view of the matter prevailed at this time in India, is further substantiated by the following, amongst other items of evidence:—On the 22nd April, 1869, the Hon. W. Grey Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, writing from Barrackpore to Mr. C. H. Campbell, said: "I have a telegraphic message from Simla, urging that every possible expedient that you can approve should be used even now to extend the opium cultivation next season to the greatest possible extent." Sir Richard Temple, in a minute dated 27th April, 1869, wrote: "I am clear for extending the cultivation and for insuring a plentiful supply. If we do not do this the Chinese will do it for themselves. They had better have our good opium than their own indifferent opium. There is really no moral objection to our conduct in this respect." Sir John (then the Hon. J.) Strachey wrote from Simla on the 20th April, 1869: "It seems to me that immediate measures of the most energetic character ought to be taken with the object of increasing the production of opium." In the financial statement for 1884-85 occurs the passage: "The Government is indebted to Mr. H. Rivett Carnac, opium agent at Benares, for strengthening its opium revenue during the year 1883, and in a lesser degree in the previous year, by the manufacture and preparation of Malwa opium into a form suited for local consumption." The last sentence it will be seen, refers with satisfaction to the strengthening of the revenue from *local* consumption. The foregoing extracts indicate the drift of the historical evidence—swaying somewhat from side to side, but not unnaturally attaching greater importance to the revenue, as the income from opium grew in importance.

Q. 3399.
East India
Finance,
1871.

Q. 3398.
East India
Finance.

Royal
Commission.

Q. 3.

It is necessary now to consider the statements of officials qualified to speak as to the present policy both of the Indian and Imperial Governments. Mr. W. H. Smith, the leader of the House of Commons, in speaking on Sir Joseph Pease's motion, said :—"The course which the Government of India had taken during the last five years was to diminish the area of cultivation in India by 20 per cent. That must be taken as an indication of the policy of the Government in its administration of India." And again, "the policy of the Government had been greatly to diminish the cultivation and consumption of the drug in India. That had been their distinct policy during the past five years, and it would be preserved in the future." On the same occasion Sir James Fergusson added : "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 measures to reduce it ; they have diminished the number of licenses, and they have diminished the area on which the poppy was grown. One hundred thousand acres less are now under poppy in Bengal than ten years ago."

A despatch from the Secretary of State for India (Lord Cross) to the Governor-General in Council, Lord Lansdowne, dated 17th December, 1891, concludes as follows :—"I recognise fully that it is the wish and policy of your Government to check and limit the habit of consuming licit opium among Indian populations as far as is possible, without driving them to smuggling, or to the use of more harmful narcotic drugs." Precisely the same attitude was taken by Mr. Gladstone on behalf of the present Cabinet, when he moved as an amendment to Mr. Webb's proposals (*inter alia*) "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, &c." Two successive Governments, therefore, representing the two great parties in the country, have both affirmed, in a marked manner, that the opium policy of the Empire is one of restriction and diminution.

When the Commission reached India, the first witness examined was Sir David Barbour, who has been for five years in charge of the Finance Department. He was asked as to the policy of the Indian Government, and replied :—"For a great many years its policy in regard to internal consumption has been to raise the taxation on opium as high as possible, without

April 10th. 1891.

Q. 2,077.

giving rise to smuggling. The object of this policy would be, I should say, to raise the revenue, and at the same time to check the excessive consumption of opium by increasing its price. 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 some provinces, such as Burma and Assam, it was believed that opium was consumed to an excessive extent, or that its consumption had specially injurious effects, and in those provinces special restrictions were imposed, both by raising the rate of duty and by limiting the number of the shops. I am not sure that that policy was not carried too far in both cases. As regards Malwa opium, the policy has been to raise as high a duty as the trade will bear, raising the duty when practicable, and reducing it when the trade was depressed and exports fell." When questioned as to Mr. Smith's statement already

Q. 2,078

quoted, the witness continued:—"I was not aware that that was the policy of the Home Government until the statement was made. The policy of the Government of India has been what I have stated, and I can say that from personal knowledge." Alluding to the reduction in the area of poppy cultivation, Sir David Barbour said: "The real reason was that we had 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." He continued: "I think the fluctuations (in area) are not due to any definite policy, 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."

Q. 2,086

Q. 2,098

"I should say decidedly, that at present our desire is to obtain the maximum revenue from the opium consumed in India; but it would certainly be incorrect to say that that is the only consideration before the Government at the present time, either as regards India or China. As regards India, as I have said, we do take special measures in provinces where the consumption of opium is believed to be excessive. 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

Q. 2,108.

- to English public opinion. As regards China, the question of the opium revenue derived from the export of opium to China being under discussion, and the system being very strongly attacked by men whose opinions are entitled to every consideration, the Government has by force of circumstances rather adopted the policy of preserving the *status quo*, that is to say,— We will go on as we are, we will grow about the same amount of opium and sell it every year; we will not largely increase the cultivation, because we shall be attacked if we do so; on the other hand, we do not think it necessary to diminish it; we have adopted a middle course and preserved the *status quo* with reference to the China trade.”
- Q. 2,109. “There is no doubt that the pressure brought to bear by the Anti-opium Association or by Parliament is very much greater than it ever was before, and that it has become a much more serious question; therefore this question of the checking of the consumption of opium has been much more forced on the notice of the Government of India in recent years than was formerly the case.” It may be noted in
- Q. 2,105. passing that Sir D. Barbour stated, that now in a large number of places, Burma for instance, the profit per pound on opium sold for internal consumption is greater than the profit sold for export. The phrase most frequently used to sum up the Indian home policy was given amongst others by Mr. Forbes, the Commissioner for
- Q. 10,789. Patna. He urged, “that the existing system under which the production and sale of opium is a Government monopoly, cannot be improved upon. It results in a maximum revenue with a minimum use of the drug.” The phrase a “maximum revenue and minimum use” is rather plausible than explicit. It does not determine which of the two ideas is to dominate the other. Sir
- Q. 18,160. Dennis Fitzpatrick, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, said, “Of course what we all desire is, to see as little opium as possible sold and at the highest price.” Sir Lepel Griffin, who has resented the Anti-opium crusade with much asperity, said:
- Q. 1,614. “My own personal feeling is that I would not stimulate the production of opium. . . . Opium is a luxury—it is only used by people who can afford it.” On the other hand, it is certain that the Indian administration is strongly averse to any crippling of its opium revenue. Sir David W. Barbour
- Q. 2,058. had “no hesitation in saying, that it would be impossible to carry on the administration of India if the revenue were reduced by Rs.6,000,000;” and, further, “we are in serious

financial difficulties at the present time, and the financial burden of to-day would be simply intolerable if our predecessors had decided thirty years ago to gradually stop the export of opium, and if our revenue were at this moment Rs.5,000,000 less than it actually is. . . . I wish to give this Commission the most solemn warning as to the probable consequences of destroying the Indian opium revenue." This opinion is now dominant at Calcutta as regards the China trade and apparently the home trade also. Q. 2,070.

CULTIVATION.

The revenue in question flows mainly from a monopoly of the growth of opium in Bengal, and its sale both for export and for home consumption (*part of the income from the latter is credited in the accounts to "Excise"*); and in part by the levy of a heavy pass duty of Rs.650 per chest on all opium entering British territory from the Native States. Though the poppy can be grown in most parts of India, its cultivation in British territory is everywhere prohibited, except in parts of Bengal, and of the North-West Provinces and of Oudh. The produce from these districts is known as Bengal opium. The opium grown in the Native States (*i.e.*, of Rajputana and Central India) is known as Malwa opium. The vast majority of Native States, either by express or tacit agreement with the Government of India, do not allow the poppy to be grown on their territory. Q. 100.

The administrative head of the Bengal opium monopoly is the Board of Revenue at Calcutta. The poppy is grown and the opium manufactured under the control of the Government of the Bengal Presidency. The crops are sown chiefly in garden plots close to the villages over a large irregular territory, mainly in the valley of the Ganges. There are two separate opium agencies, termed Bihar and Benares respectively, with separate factories at Patna and Ghazipur. Each agency has its independent staff of European officers supervising large native establishments of sub-officials of various grades. Their methods of action are not identical. The Benares agency has more direct communication between itself and the cultivator, and less payment of officials by commission than Bihar. The villagers have a headman known as "khatadar" in the Bihar agency ("lumbar-dar" in the Benares), who is accepted by the opium agent, and becomes a recognised official. In the Bihar district he brings a See Sketch Map.

list of ryots, who have agreed to grow opium, to the sub-agent or his assistant. Licenses are prepared, and an advance, bearing no interest, is thereupon given for the cultivator. Another advance is frequently sanctioned before the opium is brought in to be weighed. When the crop is ready, the cultivators are summoned to attend at the weighing stations, to deliver the whole of the produce at a fixed price. For the last ten years the Government has given Rs.5 per seer for good opium. Since the holding of the Commission this has been raised to Rs.6 per seer.* The opium is then despatched to the factories to be prepared for sale. That prepared for the Chinese market is called "provision" opium; that for home use, "excise" or "Abkari" opium. The chests for export are sold by auction at Calcutta. To steady the market a large reserve is usually retained in hand, but this is now exhausted.

* Rather more
than 2 lbs.

February, 1895.

Interesting evidence was given as to cultivation. The ryots themselves should be the first to be heard. Before the Royal Commission the Indian cultivator, as might be expected, was a very inarticulate person, only two or three times was he ushered into its presence; but much was said about him by others. What he did say of Bihar was, that the more often they ploughed before sowing (from twenty to forty times) the better the produce; that eight or nine waterings were requisite; four or five weedings, and five lancettings of the poppy head; that wheat, potatoes, and sugar-cane are more profitable—there is not so much labour and cost required as in growing poppy—but they grew some "because we are poor people, and it is the order of the Government that we should cultivate poppy." They had seen crops uprooted because poppy was not grown. They wished "that the opium should be stopped by the Government." A petition by cultivators confirmatory of this evidence was presented, to the following effect:—

Q. 11,332. "To Lord Brassey, President, etc.—Cherisher of the poor, our salutations. We have heard that your honours have come to India to ask' us whether we like to cultivate opium or not. . . . Sugar-cane and potato cultivation we find much more profitable. We cultivate the poppy under pressure from Government, otherwise we would not do it, and our prayer is that we be released from this trouble." This was signed by 89 in one village, 171 in another village, and 55 in a third village.† Petitions

Q. 11,353.

Q. 12,017.

† The Indian Government has since informed the British Government that one of these villages has petitioned to be allowed to grow opium again. As before mentioned the price has been raised since the visit of the Commission.

from 50 villages were presented, asking that the poppy cultivation be altogether abandoned, or that the rate paid by Government be raised from Rs.5 to Rs.15. A recent case of uprooting a potato crop by the order of an English sub-deputy opium agent was brought before the Commission by Mr. Alec Wilson. The incident was proved beyond question. The report of Mr. Wace, the official who afterwards enquired into it, stated that the sub-agent acted hastily outside the letter of his instructions. Mr. Wace reported also—"I have very little doubt that he (the ryot) lost his potatoes because he did not see the zilladar." When the Commission subsequently visited the protected Native States, Patel Sheobaksh, a cultivator from the Bundi State, and a man of comparative means, warmly defended the crop as a very profitable one. In addition to opium, he said they cooked the young leaves as vegetables, the poppy heads were fried and eaten, the seeds were used for making pottage, and a useful oil was obtained from them; the oil cakes left were the best food for cows and buffaloes, and the shells, when rubbed in water, made a kind of drink. It appeared that he grew ten times as much as the average British ryot, and employed paid labour. Another cultivator from Merwara testified that the prohibition of the cultivation would create great dissatisfaction in that district. A petition from twelve residents in the Umballa district set forth that "the income from other produce is very limited, whereas opium yields us a handsome income, so that no other produce comes up to it. The large yield of opium was taken into consideration when the revenue of our villages was fixed at the recent settlement. If the cultivation be stopped we shall be ruined, and the Government will be obliged to revise the assessment of revenue."

Q. 12,396.

Vol. V.,
App. xxii.

Q. 20,951.

Q. 21,773.

Vol. III. p. 260.

The number of zemindars (landowners) examined was considerable. With little exception they spoke in favour of opium cultivation. The Government cash advances are of great assistance in the regular payment of rents, and the suppression of opium would mean the disappearance of one of the crops suitable for highly tilled plots. At Benares, two petitions, the one signed by 1,445 zemindars and cultivators of a large number of villages, and the other by 319 of the chief landowners and cultivators of 81 villages, were presented by Mr. Sharp, an indigo planter;* the

Q. 13,000.

* Q. 13,497 reads as follows: "Indigo planters, I presume, have a direct interest in having poppy planted in preference to sugar cane?" Mr. Gregory: "I dare say they do have."

first pointing out "that if the Government stops the sowing of poppy we shall in every way suffer loss and inconvenience, for the cultivation of poppy is in every way profitable, and by its help we are enabled to pay the rents to the sircar and landowners; and if the cultivation of poppy is put an end to there is no other crop that can adequately fill its place, and we shall certainly have difficulty in paying the sircar's rents." The second petition states that for the last three or four years the poppy has been discontinued by order of the Opium Agency in their villages, and loss and inconvenience and difficulty in paying rents has resulted.

Q. 12,346. It was the opinion of another indigo planter that if ryots are not disturbed and unsettled by "unscrupulous agitators," they are perfectly satisfied and contented.

The following extracts illustrate the drift of the evidence of many of the largest landowners. It will be seen that their personal knowledge of the subject was not very extensive. The Maharaja of Dingpur said the prohibition of poppy would bring serious losses to the landlords and tenants of opium-producing countries. He did not grow opium, but had received letters to that effect. The Maharaja Bahadur Sir Narendra Krishna stated that the opium cultivators pay more rents to the zemindars than the cultivators of other crops. Asked for any case of reduction of rent because of non-renewal of license to grow poppy, he said:—"I have no lands in the poppy growing districts; how can I cite a case?" Maharaja Durga Churn Law was also clear that the zemindars "could not get the same rents for their lands that they are now getting from the opium cultivators." He was not aware of any case of reduction. He had no practical knowledge of opium cultivation. "I do not think," he added, Q. 6,135. "I have ever visited any of my estates." The Maharaja Istendro Mohun Tagore, an extensive landowner, thought that when licenses to grow were withdrawn, the zemindars "most likely will have to" reduce the rent. He had no personal experience with poppy cultivation. Had visited his Midnapore estate twice some twenty years ago. Babu Saligram Singh, who Q. 6,181. possessed landed estates near Shahabad, said, on the other hand, Q. 6,272. "It is a matter wholly of unconcern with the landlord if the cultivation of the poppy be stopped, because the money rent established by law cannot be reduced. When the tenant agrees to pay a money rent it is his look-out what he cultivates, not the look-out of the landlords." At the request of some

See also
Q. 3,301.
"According,"
etc.

officer of the Opium Department he sent for the lumbaradar, and asked him if he was willing to cultivate; but the tenants were averse to doing what was not a very profitable business. Mr. T. M. Gibbon, C.I.E., "did not think the prohibition of poppy cultivation would affect the rate of rent." The landlord would eventually "get the same high rent for his lands were the poppy swept off the ground to-morrow." Q. 5514.

Two official witnesses of experience and position may be cited as to the profit of the crop. Mr. Wace, a Patna Commissioner, granted that if amongst other conditions a ryot had to pay for all the labour employed, other crops would be more profitable, but added, "It is notorious that much of the petty culture and care of the poppy plant is done by the women of the house at no cost, and from hereditary love of gardening." "Roughly," he continued, "I put it thus—if a good ryot had only to think of how to live for a single year, how to make the most of land favourably placed for a market for that year, I dare say he would prefer with an equal supply of funds to grow sugar cane, vegetables, or tobacco. But on a term of years he finds a profit in growing opium. Then, too, the hereditary instincts of the Koeri and Kurmi class make for opium. The feeling that a man is doing what his father and his grandfather have done for generations is a strong instinct in the native character, and I believe Koeris would go on cultivating even at a loss, just as the Inhalas go on weaving, though Manchester and Bombay bar them from their old profits." A much more glowing picture was drawn by Mr. Rivett-Carnac, who has had the charge of the Benares Opium Agency for 18 years. "I knew," he says, "the cotton cultivator in his halcyon days, when he used to make much money and was extremely well off. I think the opium cultivator is as well off, because the opium cultivators are the cream of the cultivators in our part of India. Nobody, excepting the best class of cultivators, will take up the poppy cultivation, or keep it for long. I should say that the average opium cultivator was better off than the cotton cultivator." Q. 10,843.

A totally different sketch to either of the two preceding ones was drawn of the Bihar ryots by Mr. Guru Prosad Sen, a Patna barrister, who was favourable on the whole to the Government monopoly, but objected to the price paid to the cultivators as wholly inadequate. The average area of the holding he put at three acres. The net income at most, Rs.60 per family per

Q. 11,214. annum. "It is hard to conceive how a family of from five to six can eke out an existence on Rs.60, yet Rs.12 at the most is the average income of a man of this class in Bihar. The charge for food in Gya last year was only Rs.12 per head. Some sort of chabena (parched pulse) in the morning, and a substantial meal of rice and dhal in the evening, in ordinary years is what they can get; a pair of *dhoties* serve them for a whole year; they cannot afford to pay for medicine in cases of illness. I might have added that they live in a hut which is worse than a cattle shed. There are no beddings except a *khatier* (bed), and that not always, no utensils but a brass *lota* (pot) or two, and perhaps one or two brass *thalio* (plates.) They have to stint themselves in the matter of that necessary article of consumption, salt. During the distress of 1891-2, in the Darbhanga and Muzuffarpur districts alone, there were 34,950 deaths in excess of the normal death-rate." Many calculations as to the cost and profit of the poppy crop as compared with other crops were put in evidence. It is clearly dangerous to draw sweeping conclusions from figures which may be correct as to one village, and wrong as to all the rest. Irrigation, railway facilities, or the rise of price in some competing crop, may in a short time alter the conditions of any given locality, and vitiate the most careful calculations of a year ago.

One point was agreed to beyond dispute. Mr. Tytler, sub-deputy opium agent, after mentioning that the vast majority of the ryots "live and die in debt," states that the advances of Government cash, free of interest, at the time of sowing are of the "greatest importance." It is said this indebtedness is increasing. Though the average value of interest thus saved would seem only three or four pence, Mr. Gregory, the deputy opium agent at Benares, says emphatically, "the main benefit is the ready money which he gets. He looks to that to pay his rent for all the lands that he possesses."

Mr. Rivett-Carnac unhesitatingly declared that official compulsion to cultivate poppy is unheard of. Mr Forbes said, "As far as I know the cultivators grow it entirely of their own free will." Sir Charles Crosthwaite mentioned that anyone employed in Government work considers it more or less a sort of work which he must do; and if asked why they grew opium would say, "Hukm se" *i.e.*, by order. But he held this did not imply that it was not their own choice to undertake it. Before leaving Calcutta, however, the Commission heard from the Hon. Maulave Abdul Jabbar, "that in some cases compulsion is exer-

Q. 2,920.

Q. 10,829.

Q. 14,802.

Q. 8,523.

cised by the native underlings of the department." At Bankipur, an official notice to a ryot was produced, warning him that his advance had been sent, and that he must sow poppy seed under pain of prosecution, although he had not agreed to do so. Babu Basik Lal Ghosh stated, "that the tenants are often compelled to accept the first advance, and in case of refusal are threatened with criminal prosecution and imprisonment; and besides, their legitimate dues on account of the poppy grown the preceding year are withheld from payment, unless they consent to cultivate the poppy." "In a village the poorest tenants are made to cultivate." Rai Isari Prasad, a large landowner or zemindar, was asked what pressure the zilladars used? "I am asking about your own villages." "They go and threaten them with persecution, and they instigate the police officers to do something to them. There are different ways of tyrannising over them. Lately I received a communication from the Opium Department, to make my ryots grow more opium." Mr. Forbes, the Commissioner at Patna, said this evidence had taken the officials "somewhat by surprise," and promised that full enquiry should be made into any abuses. He admitted, "there is no doubt that the tendency of the low pay, and of payment partly by commission, is naturally to cause the lower subordinates to press the opium cultivators unfairly, and those are matters which ought to be remedied by the Government." He had himself been one of three Commissioners who, ten years ago, examined into these very matters, and called attention to several abuses, all bearing against the cultivators. They then strongly recommended that a more satisfactory action among the subordinate officials should be secured by raising their salaries and abolishing commission. Witness now stated, "I think no action has been taken." Mr. Tytler, the sub-deputy opium agent, when asked to explain how the khatadar (one of the impugned ranks of sub-officials) is selected, said: "For the last eighty years he has been elected on absolutely the most perfect elective system that I know of in India." A Commissioner pointed out, however, that par. 169 of the official Opium Manual, ran thus: "All khatadars should be made to understand their position as paid agents of Government, their remuneration being the commission on the yield of their licenses and khurchun, "or scrapings from the cultivators' pots." "The appointment and dismissal of khatadars will invariably be under the written authority of the officers in charge." To which

Q. 11,489.

Q. 11,710.

Q. 11,749.

Q. 11,986.

Q. 12,026.

Q. 12,163

See Vol. V.
App. i.

Q. 12,140.

Q. 12,140.

Q. 12,187.

Mr. Tytler appears only to have replied, "quite so." The manual in par. 108 states: "It is usual, in cases where advances are given for improving the means of irrigation in the village, to stipulate for a certain increase in the cultivation of poppy," and the form for securing such irrigation loan provides that, "so long as the loan remains unpaid to the full amount of capital and interest thereon, the said agent shall have the right to impose *any fine that he may please*, and realize the same together with the capital and interest *by any means*, and I or my heirs or inheritors will have no objection to the same, or to the paying of interest." This manual was a new and revised edition. Mr. Tytler's last contribution of value to this phase of the question is as follows:—Question: "It is suggested that it may frequently happen that they (the lower grade officials) receive gratifications from the ryots; are you acquainted with anything of the kind?"

- Q. 12,325. —"I am sure that they do, but how they receive it, and at what rate, I cannot say. I have always done my best to unravel any complaint made to me, but I do not consider it consistent with my position to try and ferret out things unless people complain!" Mr. Wace, another official, is doubtless right in the remark: "The underlings of the present opium department are I fear some of the most dishonest of our servants, though there is much European supervision over them. Without that they would be a curse to every district." His conclusion was this: "I do not like the direct Government connection with it (the poppy). But I look upon it as the only possible way of controlling opium cultivation." Perhaps the best defence that can be given for the sub-officials is that of Mr. G. M. Gregory, a sub-deputy opium agent. In reply to question 13,457, he said: "I think they are perfectly suited to the class of work we expect from them, which is a kind of coolie driving. They look after these men, and drive them into weighments, and bring them into settlements. We would not require educated men for that kind of work."

- The average out-turn in Benares is $5\frac{1}{4}$ seers per bigha, as compared with a little over 4 in Bihar. This must represent a better return to the ryot for his labour. There is, however, evidence of pressure to cultivate even in Benares. Syed Kalk Husein, of Barabanki, says, "he has to press his ryots for fear of district officials, and ryots are pressed to accept advances. This, notwithstanding that Barabanki, according to map vii., 339, vol. II., is a place where there is a very large out-turn. Madho

Prasad speaks of the poppy being unpopular in the Benares agency. Pandit S. N. Mastadaw, of Sitapur, thought poppy cultivation was unprofitable, and that only 3 out of 200 of his tenants grew it. He was not afraid of anyone, and so did not press them. Did he do so, more would be grown.

Q. 13,037.

Q. 15,113.

It might be supposed that the re-opening out of the serious defects in the methods adopted by the Bihar opium agency more especially, would lead to their prompt amendment. Some reforms were said in 1893 to have been initiated, but this was discovered to be a mistake, the resolutions adopted by the Revenue Department at Calcutta on the 20th April, 1894, shew that the old system is to be still maintained, because "Government cannot hold out any hopes of any increase of establishments in the present state of the opium revenue." This is in effect a deliberate continuance of abuses enquired into, and pointed out in the clearest terms, by an Indian Departmental Commission in 1883, and now brought to light again (in spite of disclaimers by some of the heads of departments), by the visit of Royal Commissioners from England in 1893 and 1894.

A strange contrast to the roseate view of poppy cultivation is to be found in the reports of the opium agencies themselves, presented every year to the Government of India. The report from Bihar for 1891-2 states, "it was not possible for us to pick and choose our lands, the time has long passed when this was feasible." Mr. Christian, an officer of long experience, who has made the condition of the villagers of Bihar a special study, writes:—"An examination of the average yield per bigha for the last ten years, in the poorer villages of this sub-agency, shows that the out-turn has declined year after year, so that from an average produce of 4 s. 6½ ch. per bigha it has come down to 1 s. 2¾ ch. per bigha in Lallganj Kothi. "It is neglected for the sake of other better paying crops which have displaced it, and which are paying enough to command more attention. 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 of garden produce, oil, and sugar-cane; each of those gives a return which is higher than that yielded by the poppy, sown as it is on inferior lands . . . The problem, therefore, to be solved is how to get these good lands back. What inducement to offer so as to make it profitable for the cultivators to sow opium in their best lands"? One of the means suggested is to grant all requests for loans from responsible poppy cultivators.

Report,
P. 4, par. 7.

P. 5, par. 7.

The report on the administration of the Opium Department for 1892-3, presented at Calcutta on March 12th, 1894, announces a further decrease of 2,642 cultivators in Bihar, and of 43,127 in the Benares agency. The information which has since come to hand, that the Government has now agreed to pay Rs.6, instead of Rs. 5 per seer as formerly, to the grower of opium, reflects very strikingly on some of the official evidence given before the Commission. If it was true that the crop, under its then condition, was the most popular of all crops, that its cultivation was a veritable gold mine, and its cultivators the most prosperous of all the Indian peasantry, a sudden rise of payment to the amount of 20 per cent. at the expense of the country generally is inexplicable. If these statements made to the Commission were incorrect, and the reports now obtainable from the opium agencies show them to have been so, then the Government of India failed to present the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, to the Royal Commission.

LICENSES.

The development of the licensing of the retail sale of opium has differed largely in different provinces of India. It will be seen from the table annexed, that license fees are high in Bengal and nominally low in Bombay. It will suffice to sketch the system in one or two provinces only, and to allude but briefly to the rest. An historical sketch of licensing in Bengal, put in by Mr. Gupta, the Excise Commissioner, shows that in 1813 the unlicensed sale of intoxicating drugs (including opium) was prohibited. Hemp drugs were absolutely forbidden as "highly prejudicial to health;" and the supplies of opium for the agents were "limited to the medical needs of the district." In 1816 the sale of opium was made a branch of the Abkari revenue, and in 1824 the farming system was generally adopted. No applications for druggists' licenses are refused. They "require a certain amount of urging." Mr. Gupta explained to the Commissioners that "the craving for stimulants" is satisfied there from three distinct sources—(1) country liquor, (2) hemp drugs, (3) opium. The liquor, according to the witness, was preferred in dry districts, with pronounced cold and hot seasons; hemp drugs in wet districts or malarious tracts, and opium along the seaboard and towns with an exceptional tract occupied by a sect of abstaining Mahomedans (puritanical Mr. Gupta styled them). In

Vol. II.,
App. xxii.

App. xxix.

Q. 4799.

Calcutta there are 57 opium licenses, 30 madak licenses, and 1 chandu license. Madak and chandu are intoxicating drugs manufactured from opium. "The principle of issuing licenses is to see that a sufficient number of shops are licensed to supply the legitimate demands of the different localities." "In the case of each shop an upset fee is fixed. The shops are put up to auction annually, except in Calcutta, where the settlement is triennial. The licensee is required to pay two months' fees in advance as a guarantee against loss to the revenue. Not more than 5 tolas (900 grains) may be sold to a customer at one time. No register is kept." Chandu shops had been described by him as "distinctly places for producing temporary intoxication." The effects of chandu and madak smoking "are distinctly harmful in the case of Indians, especially when they are unable to obtain nourishing food." It was "an appreciable advantage to the community" that "the criminal classes and inevitable scum of large towns, which would otherwise shun police observation, should, to so large an extent, be focussed and brought under their direct notice." There were scores of illicit opium-smoking dens in Calcutta whilst the licensed ones were open, now there were more. The policy of the authorities was to meet a reasonable demand. The man who had the chandu shops was a monopolist. He paid for eleven licenses, but only used four. "If he finds that he can sell a sufficient quantity from these four shops to make his business pay, we do not insist upon his opening all the other shops." "The only reason I can give is, that when we get the license fees of these eleven shops, we do not insist on all being opened." "There is no vested interest recognized by the Excise Administration." "The price at which opium is issued to the licensed vendors in Bengal, is fixed by Government according to local circumstances, and varies from Rs.16 to Rs.32 a seer. The retail selling price varies from Rs.20 to Rs.65 per seer. In the North-West Provinces, in addition to the licensed shops, sundry officials are allowed to sell opium during office hours at a fixed rate to check illicit consumption. They are allowed an abatement or commission of R.1 per seer. In the Central Provinces temporary shops are licensed for fairs and market days. Medical practitioners as well as druggists are permitted to sell under special license. In the Punjab, in addition to license fees determined annually by public auction, fees leviable in a district may be farmed for five years. Medical practitioners may sell as well as

App. xxiii.,
vol. ii.
Q. 4.875.

Q. 4.908.

Q. 4.913.

Q. 4.919.

Q. 4.870.

Q. 4.968.

druggists. The licensing system of Madras is comparatively recent. A Bill was introduced in 1875, with the statement, 'In Madras no check, either legislative or administrative, exists at present on the growth of the poppy, or the transport, possession, or storage, of opium; and practices have resulted, injurious alike to the public revenue, and to public morality and health.'" "The monopoly of the retail sale of opium is now sold by auction on the farming system. The maximum sale to an individual is six tolas. 'Artificial stimulus to the consumption of the drug is provided against by the prohibition of sales by barter.'

Consumption
of Opium,
p. 61.

App. xviii.,
vol. v.

Ap. xx., vol. ix.

In Bombay, opium is issued to licensed dealers at rates which are fixed from time to time. A farming system and a license fee system are both in force. In the one the Commissioner of Opium selects the contractor, and number, and locality of the shops. In the other the right of sale is put up to auction, the shops being determined by the authorities." In Bombay the licensees guaranteed to sell a certain amount of the drug, and were penalised if they failed to do so. The reason given was, that under this method, they co-operated more actively with the authorities to detect illicit sales. Owing to representations from Britain, this provision was withdrawn on 31st July, 1893. The Bombay licensee pays into the collector's treasury, monthly, a variable sum as licenses fees, and a further varying sum as contribution towards the Government establishment for the prevention of opium smuggling. The licensee further undertakes not to sub-let any of his opium shops, or to employ any person for the retail sale, without previously receiving the written sanction of the collector, that he will not receive any wearing apparel, or other goods, for charter; nor sell on credit, nor sell at other than authorised prices, and during authorised hours, to be fixed by the collector; that he will maintain at each shop such minimum stock of opium as the collector shall require; will open any new shop required by the collector immediately; will not permit persons of notoriously bad character to resort to his shop; that he will deposit with the collector Rs.

App. xx.

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the Form.

in cash or promissory notes, as security for the performance of the conditions; that the license may be recalled by the collector for the infringement of any of the conditions; or the collector shall have power at any time to impose a fine, not exceeding Rs. 1,000, for any infringement by licensee, or any servant or agent, and to enforce the same without further process by law

TABLE SHOWING RETAIL OPIUM SALES, LICENCE FEES, DUTY AND NUMBER OF SHOPS
IN THE PROVINCES OF INDIA FOR 1892.

	Indian General.	Bengal.	N. W. Provinces and Oudh.	Punjab.	Burma.	Central Provinces.	Assam.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
Local consumption in maunds (82 lbs.).....		1,934	1,703	1,523	1,736	633	1,333	889	1,550	11,301
Licence fees Rx	3,336	51,063	17,450	34,326	61,337	28,533	28,080	33,454	9,305	266,884
Government duty Rx	2,189	160,942	62,086	89,038	162,603	44,458	158,710	40,307	107,459	827,774
Total opium revenue	5,525	211,987	79,536	123,364	223,940	72,991	186,790	73,761	116,764	1,014,676
No. of shops*...		1,998	1,040	1,780	34	1,133	866	1,030	1,162	9,043

* The Blue Book, entitled Consumption of Opium, states, pp. 7, that in some returns the number of shops, and in others the number of licences covering more than one shop, had occurred; and p. 9, that in 1889-90, there were under the Bombay Presidency, 1,281 shops for opium exclusively, *in addition to* 1,290 shops for intoxicating drugs.

In Assam the Treasury price for opium reaches Rs.37 a seer (the cost being estimated at Rs.7.4). The minimum upset price in shops put up to auction varies from Rs.36 to Rs.180. "Local option is as far as possible consulted in licensing new shops."

Vol. II.,
App. xxxi.

A very questionable kind of licensing in Assam is disclosed in the following evidence :—

Mr. J. S. S.
Driberg.

Q 10 757

(*Mr. Pease.*) "It was stated the other day by one witness, a tea-planter, that he held a license for the sale of opium, and sold the opium to the coolies in his employ; would you inform us whether there are many cases of that kind?"—"I cannot tell you the exact number, but there are several cases. There would probably be three or four in each of the five districts."

Q. 10,761.

"You are aware that such a course would be illegal in England?"—"It would be in England, but not in India. His intention in taking a license is to sell opium to the coolies, and keep them on the estate, not letting them go out for opium. That is the real intention."

In the North West provinces the excise had long to struggle with illicit opium. To check this, Mr. Hume introduced regulations of a very stringent and inquisitory character, but he largely succeeded. The price, however, is kept down as compared with provinces where smuggling would be more difficult.

Moral and
Material
Progress, p. 50.

The table on page 25 shews the proportions of license fees, and duties on opium in the different provinces for 1892.

Each of the provinces supplied with Bengal opium, viz — Bengal, the N. W. Provinces, and Oudh, the Central Provinces, Assam, and Burma, derive large provincial revenues from the sale of opium, of which the Local Government gets three-fourths, and the Imperial Government one-fourth.

In round figures the amounts so realized have been as follows for the last three years :

* Rx = tens
of rupees.

Bengal	*Rx 210,000
N. W. Provinces & Oudh	75,000
Central Provinces	85,000
Assam	180,000
Burma	200,000

The quantity of crude opium which it is lawful to sell retail to one person at one time, is two tolas (360 grains) in Bombay and the Central Provinces, three tolas (540 grains) in Madras, the Punjab, North West Provinces, and Oudh, and five tolas (900

grains) in Bengal, Assam, and Berar. The limit for madak and chandu for smoking is generally one tola ; two in Bombay and Sindh.

It may be noted that the Excise Revenue has the distinction of being the only branch of Indian Revenue which has been continuously progressive during the last ten years. M. and M.P.
p. 206.

The net Opium Revenue has fallen from 1880-1 to the Budget estimate for 1893-4 as follows :—

1880-1	Rx 8,451,276
1893-4	„ 5,967,104

The relative proportion of Opium Revenue to the total State income is shown by the table in the margin.

Year.	Gross Revenue.	Per Cent. on Total Gross Revenue.
1842-3	Rx 2,088,000	9'2
1852-3	5,088,000	18'0
1862-3	8,055,000	17'4
1872-3	8,685,000	15'4
1882-3	9,499,000	13'5
1892-3	8,012,000	8'9

M. and M.P.
p. 244.

The Government contention on behalf of the Excise system is, that they did not begin the retail sale of opium ; that the high licenses are restrictive ; that if the farmers encourage the sale of licit opium, they are also checks on the use of the smuggled drug ; and that there is no better alternative means of raising a revenue. There is a large body of evidence in support of these positions.

The following is a good example of the evidence confirmatory of the Government position :—

Syed Nazir Hosein : “ I do not think it (the use of opium) ought to be encouraged, nor should it be totally suppressed. The present system is quite right.” Q. 15,290.

A yet more concise opinion to the contrary reads : “ Is the present system of licenses a good one in regard to restricting the habit, or does it tend to spread the habit ? It is rather inducive than prohibitive.” Babu Abinash
C. Mazumdar.
Q. 18,199.

The objections urged and suggestions offered are indicated by the following evidence :—

The Maharaja of Bhaunagar native state, in a letter published p. 426, vol. IV., deprecates the results “ due entirely to the system of farming or sales in the British districts, where the contracts are given to the person who buys the largest quantity of

opium, irrespective of the possible needs of the district he has contracted to sell in." "The remedy appears to me to be simple. Let the recognised wants of each district be fixed, and only sufficient opium for the area to be supplied be sold; any demand beyond this being carefully scrutinised."

Q. 15,603. Babu B. Behari Bose: "I am decidedly in favour of local option."

Q. 18,257. Devi Dyal, Editor of the *Kayastha Mitra*, said: "The present system of licensing surely tends to encourage the habit to a certain extent, because everybody thinks that he can easily obtain the drug whenever he requires, without giving explanation to anyone, nor has he to produce the medical authority or prescription to the licensed vendor; the ignorant people think there is no evil in it because Government approves it. 'If it were an evil, how should Government allow it?' they sometimes plead. I have heard that the licensed vendor in villages, or less enlightened places, now and then threatens the illiterate people, that if they will not take the drug he will report the matter to Government, 'because how will I be able' (to use his own native language), 'kistarrah sarkar ka ghar pura karunga,' 'to fill the house of the Government'?"

Q. 24,327. Pandit Ganesh Gopal: "I think no Government has any right to raise any revenue by making its subjects vicious. Unrighteous revenue will not really help the Government in any way."

Q. 19,733. Rai Chandi Prasad, a landowner of Agra, and a Government pensioner, was asked, "What do you desire to say with reference to the present licensing system?" and replied, "The facility with which opium can be procured from the market is the evil of the present licensing system. It has spread a very injurious custom among the women of India, to give daily a little dose of opium to their infant babes. Opium, on account of the same facilities, is also a ready means of suicide among young men and women of India. A register of habitual opium-eaters should be kept, and they should get a certificate, entitling them to get their dose daily. The sale of opium should be entrusted to druggists and medicine sellers, recognised by the Civil Surgeon, the District Magistrate, or the Municipal Board; and should be as strictly supervised as that of arsenic or strychnine. Opium as a medicine should be given on production of a certificate of a doctor, respectable hakim, or Vaid."

The evidence of B. D. Mazumdar, a pleader of Assam, agrees with the above. Q. 3,054.

D. Ganguli, of Dacca, assistant secretary to the Indian Association, said: "I believe the existing system of granting licenses for the sale of opium tends to spread the habit of opium consumption. As a large revenue is derived from the sale of opium, it is not to the interest of Government to impose upon it any real restrictive measures." Q. 8,615.

The Rev. W. B. Phillips: "The sale of licenses by auction exercises a steady pressure, acting all along the line, to promote increased consumption." Q. 2,598.

The Rev. J. L. Phillips: "Do you think that it is their impression that it is the wish of the Government that the sale of opium should be increased in the district?" "I think that is a very general opinion. I have met with it frequently." Q. 10,697.

Mrs. Hauser, in speaking to some intelligent Mahomedans about the opium shops, was answered, "Yes, we know that there are a great many who are our friends, and who want the shops shut, but Government cares only for the revenue, and not for the people." Q. 14,966.

The Rev. D. O. Fox, M.A., Poona, said: "The known relation of Government to the opium traffic is an encouragement to the people to use it. The feeling among the people is, that Government not only approves its use, but desires them to use it. But the more intelligent know the Government is only seeking a revenue, and they speak in strong terms of contempt of its relations to the business." Q. 26,286.

The Rev. H. F. Laffamme, of Vizagapatam, urged that a licensed vendor secures his license at the highest up-bid prices. In order to remunerate himself, he uses his utmost endeavour to extend consumption and sale. Every retail vendor, and every proprietor of an opium-smoking den, is loud-mouthed in commending the numerous medicinal uses of the drug, and in urging the people to try it. They give away a good deal to young men not addicted to the habit to induce them to adopt it, and when they are once enslaved make them pay for it." Q. 27,839.

CONSUMPTION.

An important part of the duties of the Royal Commission was to enquire into 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. For the sake of clearness it will be well to deal with the amount of consumption first, and afterwards to proceed to its effects. The army will be taken separately. Sir John Strachey, in a written memorandum put in in London, says, "in some of these countries (forming India) . . . certain classes have, from time immemorial, consumed opium. But these classes constitute numerically an absolutely insignificant proportion of the population of India. Speaking in general terms, the consumption of opium in India is so infinitesimally small, that I may say, without exaggeration, that no opium question exists at all." Sir Lepel Griffin's evidence accords with this. Asked by Sir J. Lyall, "What is the effect of the consumption of opium on the peasantry of Central India?" He replied, "Well, they are not consumers to any great extent. It is too expensive for the peasants, as a rule, all over India. The Rajputs . . . consume it . . . but the Mahrattas are not as a rule addicted to opium." "It is not a common practice, opium-eating in India; it is too expensive. It is like the working-men in London smoking Havanna cigars." A Government resolution of 25th September, 1891, is confirmatory of this general position. It states that among most classes of the population, and in most localities, the habit does not exist to any considerable extent.
- Q. 872.
- Q. 1,555.
- Q. 1,556.
- Vol. ii., p. 314.
- Q. 3,185.
- Q. 3,774.
- Q. 3,626.
- Q. 3,673.
- Qs. 3,886-3,890.
- Q. 5,461.
- The Hon. D. R. Lyall told the Commission, "the consumption in Calcutta is very large, partly owing to the number of Chinamen here, partly to there being a larger number of immoderate consumers here among the Mahomedans than elsewhere, but also because it is more largely used by the respectable classes of natives, chiefly by men over 40, than it is in the mofussil." Dr. K. Chunder Bose estimated that only "10 per cent." of the residents of Calcutta actually take opium. Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel McConnell placed the opium habit in the city, "roughly speaking," at about 1 per cent. Surgeon-Lieut.-Col. Russell put it at 5 to 10 per cent. of the adult males of Bengal. Dr. J. B. Bose said "2 per cent. of adults." Mr. Wilson, "adult males?" "Yes; females very seldom take it. In the towns it cannot be more than 4 or 5 per cent." Mr. Monro produced a table showing the consumption of opium for all purposes throughout Lower Bengal, with its 70,000,000 inhabitants, to be sixteen grains per head per annum. Of this, something more than one-fifth is consumed by the 1,000,000 of

people in Calcutta alone. The evidence is very strong that in British India the habit prevails in the towns much more than in the country. Bishop Thoburn said: "In many parts of India they do not use opium at all. I have been in provinces where I never met a man who used opium; in other parts it is a very prevalent vice. There must be a multitude of villages where they never see it." Q. 2,246.

Dr. N. R. Sircar said: "The cultivator, for instance, the palki bearer, the fisherman, the day labourer, etc., who have to lead a life of active muscular work, rarely take opium, though many of them have to pass the greater part of the time in the malarious swamps of Bengal; nor do their means allow them to pay for their luxury of opium and its accessories. A few members belonging to the lower classes, however, for example, tailors, carpenters, etc., who have more time and little work, join the middle classes in indulging in the luxury of opium smoking." Q. 2,382.

Dr. M. L. Sircar observed: "Generally, I may say, people of the middle and upper classes take to opium rather than the poorer people." K. K. Mitra says: "I believe that opium-eating and smoking are more prevalent among the Hindus and Mahomedans of the upper classes than amongst the lower." Q. 5,825.

As a rule, the cultivators, fishermen, boatmen, and palki bearers, and those who have to work hard, do not take opium." K. S. Sukul, M.A., puts it thus: "The middle classes, the agricultural classes, and the working classes, such as are of active habits, that is *mojurs*, eschew opium in every shape in Bengal." Mr. E. V. Westmacott, for more than thirty years in the Bengal Civil Service, stated: "In Gya, where there is a large consumption, I can understand it, because the place is full of vice. Every form of vice, I should think, is rampant in the city of Gya, owing to the priests." Q. 6,386.

Speaking of the district of Behar, Dr. P. M. Chattergee testified: "The labouring classes seldom take opium—that is my observation. It is by no means a general habit here." This was confirmed by Surgeon-Lieut.-Col. G. C. Hall. Q. 8,636.

Brigade-Surgeon Lieut.-Col. A. Cameron, M.D., at Benares, says: "Amongst the rural population the number addicted to the habit is small, probably not more than one or two in a hundred—that is a high estimate, I would even put it at less than that—and the evil effects are practically *nil*." In large towns like Benares the habit is much more common. Probably not far from 20 per cent. of the people use the drug in some form or other." Mr. H. Q. 9,318.

Q. 5,051.

Q. 11,881.

Q. 12,501.

Q. 12,563.

Q. 12,564.

- Q. 12,978. Sharpe says, "the consumption of opium in the district of Rampur is confined to a very few of the upper classes of the native community, those who are able to afford the luxury, the influential class." Ram Kali Chaudhuri, of Benares, says: "As a rule, working people have no habit of using opium. Examination of people employed in a mill will prove this."
- Q. 13,192. Maharaja P. N. Singh: "In my opinion the use of opium by cultivators in villages is very small." Lucknow has unquestionably a high rate of consumption. Surgeon-Lieut.-Col. Hooper believed that 50 per cent. of the Mohamedan population, and about 10 per cent. of the Hindu population, are addicted to the habit. Munshi Newal Kishore, C.I.E., says: "The greater consumption of opium among the Mahomedans, especially among the well-to-do, is attributable chiefly to their luxurious propensities."
- Q. 13,951. Of the Sikhs, Surgeon-Major Anderson, M.D., held that about 4 per cent. of the poor and 10 per cent. of the well-to-do classes take the drug. Mr. Brownrigg urged that Cawnpore, the Manchester of Northern India, showed the highest average consumption of all. But Mr. F. B. Mulock gave the figures as shewing a consumption of 7·1 seers per 1,000 people at Lucknow and 4·5 in Cawnpore. Brigade-Surgeon J. H. Condon said:
- Q. 13,881. "Opium-smoking is not common in the North-West. In the big towns it is getting common now. When I first went to Cawnpore there was no opium-smoking there." Surgeon-Col. Cleghorn, M.D., attributed the common opium habit at Lucknow as "largely due to the immorality during the Nawabi régime affecting the inhabitants generally, and that as a rule it is now confined to the descendants of the people who lived during the Nawabi reign. It is practically unknown outside the city of Lucknow." The Hon. Sri Ram Rai testified, "the total proportion of some of my villages in which I have been is about 3,000 of the cultivating class, and I have found that only about five or six persons were in the habit of taking opium." In Ludiana, a Sikh district, the consumption was given at 21 oz. per 100 of the inhabitants per annum. The Sikhs take alcohol, but not tobacco. In the Nahan State, the consumption "amongst the hill men is very rare." The total population is 124,134. Opium eaters of different classes in the Faridkhot State number about 4,215, of whom about 3,485 take less than 15 grains per day, and some 730 take more. The number of up-grown men using it in the Bilaspur State is estimated at 8 per
- Q. 13,979.
- Q. 14,225.
- Q. 14,350.
- Q. 13,682.
- Q. 16,544.
- Q. 16,842.
- Q. 14,437.
- Q. 15,744.
- Q. 16,322.
- Q. 16,362.
- Q. 16,380.

cent. Jowala Singh estimated that about 20 or 25 per cent. of the grown-up population in the villages of the Umballa district consume opium, but the Tika Sahib Raghuna Singh said, the men who cultivated poppy did not use it at all, and estimated that not more than 5 per cent. of grown-up men were consumers.

Of the Assamese, Mr. L. M. Lahiri, B.L., a pleader in the Judges' Court in Assam, says: "I believe fully a third portion of the population of Kamrup is given to the vile habit, and in Upper Assam it is worse." Mr. R. D. Mazumdar, a pleader at Nowgong, thinks that 25 per cent. indulge in the habit, while U. N. Barooah says 15 to 20 per cent. Mr. G. R. Chowdry, a tahsildar at Gauhati, believes the proportion is only about 10 per cent.

In Sind, opium is stated to be eaten by about 5 per cent. of the people. In one district the estimate was 10 per cent. In Meerut Dr. Moriarty said not more than 3 per cent. of the male adults. Dr. Glyn Griffiths thought more than 10 per cent. of the employés on the East Indian Railway took it. In some districts he was informed about 1 per cent. eat opium.

Mr. T. Stoker, Commissioner of Excise, speaking for the North-West Provinces, said, if the whole amount of opium was consumed for non-medical purposes, it would, at 15 grains a day, allow under four moderate opium-eaters for every thousand people. He thought the use of the drug was mainly medicinal.

The figures for the Malwa (opium-producing) States are open to the objection that some percentages refer to adult males and some to the whole population. The general estimate is high. Lieut.-Col. Abbott said the percentage of women consumers is very small, ranging from 15 per cent. in Kishengarh to 2 per cent. in three states. The evidence throughout India, with one or two exceptions, suggests that the use of opium by women for other than medical purposes is rare. Thakur B. Singh explained—"Those women only who suffer from asthma, cold, hectic fever, or blood diseases, take opium. Men take it ordinarily, because it proves beneficial in every way, if taken in moderation, after the age of 40 years. Ten per cent. of the Rajputs take it in this State." Kirat Singh's explanation for the men was, "that in going about the country they mix with others who take it, and thus take to the habit also. About six per cent. of the population of Marwar were said to be opium-eaters; three per cent. of the population of Dhrangadra State, fifty per cent. of the adult population of Indore, and three

Q. 16,441.

Q. 16,395.

Q. 16,398.

Q. 9,958.

Q. 3,034.

Q. 9,120. 18

Q. 19,290.

Q. 18,564.

Q. 19,389.

Q. 19,486.

Q. 19,533.

Q. 20,418.

Q. 20,420.

Q. 20,982.

Q. 20,625.

Q. 21,073.

Q. 22,847

Q. 22,334.

Q. 22,651

- Q. 23,010. per cent. of the people of Surat. The Dhar State estimate was
 Q. 23,056. ten per cent. adults, and twenty per cent. infants. The Dewas
 state, two per cent. children, and nine per cent. adults. Agriculturists, and others who follow trade involving exposure, do not ordinarily eat opium. In answer to the question, "Are you of opinion that in Central India the consumption of opium is a deep-rooted and almost universal habit?" the reply was simply, "Very deep-rooted." Surgeon Shah stated the percentage of opium-eaters, excluding infants, in the Junagadh State was 1.15. Mr. G. B. Reed, Commissioner, remarked, "The consumption in the Deccan is insignificant." "Many of the Kathis, who are opium consumers to a man, have become followers of the Swami Narayan sect, and have given up opium."
- Q. 23,207. In Bombay, the consumers are given by Surgeon-Major
 Q. 24,112. Parakh at about nine per thousand; by Surgeon-Major Boyd at
 Q. 24,566. from one to two per cent.; by Surgeon Lieut.-Col. T. S. Weir at
 Q. 24,574. under five per cent. Several witnesses testified it was not known
 Q. 24,735. as a habit amongst the mill hands there. Here, as in other districts, the practice of giving it to infants is prevalent. Not more than a score Parsees are said to eat opium. The Marwaris are named as the largest opium-eaters. It is believed one in twenty eat it (of adult males). In Hyderabad the consumption is "exceedingly small." In Madras the proportion of consumers is very small, and these are chiefly in the hill districts. The Rev. H. F. Laflamme, of the Canadian Baptist Telugu Mission, places it in that neighbourhood at 10 per cent. of the total population. In another district, Conjeeveram, the figures represent about 60 habitual opium-eaters, out of a population of about 40,000.
- Q. 25,081, 25,119. Mr. D. D. Gilder, editor of the *Students' Friend*, quotes
 Q. 26,000. statistics to show "that while the population of Bombay has
 Q. 25,883. increased by only 6 per cent., the consumption of opium has increased by 84 per cent.; and that throughout the Bombay Presidency, while the population has increased 14 per cent., the sale of opium has gone up 60 per cent. during the last decade." These statistics were not questioned. The official explanation given is that licit opium has been substituted for illicit. For some unexplained reason Mr. Gilder's tables do not appear in the appendix.
- Q. 27,965.
 Q. 27,825.
 Q. 27,879.
 Q. 27,288.

NATIVE STATES.

The protected, or Native States, contain some 66,000,000 of people, 23 per cent. of the population of India, on 38 per cent. of the area. There are about 690 in number, each under its chief. Most of them are small, and very dependent upon the paramount British power. The key-note of the policy to which they have been invited since the mutiny "is co-operation with the Paramount Power in promoting the welfare of the country as a whole." "Reciprocal agreements have been passed by the States to the paramount power with reference to the mutual extradition of criminals, and the assimilations of systems of regulating the production and distribution of salt, drugs, and intoxicating liquor." The Calcutta government, in its own words, "does not require that the administration shall reach a certain standard, but prohibits it from falling below one; and there are special practices, such as sale, infanticide, and mutilation, or other cruel punishments, against which it has set its face on general grounds, and the perpetration of which is always held to justify its intervention." Special regulations are in force for the supply of opium to many of the States where it is not grown. The districts where the poppy is grown are in the Rajputana and Central India, known together as the Malwa States. Of the 19 Rajputana States, the poppy culture is either absent or unimportant in most. In five the acreage under it varies from 50,000 to 8,388 acres. In Central India the total acreage is returned at 292,000. Baroda grows the drug, but not for export. It has a treaty right to export, but has not availed itself of the right since 1887. It has a state monopoly on the basis of the Bengal system. The general nature of much of the evidence regarding the Native States is to be gathered from the quotations here set out. Sir Lepel Griffin: "I was the head of the whole opium revenue department of the Native States. The Agent of the Governor-General is *ex-officio* the opium agent for the whole of the Native States, including a great part of Rajputana." "Of course you can prohibit the export. Opium is the life blood of native India. It is the thing by which they get the whole of their spare surplus revenue. The proportion of their opium revenue to their total revenue is an exceedingly difficult thing to say. I have never been able to distinctly find it out. The whole of their pomp and state depends on their opium revenue in my part of the

Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India, 1892-3, p. 3.

"Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India," 1891-2, p. 11.

Do., p. 12

Q. 1,529-

Qs. 1,543 and 1,544-

Q. 1,573-

country. Indore, Gwalior, and Bhopal, are the great opium growing states, with some smaller ones. The peasantry in Central India are not consumers to any great extent. It is too expensive for the peasants as a rule all over India." Sir D. M. Barbour : "I suppose the amount of compensation would be a matter of bargaining with the States . . . I think the export to China could be practically stopped : but I am confident the whole resources of the Government of India would be unable to prevent smuggling from the Native States into British India.

Lieut.-Colonel H. B. Abbott, the officer deputed to present the case for the Native States, handed in a schedule, showing that one small state of 87,000 persons derived 74 per cent. of its revenue from opium. The States, with a population of 500,000 and upwards, derived on the average 6 per cent. of their revenue from the same source. The chiefs were specially invited to give opinions as to the possibility of prohibition and its consequences, but very few replied. Colonel Abbott adds, "the general result seems to be that the bare possibility is not altogether doubted, but the difficulty of prohibition is recognised as very great." Colonel Trevor, the Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana, when asked if it would not be an injustice not to allow the produce of the States transit through British territory, 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." And further said : "The States do not haggle about small matters. . . . You can induce them. I have myself recommended a State to increase its import duty, to make opium a little dearer, and they have done it." The Native States are said to be never consulted as to the pass duty charged on their opium by the Indian Government.

The methods of raising the opium revenue in the States differ widely. None of them, except Baroda, seem to have followed the Bengal system of monopoly. Rai B. Pandit Suraj Kaul of Kashmir, said, "The income of the State from opium consists of two items : one is the sale of licenses, the other is the taking from the cultivators half the sum the contractors pay them. They buy from the cultivator at Rs.10 per seer, and the State takes Rs.5. On the other hand, Pandit Brij Nath, of Ulwar State, says, "The revenue rates in Khalsa villages generally are fixed according to the quality and growing power of the land, without regard to the kind of crop grown, the cultivators being at liberty to grow any crops they liked. The stopping of poppy

cultivation would not therefore necessitate a revision of revenue, or irrigated rates."

The minister of Indore explained, that no distinction is there made in assessing land actually producing poppy, and land capable of producing it. "If any prohibition policy were to come into operation, it would, I think, be necessary to revise our assessments," and there might be a very large expense for so doing. In addition to the land assessment, Indore charges a cess on the weighing of crude opium in the State scales, an export duty of Rs. 16 per chest, a small tax on retail sales in the city of Indore, "half from the seller, and the other half from the purchaser," a monopoly of manufacturing *rubba* opium from the bags in which crude opium is brought to the market, a license fee from the farmers of the drug, and an export duty on poppy seed.

Q. 22,203.

Several of the official witnesses considered that prohibition on the part of the British Government would be *ultra vires*. The minister of Indore said, "Friendly pressure had been brought to bear upon the fiscal administration of the Native States as to salt, abkari, and transit duties," but held that in revenue matters it had never gone beyond saying "It is advisable."

Q. 22,220.

Raja Dheraj, of Shapura "thinks it is an interference in the internal administration of the chiefship, and contrary to the usage uninterruptedly followed." He "is however willing to adopt such rules for controlling the sale and consumption of opium . . .

Q. 21,718.

as may be found desirable and effective in British territories." By a treaty of 1878 the cultivation of the poppy in the Baroda territories was restricted to the Kari division. The Baroda

Q. 22,497.

Government does not think it is under any obligation to enter into any agreement with the British Government for the prohibition of the cultivation. Bhopal considers "that the prohibition of opium cultivation and trade in Bhopal will be entirely contrary to the terms of treaty engagements."

Q. 22,568.

Widely different opinions to the above were expressed on behalf of some of the Sikh States. Lala Dewa Singh, of Nabha, was asked: "To what compensation,

Q. 22,935.

if any, would His Highness's State be fairly entitled, in the event of measures of prohibition being adopted?" The reply is, "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. . . . Instructions have been issued during the last three years, asking the people to lessen the use of opium."

Q. 16,280.

General Sardar Raton Singh said, "If the Government

Q. 16,265.

prohibits the use of opium in British territory similar orders could be issued in the Jind State, but certain obstacles are apprehended in so doing." When asked, "They would believe such a thing as the prohibition of opium to be interference, would they not?" the answer was, "I cannot give a decided opinion. I am not sure." Pandit Sarup Narain, speaking for the Faridkot (Sikh) State, said, "Should it be proved that the use of opium is injurious to health, and should it be thought advisable to prohibit its use for the good of the public, the Faridkot State would not ask for any compensation." Many pages both of evidence and appendices are devoted to the estimates for compensation submitted on behalf of the Native States. It is not likely that any stress will ever be laid on these figures by any one except for purposes of amusement. They must be gone into *de novo* whenever the occasion demands. It may be worth while giving some illustrations in support of this position. The Shapura claim includes the following :—

Vol. IV., p 356	Compensation to money-lending classes :—	Rs.
	On account of loss of yearly business ...	9,250
	Loss by bad debts	25,000
	Loss of credit	5,000
		39,250

Do., p. 397	The Kishengarh claims add :—	
	For consumer—extra expenses of living, on account of great rise in price of opium	75,600

Compensation was also claimed for the escorts who would no longer have to escort opium, and the boxes which would no longer be required to hold it.

The undermentioned official notes by Lieut.-Col. Robertson on some of the statements of claim which he submitted to the Commission, make further analysis of the claims unnecessary here.

Rajgarh.

"The loss to the State and cultivators estimated by Rajgarh officials was reduced by me in preparing the statement to the extent of about 25 per cent., as the political agent, Bhopal, thought the figures given by the officials unreliable; they were moreover palpably exaggerated."

Sailana.

"The produce estimated by the State is at the rate of about 15 seers (30 lbs.) per bigha ; this is considerably above the average in Malwa, and has therefore been reduced by me from 1,203 chests to 401. The land revenue derived from opium has been reduced from Rs.1,60,475 to Rs.60,000, as the total revenue of the State is only Rs.1,50,000. The loss to cultivators was given by the State officials as Rs.1,28,380 ; this amount I reduced to Rs.40,000."

Khilchipur.

"The statement made by the witness, that the total opium revenue is Rs.51,000 must be a mistake ; the correct figure is Rs.31,000. The losses to the State, cultivators, and traders were reduced by me from Rs.39,000 to Rs.23,000, Rs.1,05,000 to Rs.29,000, and Rs.36,000 to Rs.16,000 respectively."

Jhabua.

"Loss to the State estimated at Rs.43,329 ; as the total revenue under all headings is only Rs.17,809, I reduced the estimate to Rs.14,494."

Multhan.

"Losses to cultivators and traders were not given by the State They were assumed by me."

It is difficult in reading the communications made to the Native States to blame them for the compensation estimates they submitted. The fault is the fault of their prompters. A study of the five volumes shows, in the words of Sir James Lyall, that in the greater part of British India, and in a very large part of the Native States, through the instrumentality of the Government, the growth of the poppy has already been extinguished, but all the inquiries made under this head failed to discover, even by nearsay, one single case of a cultivator or landowner who had received any compensation whatever on account of the prohibition. Some consideration has no doubt been shown to the governments of States which for customs reasons have been persuaded to relinquish the growth. In "*Moral and Material Progress of India, 1888-9,*" page 9, appears this statement :—"The Native States have engaged so to manage their opium cultivation and production, as to safeguard the British revenue, and in exchange for this service they receive either money compensa-

Q 2699.

Q. 102.

tion, or other concession." Only one illustration of this occurs in the case of a Native State in Bombay. It was provided by treaty that it should give up poppy cultivation : should receive Rs. 31,500 from the British Government ; and should on its part maintain a preventive establishment at an annual cost of Rs. 12,500.

It is worth noting that the zeal of the Indian Government on the subject of compensation appears to have been exhausted by its efforts to stir up the Native States. For the Bengal cultivators and traders no claim was put in or formulated. The authorities prefer to retain the absolute right of prohibition whenever and wherever they may wish to exercise it, unshackled by any awkward question of compensation for claims against them.

EFFECTS, MEDICAL EVIDENCE.

Q. 2,146. No section of the evidence is likely to attract more attention than that of the medical witnesses. It must be remembered that the vast majority of the Indian people live and die without any skilled medical assistance. Mr. Lyall stated that in Bengal with its 70,000,000 of people there were 282 dispensaries, of which 77 were private. Dr. Lethbridge gave the numbers of the Government medical service throughout India as about 450 European officers and a few Indian gentlemen. The number of legally qualified practitioners in India is 10,132. Eighty-two official medical men, thirty-four in independent practice, and fourteen medical missionaries gave evidence. The first-named, though attached to the Indian army, are largely stationed in towns as medical officers in times of peace and with private practice. It is a matter for regret that so much of the scientific evidence is vague, and lacking in precision. The main issue at stake is the opium habit apart from its medical use. Few attempts were made to draw any distinction between the two, and some witnesses clearly preferred to weave them inextricably together. The lay reader may honestly admit himself puzzled with the result—he admires the medicinal virtues of the drug, but seeks to know from professional authorities its dietetic value : and what is he to make of their answers? Sir William Moore was principal medical officer in Rajpootana, one of the opium centres of India, and afterwards Surgeon-General to the Bombay Presidency. He came to the

conclusion "that opium smoking was practically harmless, and that drinking opium water was not only harmless but in many cases productive of very great benefit," and further that habitual opium eaters were "as healthy as they could possibly be as a class." To the question "Taking the total effect of the opium habit, is it your view that it is more beneficial than harmful or more harmful than beneficial?" the somewhat inconsequent reply is "It is much more beneficial than alcohol." Asked again by Mr. Wilson, "Sir William, if I understand rightly, you think on the whole it is a good thing?" the answer is, "I will not go so far as to say it is a good thing, because I think we should be better, all of us, without any liquor or opium or anything of the kind; but I mean to say this, that the use of opium does more good than it does harm!" Sir Wm. Moore would not advise the acquiring of the opium habit. It may be supposed that the witness adopts the view which seems to find favour with Sir Wm. Roberts, that Providence has fitted the Hindoo for the drug, and the Englishman for the dram; but this is not the case. The Indian specialist would not accept the "profound constitutional difference" discerned by the English Commissioner: but preferred the simpler explanation "It is too troublesome for a European." The mystery as to Sir Wm. Moore's scientific opinion on the dietetic use of opium remains unsolved. Other illustrations occur of the difficulty of arriving at any definite opinion on this point. Surgeon-Captain Walsh endorsed the view that sufficient stress had not been laid on the use of small moderate doses of opium as a dietetic amongst the poor. But later on he said "One must admit that it would be far better if they (the poor) would buy more food and no opium. But we know what human nature is. I think that opium does hold them over their difficulties, both as regards disease and as regards the indigestibility of the common food they have to buy?" These witnesses are classed here as pro dietetic, though their evidence clearly tells both ways. A careful study of the answers on this one head leads up to the following result:—

Q. 1,005.

Q. 1,015.

Q. 1,022.

Q. 1,067.

Qs. 1,071 and 1,092.

Qs. 3,759 and 3,723.

Q. 3,763.

Q. 16,902.

	Favourable to the opium habit.	Adverse do.	Indifferent.
Official Medicals	44	20	18
Missionary „	—	14	—
Independent „	13	17	4
	—	—	—
	57	51	22

On one point, however, unanimity is discernible. No one advised the opium habit apart from disease. The reasons for this are seldom very definitely expressed. Perhaps the fullest explanation is given in the abstract of Captain Hehir, M.D. Though not published with the official abstracts of evidence it appeared in the *Indian Medical Gazette*, May, 1894. Dr. Hehir has very recently become an enthusiast for the drug. He can "emphatically state that opium under no circumstances produces disease of any kind, and that instead of shortening, it increases the length of life, and that instead of increasing, it decreases the mortality of its consumers." "The opium eater is as a rule an active, energetic, being, capable of going through any amount of physical or mental labour, and in a competition, whether it be physical or mental, would defeat his non-opium *confrère*." Holding these convictions, the Captain says: "I would most emphatically advise no one who does not intend to become a confirmed opium eater to begin. . . . I do not recommend it for the same reasons that I do not recommend the use of alcohol, viz.: (1) That a person in good health, living under ordinary circumstances, does not need any such artificial stimulant, (2) We are never sure that the particular persons to whom it is recommended will adhere to moderate doses only; and (3) It is looked upon as a vice amongst certain classes, &c." Dr. Chunder Bose, president of the Calcutta Medical Society, after stating positively, "Opium does not have any deleterious influences upon the health of habitual consumers. On the contrary it is a prop to old age, and elderly men pull well under its influence;" informed the Commission, "I do not recommend it unless it is urgently required for medicinal purposes." He never knew a medical man recommend opium as a dietetic. He never did it himself. Dr. Juggo Bundo Bose, an independent medical practitioner in Calcutta, said, "Although I advise people to take opium to preserve their health, of course I would not advise them to take it regularly for diet." There is practically no medical evidence forthcoming to the contrary.

Q. 3776.

Q. 3820.

Q. 3821.

Q. 3913.

That excess leads to grave consequences is admitted on every hand. It is a "moderate use," otherwise undefined, which is defended in general terms. It is not for outsiders to assess the value of professional opinions indifferently formulated, but certainly it is safer to attach more weight to the practice pursued by doctors than to theories they incline to favour! The medical

practitioners opposed to the habit were unquestionably more pronounced and definite in their evidence than their opponents. Dr. D. Morison considered that no one can take to eating it without increasing the dose and suffering deterioration of bodily vigour. He cited many proofs in support of his contention. Dr. Ratan Sircar, after stating that milk and nourishing articles of diet veil the habit for a fairly long time, said: "But the process of digestion, being slowly impaired, malnutrition is sure to supervene in the long run. In confirmed opium-eaters comparatively trivial attacks of ordinary diseases, such as fever, diarrhoea, bronchitis, cold, and especially dysentery, have generally a grave prognosis; almost every medicine fails to produce its reaction upon the system. As a rule opium-eaters die of very trivial complaints; opium has no dietetic value." Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar C.I.E., finds "opium to act chiefly as a palliative, and seldom as a curative agent," and that partly owing to the recklessness of practitioners "many a patient has been driven into the habit of taking the drug, from which neither could he free himself nor could he be freed without causing a return of the suffering which had necessitated the use of the drug." Dr. Mookerjee said: "Concerning the physical action of the opium habit, I am of opinion that it produces slow and steady and certain degeneration of the human system, abundantly evidenced in the digestive disorders and emaciation that attend its use." Brigade-Surgeon Lieut.-Col. Cameron: "Still even when used in moderation for non-medical purposes the habit is not to be defended. Its habitual use, except in the smallest quantities, causes emaciation and enfeeblement of the body, saps the energy and dulls the mental faculties." Brig.-Surgeon J. D. Condon: "I never met a confirmed opium-eater or smoker that did not hate the habit, but the only cure any of them seemed to think of as being of any use was to stop the supply of opium. I have gone into the history of some hundreds of cases. My experience is that it is only a matter of time. All break down." Dr. H. M. Clark, who is certainly no partisan: "The habit of using opium is a bad habit. Opium is no food; opium is no work producer; and opium, has a great tendency to enslave a man." In closing this part of the subject, it is worth noting that Surgeon Lieut.-Col. Hendley, C.I.E., who made enquiry into the opium habit concerning 4,409 persons, submitted a table, in which he gives the state of health of the consumer. Of 1,295 persons who took opium as an

Q. 4,280.

Q. 5,833.

Q. 6,356.

Q. 6,359.

Q. 8,805

Q. 12,572.

Q. 16,547

Q. 1,6549.

Q. 16,552.

Q. 16,902.

Vol. IV., p. 382

exhilarant, he found only 52 per cent. in good health, 25 per cent. as fair, 18 per cent. as weak, and 4 per cent. as bad ; whereas amongst those who took it for actual disease, 58 per cent. are described as in good health, 23 per cent. in fair, 15 per cent. weak, and 3 per cent. as bad. These figures, so far as they prove anything, show that disease and opium taken as medicine ensure better health, than opium alone without disease.

MALARIA.

- When the Commission opened its sittings in London, there were notes of coming strife amongst the doctors as to whether opium is a preventative or prophylactic against fever. Sir W. Moore said, "It was in some degree." Dr. Pringle after thirty years service in India, part of the time in a malarious district, considered that habitual indulgence, even when moderate, instead of giving some protection "absolutely produces a tendency to fever."
- Q. 1,005. Deputy-Surgeon-General Partridge, after an Indian experience of thirty years, had never heard a native suggest such a use for opium. At Calcutta the battle joined in earnest. Eleven professional men in the Government Service backed this use of the drug. Surgeon Major-General Rice spoke rather of the value of opium as a soother of the frequent pains incidental to malarious surroundings, "as a remedy rather than protective," at the same time saying, "It is practically of no use as a curative of intermit-
tent fever." Dr. Harvey believed opium "by its sustaining power acts as a prophylactic to a considerable extent" against chills, fevers, etc. Dr. Crombie had found it useful "as a prophylactic in the treatment of malarial fevers," but when asked "Do you prescribe it as a prophylactic?" replied, "No, I have never done so." Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien said, "Latterly my experience has been enlarged in the treatment of fevers, and I have come to recognise what Dr. Crombie has also recognised, viz :—the disadvantage of quinine in many cases, and the un-
doubted remarkable benefit to be derived from the use of opium." In his dispensary at Burdwan, opium, however, was not used for fever "unless insomnia occurred." Brigade-Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel Purves thought the people "in malarial tracts look upon the drug as a kind of prophylactic against disease," and added "they say it relieves them of fever and complications connected with malarial disease, such as dysentery and rheumatism." The
- Q. 707.
Q. 1,921.
Q. 2,147.
Q. 2,185.
Q. 2,164.
3,404.
Q. 3,519.
Q. 3,574.
Q. 3,606.
Q. 3,618.
Q. 3,657.

rest of this group of witnesses generally endorsed the opinions of their colleagues.

An expression of Lieutenant-Colonel Rice's, "these diseases suggest the use of opium," not unfairly sums up the drift of the foregoing extracts. Dr. Chunder Bose, President of the Calcutta Medical Society, was very positive that "opium and its preparations are powerful antidotes against malarious fever." People from the Tarai.....say "that because they did not abide by the instructions of the opium-eaters they contracted the disease." When asked why if people took opium as a precaution against malaria they did not begin it earlier? witness said he could not explain. In answer to a further question, Dr. Bose replied, "I have no experience about malarious districts; I am forty-two years old, and I only once went out of Calcutta.....Generally people come from malarious districts for treatment, and I consult their views on the matter." He had said that "during the last epidemic of influenza opium-eaters suffered most severely." Dr. Juggo Bose stoutly advocated prophylactic opinions. When asked if he had said that very few women take opium, he replied, "Yes. Why should they take it unless there is necessity." "Are they not equally liable to malaria?" "Yes." "Yet they do not take opium?" "No; they do not like it."

On the other hand, Dr. Mookerjee held the theory to be a new one and untenable. Dr. Donald Morrison, who had treated from 6,000 to 10,000 persons annually for fifteen years, of whose patients 60 to 80 per cent. would be occasionally suffering from malarious fevers or their complications, said, there was no knowledge whatever amongst the natives that opium was either a prophylactic or as enabling a man to withstand chills or the effect of chills. Dr. J. R. Wallace, M.D., had had fourteen years experience in Calcutta, both in Government service and private practice. He says:—"I have never seen or heard of any physician in Calcutta or elsewhere who prescribes the use of opium for the prevention or cure of malarial fever. I have recently read of the good effect of opium in preventing and even curing malarial fever. I have given the theory a fair and honest trial during the past ten or twelve months, and I am thoroughly convinced that beyond relieving the bodily pains and aches of malarial fever, it in no way prevents or shortens its paroxysms. I firmly believe that the action of opium in malarial disorders, in which there is such a strong tendency to congestion of the liver, spleen, and kidneys, is

Q. 2,160.

Q. 3,787.

Q. 3,833.

Q. 3,835.

Q. 3,850.

Q. 3,927.

Q. 3,928.

Q. 8,824.

Q. 4,278.

Q. 4,280.

Q. 4,710.

not only distinctly contra-indicated, but its administration in many such cases would be undoubtedly harmful." "I have frequently found serious complications follow the use of opium when given as a sedative in cases where the liver had undergone inflammatory or degenerative change from any cause. I base this opinion further upon the teaching and practice of many able and experienced Indian physicians, such men as Norman Chevers, David B. Smith, Coates, Harvey, and McConnell, men whose lectures and practice I have attended and seen, and from whom I never heard a word of commendation for the use of opium in malarial fever; men who, as far as my recollection serves me, have always condemned the use of opium in congested conditions of the liver—a condition which sooner or later complicates every case of malarial fever." Dr. Wm. Huntley, medical missionary: "It would be interesting to see the hospital records and prescriptions of those medical men who have taken up this position, and to note how many of them have prescribed the habitual use of opium to those patients who are liable to malarial attacks. Further, if it be good for natives, the presumption is that it would benefit Europeans in like circumstances. I have only been seven years in India, but have talked on this subject with other medical men of much longer Indian experience, and I have never heard or read of any European doctor prescribing the opium habit to either European or native for this purpose." "The habit exists in districts like Marwar and Meywar, where malaria in ordinary years is not very prevalent, and during the last two seasons of excessive rain when malaria was unusually severe in Marwar, the opium-eaters suffered equally with the non-eaters. Even if it were a preventive, of which I have seen absolutely no evidence, the fact that it so enslaves its consumers would render its adoption indefensible, so long as we have in quinine a drug which is admitted by all to be the best prophylactic in malaria, and can be discontinued at pleasure without discomfort. The grain of truth underlying all this talk of the beneficial use of opium in malaria is its power of lessening the discomfort felt in the cold stage of the attack."

After the Commission left Calcutta, and until it reached Bombay, the tide turned against the prophylactic use of opium, and to many of the medical witnesses in the provinces the question was never put. Brig.-Surgeon J. H. Condon's reply: "I never thought of using such a thing. I use quinine as a preventive, but

Q. 21,298.

Q 16,604.

I do not use narcotine poisons to prevent malaria," illustrates the nature of the answers given. A majority of the official service inclined to the prophylactic opinion, and a majority of the independent practitioners and the whole of the medical missionaries were against it. Of all who favour it, five only appear to have prescribed opium alone for this purpose, viz., Dr. J. B. Bose: "I use it alone occasionally." Mr. Bradley: "I have given it myself in cases." Dr. Johnstone: "Have often employed it." Surgeon-Captain Charles: "Never as a custom. May have used it now and again." Dr. Keegan: "I occasionally do, not very often." The remainder give their opinions only, or the opinions of others.

Q. 3,920.
Q. 6,898.
Q. 7,356.
Q. 73,123.

Q. 21,918.

It is convenient to note here that the medical evidence from China is almost unanimously opposed on this head to the official view in India. Dr. Maxwell said in London: "Formosa is perhaps the most malarious district in South China. All my patients were more or less under the influence of malarious disease. . . . During ten years in Formosa I never once heard it suggested by a Chinaman that opium was ever taken as a prophylactic for fever." Dr. Maxwell mentioned also that it was at Akyab, a notoriously malarious town in Burma, that Sir C. Aitchison was entreated to take away opium, the inhabitants saying they would pay an increased tax if only he would take it away. Of 34 written opinions from medical men in China, 5 favour the prophylactic use of the drug, and 29 oppose it.

Q. 228.

Some light on this question is thrown by the efforts made to develop a trade in narcotine (the most abundant principle of opium) from the Government factories. It was supplied for years to dispensaries for the express purpose of being used in combating malarious conditions. Surgeon Condon said: "Yes, you will find bottles of it left unused in every dispensary. It is no mortal use." A Government table shows that the highest issues were 353 lbs. in 1877. During the last fourteen years the total issues have been 3 lb. 10 oz. ! Nine of these years have not a single entry opposite to them. On the other hand arrangements are now made for the distribution of quinine through Government channels in some malarial districts.

Q. 16,602.

INFANTS AND OPIUM.

- One of the distinctive peculiarities of the use of opium in India is the custom of giving it to infants and young children. This is a general and ancient practice in some districts. The Medical Commissioner seems to have enquired less into its effects than might have been expected. With regard to the object of this treatment, a "famous" poet of Delhi seems to have said, "the fact that the nurse administers opium to the babies is due to a desire to accustom them to the bitterness of life." A more realistic explanation is given from a friendly witness, Surgeon Lieut.-Col. Hendley, C.I.E., who at one time thought the practice wholly bad, but is "not now prepared to say, that a very ancient custom such as this, is without justification, in a country in which pure milk is most difficult to be had by the poor." It is given he says "chiefly to keep them quiet and set free their mothers," also to prevent pain and crying during dentition, and in the hope of preventing and curing diarrhoea and such like infantile disorders." The witness put in a table of 100 cases of children in Jeypore, 45 boys and 55 girls. In 77 of these the reason for giving opium was to keep them quiet, or on account of crying; in one case to prevent cold; in the rest, no reason was given. For nearly every case where opium had not been given the parents stated that there had as yet been no necessity for administering it:—"If the children were suffering, or proved troublesome or cried, so as to prevent the mother from working or both parents from sleeping, opium would be given." All are tabled as healthy. This agrees with Dr. Huntley's statement "Far above all other reasons, the mother begins the practice, not for the child's sake, but to save herself the worry which children give." Assistant Surgeon T. M. Shah, speaking of it as a "sad custom" said, "as the uncivilised Indian woman is habituated to imbibe unnecessary decoctions in child-bed, and inflicts self-punishment by providing dirty clothes and a dark corner of the house during her confinement; so she doses the innocent baby with opium, under cover of custom and credulence of doing it good." Surgeon Lieut.-Col. Caldecott said "It is only those who cannot afford to remain with their children, or to hire anyone to look after them." Any evidence in favour of this use is rare and almost wholly negative. Three answers from Lieut.-Col. Keegan, M.D., illustrate this: "Have you seen any ev
- Q. 16,219.
- Q. 20,285.
- Vol. IV., ap. 3.
- Vol. IV., p. 382.
- Q. 21,298.
- Q. 24,119.
- Q. 21,988.

results from the practice of giving opium to infants?" "No." Q. 21,891-2-3.
"Not single examples?" "No." "Have you seen anything in the nature of an accidental dose?" "Yes. I have seen children poisoned by being given large doses." Dr. Jagannath balances his experience thus, "Some children die from the effects of it, while in other cases it does them good." There is much positive evidence as to deaths directly resulting from the custom, both from pro-opium and anti-opium witnesses. Surgeon Lieut.-Col. Hendley put in summaries of replies from 55 persons at Jeypore, on the use of opium. The answer referring to children concludes, "Baneful custom, as it causes atrophy, constipation, fever, etc. Vol. IV., p. 380.
The principal cause of infantile mortality here." Witness adds, "The opinions of all are much the same." In the municipal report of Lucknow for 1891, Dr. Cleghorn wrote, "Another cause of mortality among children is the almost universal practice of giving infants opium." Dr. Huntley states, "I know that I have come across many deaths in children owing to an overdose of opium, and still more die from the continuance of the habit. Within a radius of half a mile of Jodhpore hospital I certainly can produce 20 cases." Miss Rose Greenfield, of the Charlotte Hospital, Ludhiana, said, "Many children's lives are lost just by an overdose of opium." She had no doubt a certain number of girls are still killed by opium intentionally. Miss Carlton, M.D., definitely confirmed this. A native witness stated "girls are more generally drugged than boys." Surgeon Lieut.-Col. Mayne said, "I continually saw children given opium, and I have seen some deaths among them from its injudicious use."

Space forbids many statements in detail. The following examples must suffice. The wife of a high official of the Bengal Government told Dr. Morison: "The medical officer of the Bengal Medical Service gave my child an overdose of opium and it died." Pandit L. Pershad citing a case to the Commission, added, "He was my own brother, and my mother gave him a little opium to send him to sleep, and he died of it." Dr. Durand of Darda, Central Provinces, said, "I was called on January 22nd to see an infant six weeks old, which was suffering from constipation and retention of urine brought on by an overdose of opium. This infant has had opium almost daily since its birth. It is very small, appears not to have grown at all since its birth, and its skin is loose and wrinkled like that of an extremely old person. It has since died. I have seen another case since, which is in a fair way

to die also. The child is six months old and has had opium daily. I told the parents it would not live another six months."

- The deaths of these drugged infants, must, however, be welcomed as compared with some of their lives. Dr. Partridge quoted as important the following statement by Dr. Machonachie, ophthalmic surgeon in Bombay, whom he knew well:—A boy eighteen months old, with ulcerated eyes, had been brought to him.
- Q 1,946 Dr. Machonachie pronounced the case hopeless. "The eyes," he said, "have been ruined by opium. It is very common for natives to dose their children with opium, and it often causes this condition of the eyes. I have hundreds of native children brought to me whose sight is utterly destroyed by opium. Some are even in a stupor when brought here." The child was taken back and shewn to Surgeon Major Kirtikar at the civil hospital, who said, "I have many cases of children dosed with opium. I register them in my books as chronic cases of opium. They usually begin with diarrhœa and often lose their eyesight by suppuration of the cornea; this is *very common* among natives." It is remarkable that when Dr. Machonachie gave evidence before the Commission at Bombay, he did not refer in any way whatever to this subject; neither was he asked a single question upon it. Sir William Roberts was the examiner in chief. (As a matter of fact, of the two hundred and fifty lines devoted to the evidence of this important medical witness, eighty-five—more than a third—are taken up by a letter from an aged apothecary of Wisbech to Sir James Lyall, which was read aloud to Dr. Machonachie for his approval). Surgeon
- Q. 26,625. Major Kirtikar wished to modify his statement, adding, "It is not
- Q. 26,619. very common." He spoke very strongly nevertheless: "Native mothers administer a preparation called 'bal goli' to keep them quiet. It contains opium. This quiet, however, is dear bought, and at the expense of the children's general health and eyesight. The sale of 'bal goli' should be stopped with a stringent hand. The damage done by it is irreparable." "Opacity of the cornea is attributable to balagoli and indirectly to opium—chronic opium poisoning."
- Q. 26,622. "Since 1883 I have had about 63 cases in Thana of affection of the cornea as the result of chronic opium poisoning."
- Q. 26,623. Miss O'Hara, M.D., in charge of the mission hospital, Indore, saw from March, 1893, to the date of the inquiry (February 8th, 1894), "Eighty-one children . . . whose vital functions were so interfered with by the use of opium that life was only a miserable existence, soon to terminate in death, unless effective
- Q. 23,390.

treatment were used." Almost all the 81 cases would amount to marasmus. They "have constipation alternating with diarrhoea, and this goes on until the system of the child gets into such a condition that he has constant diarrhoea and dysentery." Dr. John Buchanan, speaking from his dispensary practice, said, "many small children suffer greatly from a severe form of diarrhoea which frequently takes the dysenteric form due to opium." "It seems to be most disastrous when given in lung disease to children. The children get into a weak condition, without any tone to their condition, and the use of opium also prevents their clearing the lungs of the matter accumulated."

Q. 23,404.

Q. 23,491 (a).

Q. 23,501.

The Bombay opium officials, who seem to drive their trade hard, and to keep an active surveillance over the opinions of medical men on the subject, encourage the sale of children's pills at the Government opium shops. A note defending this branch of business by Mr. Campbell, C.I.E., will be found at *App.* xxiv., Vol. iv. In this it is stated that the Government pills were first made in 1891. On January 21st, 1894, samples were submitted to Surgeon Major Parker, Superintendent of Government Drugs, etc., who reported "that though the practice of using opium pills to quiet children may be open to objection, it is inseparable from native habits and customs." Dr. Parker further pronounced the Government pills to be "comparatively harmless." Mr. Campbell refers to 84 statements on the question, "whether opium is beneficial or hurtful to children," from members of the Grant College Medical Society: 27 were in favour of the use of the drug, 30 were against, 25 gave no opinion, and 2 were doubtful. These opinions were not put in evidence. In twelve months 240 pounds of opium mixed with spices were made into 1,200,000 of children's pills. The Government cannot be congratulated on this branch of their opium monopoly.

Q. 1,922.

TOLERANCE.

Allusion has been made to the idea promulgated by Sir William Roberts to medical witnesses that the frequent use of opium in the east as contrasted with the west, is due to some "profound constitutional difference" in the peoples. Sir William Moore, when asked the question, replied: "I do not think the

Q. 1,062.

- constitutional difference has anything whatever to do with it." In India the Medical Commissioner evidently found a few witnesses more or less, but rather less than more, of his way of thinking. Dr. Crombie said: "I have some reason for believing that there is such a tolerance." "I think the difference in constitution is chiefly noticed with regard to children." Surgeon-Col. Harvey said: "I think it is a race question," afterwards adding, "Climatic question would be a better term." Three medical men who were not asked this question, said they agreed generally with Drs. Harvey and Crombie, but they can hardly be cited as confirming the differing positions of either on this particular point. Dr. Keegan at Indore, when asked the somewhat leading question, "Have you been led to recognise that there is a difference of tolerance between the natives of India and Europeans with regard to opium?" replied: "I think there is a difference: the natives tolerate it better for climatic reasons." To the further question, "You put it down to the climate?" the answer is: "Not only the climate, but the general surroundings, clothing, &c." Surg.-Major Parakh, of Bombay, said a native "bears the same dose much better than" a European. He thought Europeans were more hot-blooded than natives, but could not say that this made any difference in the effect of opium. Dr. Nariman believed "the natives of India have a greater tolerance than Europeans," and thought it was due to a combination of race, diet, climate, and malarial conditions. Dr. O'Brien, when addressed by Sir William Roberts with the remark, "I presume you have recognised the difference between the native of India and the European with regard to their tolerance with regard to opium," said: "There are not such a large number of Europeans who take opium, but I have seen some Europeans who took it more largely than natives." He afterwards agreed there was a "far more common tolerance" on the part of natives, but for fifteen years he had been in stations where there were not more than two or three Europeans, so could not say much from experience. These appear to be all the distinct medical impressions given in support of Sir William Roberts' theory, and it is clear that they agree largely to differ. Against the theory, Sir William Moore has already been cited. Surgeon-Major-General Rice 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. G.
- Q. 3,492.
Q. 3,500.
Q. 3,420.
Q. 3,457.
Q. 21,885.
Q. 24,756.
Q. 25,896.
Q. 25,897.
Q. 19,363.
Q. 2,199.
also
Q. 2,200.

K. Ferris, when asked if he had never been struck with the difference of tolerance, said "No. In Calcutta I have seen the greatest quantity taken by Europeans. The maximum I have seen has been taken by a European." Dr. Willcocks said the worst opium cases he had met with have been among Europeans, but he did not think the effect of the drug was worse on them than on natives. Miss O'Hara, M.D., when invited to recognise the difference on the part of children, replied: "If they were not given it I do not think they would be different. I think they become tolerant to it by the common use, just as people become habituated to anything else. But a new-born child in India is not more tolerant to it than one in England or America, as far as I know." Dr. McConaghey, pressed by Sir William Roberts, "Would you go so far as to say that comparatively few Europeans could get the full comforting and restorative effects of opium?" replied: "I have had Europeans under my treatment who were quite as much addicted to the use of the drug as natives." "But not in the same proportion?" "Taking the population of Europeans I meet with, it would be very nearly the same proportion." The schedule of questions sent out to China and the Straits Settlements asked, *inter alia*, whether Europeans contract the habit, and why are Asiatics more liable to do so? Surgeon Ayres writes from Hong Kong: "All eastern races who use it in this way are moderate when compared with the European, who can stand much heavier doses, and no European eater that I have seen is content with so little." Most of the answers suggest that the habit is too indolent for Europeans; one that it is "uncomfortable to lie down for any length of time wearing a pair of tight trousers and ordinary boots." Dr. Brown writes: "A European regards (erroneously) a Chinaman as a foul feeder, and he regards opium-smoking with aversion simply because it confesses a similarity of tastes." S. J. David (merchant) because, firstly, it is a degrading and filthy habit. Dr. Jamieson says: "Every European knows that if once he were recognised as an opium-smoker he would be socially lost, and all his chances in life would instantly disappear." Mr. Bullock, consul, writes in the same vein that Europeans would be "objects of contempt, even to the least particular of their acquaintances." Dr. Corbett says: "Europeans are not charmed with the sleepy and death-like habits of the opium-smokers." "Dr. Myers writes: "Judging, however, from the avidity and persistence which Europeans often

Q. 4,402.

Q. 19,259.

Q. 23,410.

Q. 12,631.

Vol. v., 193.

p. 152.

p. 164.

p. 201.

p. 245.

p. 267.

p. 285.

p. 325.

- exhibit, when subjected to temptation, for taking morphia by mouth or hypodermically; it would seem that there is no inherent individual obstacle to their acquiring the opium habit." Many answers refer to the lethargic temperament and indolence of Orientals, and a few to hereditary and constitutional causes.
- P. 317. Mr. Judell writes: "In Tonquin, among the French people, quite a number have taken to opium, and it is becoming quite a curse here." Mr. Parker, British Consul, also writes: "It is so serious there (in Tonquin) that officials (French) have just been officially warned."

VICE.

- Medical men on both sides of the controversy, and a large number of general witnesses, speak to the use of opium for purposes of lust. Like other forms of vice, it tends to defeat itself. The consumption of opium by young men is usually associated with vicious purposes, and is universally and severely reprobated by native opinion. Some of the witnesses associate the formation of the opium habit mainly with this inducement to its use. Dr. Condon considers many begin it for this object, and few from medicinal use. Dr. Huntly stated from his own investigations, that about 40 per cent. admitted this as a reason. He quoted a native gentleman, who had looked into the matter, as asserting that over 50 per cent. began the habit on this account. Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar speaks of this purpose as "the chief of those pleasures which allures men to the use of the drug." Mr. Jagat Narain, B.A., of Lucknow, says "it is taken for immoral purposes by 80 per cent. of the opium-eaters here."
- Q. 16,546. Dr. Cleghorn gives a similar explanation for the large consumption at Lucknow. Dr. P. N. Chatterjee stated: "In the vast majority of cases, opium is taken for sensual gratification. In young people it is a matter of shame; in the old it is tolerated." Mr. J. H. Rivett-Carnac: "The opium habit does exist in large cities; but my information has always been that it is an accompaniment, and generally a consequence, of many varieties of vice." Many of the witnesses, however, take the position of Hon. Surgeon Rahim Khan, who, whilst admitting the vicious use, continued: "But the generality of opium-eaters contract the habit in order to obtain relief from some bodily ailment." Raja U. P. Singh, C.S.I., said: "The use of opium is the outcome of polygamy and
- Q. 21,298.
- Q. 6,327.
- Q. 15,672.
- Q. 16,868.
- Q. 11,838.
and 11,858.
- Q. 2,904.
- Q. 17,612.
- Q. 13,852.

concubinage, and the polygamous races are the chief consumers of the drug." The terms of reprobation for the opium habit on the part of the young and strong vary in degree. A few quotations only, taken at random from native witnesses, will suffice to indicate a flow of opinion that has no visible opposing current to encounter. Bohra Rattan Lal represents, perhaps, the largest amount of expression by the sentence, "If a man takes it without any reason it is considered a vice." Sheth Asharam Dalichand said: "Of course, it is objectionable for a healthy man." Chaturbhai Jivabhai, "It is a bad habit" for young men in health. Assistant-Surgeon Mohamed Osman, speaking of its use as an aphrodisiac, said: "Even moderate opium-eaters detest the immoderate and shameful habit of those people, and shun them." Mashirud Doula: Before the age of 40 opium eating "is looked down upon by society." Babu Girdhari Lall: "Its effects are extremely bad when taken for sensual purposes." Dr. Chatterjee says: "The debasing influence of the drug on the moral nature of man, together with the abominable object with which it is often taken, immerses the partakers of opium into a depth of moral depravity which cannot be described." Shaikh K. Baksh, judge of the Small Cause Court at Lahore, said: "The effects of opium are particularly bad on young men." This view is further supported by native songs.

Q. 20,936.

Q. 24,488.

Q. 25,395.

Q. 16,219.

Q. 19,029.

Q. 11,838.

Q. 17,898.

Q. 21,298.

EFFECTS ON THE POORLY FED.

Whilst some witnesses speak of opium as necessary to the poor, without distinguishing between its medical use and the habit apart from that use, the evidence that injurious effects are more speedy and apparent in those who are poorly fed and nourished than in those who enjoy a varied and rich diet with plenty of milk, vastly preponderates. It proceeds as markedly from the defenders of the drug as from its opponents. Under the head of consumption one phase of this subject has already been dealt with. In support of the habit amongst the poor may be cited the following:—

Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel Russell: "I think that in the malaria-stricken regions, especially among a population insufficiently and unsuitably clothed, and indifferently fed, its effects are decidedly beneficial, leading to a healthy life and longevity."

Q. 3,677.

Surgeon Captain Walsh: "It helps them (the very poor) to

Q. 3,763.

bear up. One must admit that it would be far better if they would buy more food and no opium."

- Q. 5,036. Mr. E. V. Westmacott, Commissioner: "Their vegetable diet would not keep them alive without stimulants."
- Q. 20,263. Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel T. H. Hendley: "Drugs and stimulants are almost necessary, if life is not to be a burden to the poor vegetarian."
- Q. 25,902. Mr. D. Carna: "It is decidedly beneficial to people in the condition of life of those who habitually use it, such as poor Hindus and Mahomedans."
- On the other hand—
- Q. 4,200. Dr. R. B. K. L' Dey, C.I.E., says: "The poor man will generally suffer if he is an habitual eater, provided he cannot have his usual amount of food. He will waste, and may get bowel complaints, diarrhoea, and so on."
- Q. 4,639. Dr. Ram M. Roy: "When a person indulges in it, and has not the means to supply himself with the proper amount of food, he deteriorates in body and mind, and one can easily find him out by his appearance."
- Q. 8,805. Dr. R. L. M. Mookerjee, Bahadur, L.M.S.: "Among the rich and middle classes the harmful effects are much less marked, but they are most markedly seen upon the poorer classes, who lamentably form the majority of the people of India."
- Q. 9,186. Mr. T. Barkakoti: "Especially among the low class people who form the bulk of the opium-consumers, the results are very bad. They generally became physically weak, indolent, slow, pale, and unwilling to work, and also their lips and eyes grow dark. They are incapable of enduring fatigue."
- Q. 19,757. Babu I. Swampa: "It is the poor people who suffer physically for want of rich food."
- Q. 19,845. Khan B. M. Ali Khan: "Without getting a rich diet opium has a bad effect."
- Q. 26,586. Pandit G. A. Bhide: "Hundreds and thousands there are who with the greatest difficulty get one or two poor meals, and such persons who in either way use opium, soon become emaciated, and useless for any work."
- Q. 4,116. Dr. H. L. Ghose: "Poor and badly fed suffer, of course."
- Q. 15,147. Dr. Tewarie: "Without rich food they suffer, their case goes from bad to worse."
- Q. 16,595. Brigade-Surgeon Condon: "Opium habit with insufficient food disastrous."

Dr. R. M. Ranina : "On poor people, who do not get one full meal, opium has worst possible effects." Q. 26,120.

Vaid Jivanram : "Poor man becomes dull, pale, sleepy." "Greatly advantageous to wealthy consumer." Q. 26,674.

A. A. Wace, Commissioner : "People say rich food, milk, etc., must be taken ; without rich food it dries them up." Q. 10,840. and 10,568.

Dr. Harvey : "Natives of Rajputana are well aware that drinking milk with opium helps to ward off some of the ill-effects." Q. 3,453.

Mathurbai Varajbhai : "Eaters who are fed with milk and ghee always healthy ;" "the poor who cannot are a little weak in body." Q. 23,609.

Khar Bahadur Ali Khan : "Without a rich diet opium has a bad effect." Q. 19,845.

Nearly all allusions to this subject in the Chinese evidence are to the same effect. The following are samples :—

Dr. Maxwell : "It is upon the poorer class the habit presses most severely." Q. 218.

B. Broomhall : "Amongst the poorer classes its power is far more dreadful than amongst monied people." Q. 504.

Dr. Dudgeon : "I speak of the vast multitude of the lower class smokers, upon whom the evil tells grievously." Vol. v., p. 229.

Dr. Douthwaite : "The physical effects of this drug are most manifest on the poor ill-fed coolies and other labourers." Vol. v., p. 283.

Rev. C. I. Voskamp, German Missionary : "The effects of the drug amongst the poorer classes, who are living on rice and vegetables, are moral, physical, and social destroying." Vol. v., p. 221.

Consul Carles : "A man who is ill fed suffers far more physically than a man who takes his pipes after a heavy meal." Vol. v., p. 262.

Consul Mansfield : "The people are too poor to afford the luxury, except at the expense of proper nourishment, and the effects on the race, of underfeeding generally, should be ultimately disastrous." Vol. v., p. 336.

LABOUR.

There is much conflicting evidence as to the effect of opium on labour. A few witnesses said opium eaters do more work than non-consumers. Many witnesses advocated its use under special circumstances, calling for severe exertion or unusual exposure, as "increasing the power of exertion," or benefiting "hard workers on short diet." Others again spoke of its value

Q. 10,145.
Q. 10,098.
Q. 13,886.
Q. 14,232.
Q. 15,575.

Q. 17,131.
 Q. 11,857.
 Q. 9,327.
 Q. 11,689.
 Q. 9,956.
 Q. 12,066.
 Q. 24,622.
 Q. 3,045.

as a restorative, and soothing "after exceptional fatigue." On the other hand, it is said to produce drowsiness and torpidity, fatal to hard work, to make men "hate all kind of hard work," to make them "dull and heavy," and "weak and indolent, unfit for physical labour." All witnesses practically agree, however, that opium consumers grow to be very dependent on regular doses of the drug; and break down without it; and a preponderance of opinion points to them having less endurance and staying power in the long run. It also appears that the proportion of labourers who indulge in the opium habit is far less than the proportion of the idle and luxurious; that beyond all question it is a luxury and not a food; and that servants not addicted to opium are preferred as being more reliable and trustworthy. The evidence as to its value in times of stress and exposure are fairly comparable to those which used to be urged on behalf of alcohol as a strength producer before Arctic expeditions and more accurate observations determined otherwise.

CRIME.

- Q. 13,229. It is generally agreed in India that opium does not lead to crimes of violence. "Alcohol," said Mr. R. K. Chaudhuri, "makes a man violent, opium deadens a man." "They are physically incapacitated from daring acts of crime. They are made lazy and unable to work for their living, but at the same time they must satisfy their opium craving," says another witness.
- Q. 9,129. Rai G. Borooh said: "Consumers are weak in body and in mind, slow, lazy, forgetful, with willingness to swear and tell lies, and commit petty thefts. They are neither violent nor quarrelsome. A great body of native evidence proves that it tends to produce "torpidity in the mind and timidity of spirit." Dr. Partridge, in reply to a statement of Dr. Mouat, that opium does not fill the jails with criminals, said: "I have had charge of the House of Correction and the common jail in Bombay for fourteen years, and I have always had people suffering from opium in the jails—a perfect nuisance they are; but, of course, when an opium eater steals money, or clothes, or anything else to satisfy his craving, it stands to sense that he is not put down as 'opium eater,' he is put down as 'thief,' and that is simply and solely the reason you have no returns in jails of opium criminals." At
- Q. 1,920.

least twenty-eight witnesses, eleven of whom are officials, speak to the tendency of the opium habit in the poor to lead to petty thefts.

MORALS.

There was much evidence given as to the moral effects or otherwise of the opium habit. Out of the 722 witnesses hardly one suggests that it tends to improve the ethics of mankind. Perhaps exceptions should be made in favour of Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Mayne, who said : Q. 25,284
"Opium engenders patience and contentment, and does not promote sedition. There are wicked and ignorant teachers among the people ready to upset the best government"; and of Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Weir : Q. 24,850
"Opium produces such repose of mind that the teaching of a missionary, be he Christian or other, is regarded as a mere delusion"; but the defence most usually urged is a negative, or a negation of knowledge of harm on the part of the witness. Mr. J. H. Rivett-Carnac for instance, says : Q. 2,900.
"No cases of the demoralizing effects of the opium habit have come under my personal notice." The Rev. Dr. Newton said : Q. 17,153.
"I do not think it has any moral effect at all," though he thought people "are better without it as a rule." Q. 17,194.
Other witnesses speak apologetically, as the Hon. Syud F. Imam, Q. 10,978.
who, when asked if there was any distinct effect on the moral condition of consumers, replied "not very much." Thakur M. P. N. Singh said, the effect "on the morality of the people is not very bad." Salubhai Samaldas thought it "not so bad as is alleged. It is not incentive to crime though it generally leads to indolence": whilst Bhai A. Singh thought, in the first instance, it is the opium-smoking that deteriorates a person's morals. Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Crombie, when asked as to its effects on public morals, said : Q. 3,512.
"On the public morals absolutely none, but I believe there is no doubt that it does deteriorate the morals of those who indulge in the habit as indicated above." A Q. 28,064.
prominent native witness said the greatest fault is "that a man who takes opium is not disposed to mind anything which is going on about him." Many of the native pleaders testified, and the evidence is uncontradicted, that it is a frequent practice in the Law Courts to question a witness as to

- Q. 9,851. whether he is an opium-eater or not "with the idea of impeaching his veracity." Morally, said one of the pleaders, Q. 9,957. "they are easily apt to lie and are pliable." Mr. D. Q. 9,186. Mazumdar stated: "He loses power of concentration and Q. 11,684. decision and his sense of duty." Of the 64 missionaries who gave evidence before the Commission, 60 condemned the opium habit very largely on the ground of its effect upon the character and conduct of the consumer. Of four, who occupied somewhat indefinite positions, Dr. Clark said: "I myself am an abolitionist on purely moral grounds." He considered the habit bad on moral grounds in every case. Mr. Monro, who should be classed as a defender of opium, said: "So far as regards the amount of opium consumed there is no possibility of the people being demoralized by it, because they do not consume it. Q. 5,460. The amount of opium consumed in Lower Bengal is a mere trifle." Of distinct and affirmative evidence to the moral evil of the habit it would be easy to fill many pages. A very few extracts must suffice. Bishop Thoburn said: "It creates certain vices Q. 2,304. no other habit does that I know of. I once asked the Commissioner of Police in this city, why it was he closed the opium shops at six in the evening, at sunset, and left the liquor shops open until nine? He replied, that all the bad characters in the city would be found congregated in the opium shops, and he did not dare to have them open. The whole practice is looked upon as a vice." . . . "It takes the moral stamina right out of a man."
- Q. 19,907. Dr. Valentine, who has been surgeon to a native regiment, in charge of jails, and physician to the Maharaja of Jaipur, said: "A man in the habit of eating opium is upon a lower standing than a man in perfect health." "If a man is an opium-eater to any extent everything is subordinated to the opium, and he will Q. 19,910. tell lies and pilfer." "All respectable people look upon the Q. 19,966. opium habit as a vice." The Rev. A. W. Prautch, after many years' work as a colporteur amongst the natives, said, "My firm Q. 26,436. conviction is that there is not such another seductive delusion of the devil to debase humanity as the opium habit." Dr. Huntly, who had closely studied the subject, said: "I have Q. 21,298. never met a single opium-eater who praised it; I have never seen a proverb or song which recommended or approved it; and I have never seen a case in which the habit appeared beneficial." "The consequences are summed up in the old Persian proverb,

‘Opium, which is a remedy for many diseases, is itself a disease.’ This disease may be summed up in the phrase, deterioration, ‘physical, mental, and moral.’”

The Bishop of Calcutta, and clergy generally, did not appear before the Commission. In a note from the Bishop and some of the clergy, it is stated that the evils arising from the abuse of opium 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.”

Before leaving the moral aspect of the question it should be stated that the evidence is overwhelming as to the difficulty of breaking the habit off when once formed. In this respect it is admitted, on all sides, that the craving for opium exceeds the craving for alcohol, though the outward effects of alcohol were very frequently spoken of as more observable, and constituting a greater nuisance to society than those of opium. Brigade-Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Mullen “had known hundreds of cases, chiefly of boys and young men, who had sought medical advice to free them from the habit.” Dr. Ramnath mentioned that four persons had come to his hospital to be cured. Miss O’Hara and other witnesses gave similar evidence. To this class of evidence there was virtually no contradiction.

Q. 21,422.

Q. 22,921.

SUICIDE AND STATISTICS.

It appears hardly to have been suggested that opium led to insanity: but many witnesses spoke to the frequency of its use for purposes of suicide, and pro-opium as well as anti-opium witnesses urged the need of further restrictions over the sale on this account. According to the Commissioner of Police of Calcutta, “the excessive use of opium is not a frequent cause for police interference, except in the cases of suicide by taking opium. During 1886 to 1890 over 32 per cent. of the suicides that occurred in the town and suburbs of Calcutta were from opium poisoning.” The Rev. W. B. Phillips, Calcutta, said he had watched the newspapers from the 6th September to the 23rd, and in these seventeen days “there were five clear cases of suicide and three cases of death from overdoses.” Of these, two

Vol. II., p. 411.

Q. 2,605.

- were women and three were young men under 22." He believed that its free sale "does greatly encourage suicide." Asked if other poisons were not used, he said: "A comparison with any other poison would reduce the comparison almost to an absurdity." Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel McConnell favoured restriction on the retail sale "because the number of cases of suicide are very numerous and the drug is easily procured. . . . It would be well if some means could be devised of limiting the quantity that could be purchasable." "I find," he added, "that last year (1892) in my own wards in the hospital we had fifty-three cases of opium poisoning." Brigade-Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Purves, said, from the Howrah district "out of thirty-five police cases sent in as suicides only six were from opium." Dr. J. B. Bose said: "I think it is very necessary to restrict the free sale of opium by the opium vendors in large towns, so that it may put a check to the easy accessibility of opium for poisoning purposes." Dr. S. C. Surbadhicari, also thought suicide was increasing, and that "if opium was not so readily obtainable a certain number of lives might be saved." Dr. H. L. Ghose advocated restriction on like grounds. Dr. Morison said: "The facility with which opium can be purchased places a great temptation before a morally weak people. Hence the great number of suicides in our cities and opium growing districts." He gave three recent cases. Mr. N. C. Mookerjee, Port Commissioner, held that something should be done, "looking at the suicides reported every day in the papers." Mr. K. K. Mitra, B.A., Calcutta, said that in 1883, 44 per cent. of the suicides were from hanging, and 25 per cent. from opium. In 1892, 29 per cent. were from hanging, and 54 per cent. from opium. I. C. Roy, M.B., Benares, said, "if statistics were taken of the known cases of suicidal deaths by opium it would simply reveal a most harrowing detail of human misery. If opium be not so easily procurable I am led to think that cases of suicide would be less common." Sir William Roberts told this witness the statistical accounts of suicide did not support this view. On this Dr. Roy observes "that no reliable statistics of such suicides can possibly be obtained, because only an insignificant number of suicidal deaths come to the knowledge of the authorities, *post-mortem* examinations and coroners' inquests being unknown here except in Presidency and Zilla towns, and even there in rare instances." Miss Greenfield, Umballa, advocated restriction because of the great ease with
- Q. 2,680.
- Q. 3,635.
- Q. 3,643.
- Q. 3,664.
- Q. 3,894.
- Q. 3,983.
- Q. 4,015.
- Q. 4,057.
- Q. 4,203.
- Q. 6,013.
- Q. 8,985.
- Q. 13,114.

which it can be obtained. "Women wishing to commit suicide or to get rid of their girls (not being allowed to strangle them at their birth) can easily effect their purpose under the guise of an accidental overdose, and that this is the common practice is a matter of general assent." She had not known any inquests to be held on children supposed to have been overdosed. The Assistant-Surgeon at Junagadh Hospital said, out of twenty-eight cases of opium poisoning in four years there were nineteen children. Dr. Blaney, Coroner of Bombay, said there had been 463 inquests for suicide by opium in twenty-two years and forty-four verdicts of accidental death. Mr. Gilder, Bombay, contended that there were more suicides from opium than those which appear on the police records. "The statistics do not show the actual facts." The tables of statistics in Vol. V., p. 132, confirm the large proportion of opium suicides at Calcutta and Bombay, and show none for Madras. They are stated to be imperfect in many cases. There appear to be no reliable health statistics in British India. Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Crombie said, when asked as to the deaths of children, "There are no means of getting at the truth. I used to make it a point to go round the villages on my tours and enquire as to the number of deaths that occur within a specified time, . . . and I found that the number registered was about one in three. At Calcutta it is done at the burning ghâts and the cemeteries. The agents of the municipality sit there and question the relatives of the deceased as to the cause of death." Mr. Commissioner Wace, when it was suggested by Sir William Roberts that the death statistics were fairly accurate, replied: "I do not pretend to attach any accuracy to them," but he thought the same prevailing errors run through the years.

Q. 16,004.
Q. 16,145.
Q. 2,415.
Q. 26,369.
Q. 27,320.
Q. 3,568.
Q. 10,862.

[Some striking figures as to the comparative mortality in cases of poisoning brought in for medical treatment at Calcutta, are recorded in a paper, on the necessity of an Act restricting the free sale of poisons in Bengal, by Surgeon Captain Evans and Assist.-Surgeon C. L. Bose, given in the *Medical Reporter*, Feb., 1895, viz:

Poisoning cases in Medical College Hospital, 1893 :—			
Opium	66	Recovered	45
Arsenic	17	"	15
13 others named	34	"	34
Unclassified	9	"	9

Mayo Hospital—			
Opium	28	Recovered	15
8 others named	11	“	10]

THE ARMY.

The facts obtainable with regard to the opium habit in the Indian army are interesting, not alone for their own sake, but as throwing light on its prevalence amongst men in the prime of life generally, and on the analogy often suggested between the opium customs of India and the drinking customs of England. It appears from vol. 5, p. 366, that the Indian Government, in preparing for the Royal Commission, sent out a circular dated the 15th September, 1893, to officers commanding regiments and batteries of the native army regarding the extent to which opium is used by native troops. The circular asks (*a*) for the number and proportion of men by whom opium is commonly used, as well as the proportion who use it (1) in moderation and (2) to excess, (*b*) the average consumption per man, (*c*) whether the use has been productive of injurious results. The information thus obtained was, however, never presented to the Commission as a whole; nor does the issuing of the circular appear to have been mentioned. A few statistics only were given by Major-General Sir Robert Low and various officers of Sikh regiments. Before referring to the evidence they gave, another official return should be mentioned, which will be found on page 453, vol. ii. The military authorities were requested by Lord Brassey to furnish the Commission with particulars of opium supplied to troops on active or field service, number of men, period over which the supply was continued. The return embraced eleven expeditions during the last five years. Four had been supplied by the Commissariat Department and in seven the arrangements were made by the regiments. In the first four expeditions the opium supplied to the force was a three months' supply at 2 lb. per 100 men in Gilgit, 65 lb. 14 oz. at Manipur, and 10 lb. each for two parties of Sikhs (110 men) for Central Africa, but no particulars are given as to the amounts actually issued to the men. For the seven expeditions supplied regimentally the return is as follows:—

- (1) No regimental arrangements were made for the supply of opium to the following troops while on service:—
11th, 13th, 14th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 22nd, 24th, 25th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 34th, 37th, and 45th Regiments Bengal Infantry; 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, and 6th Regiments of Punjab Infantry; 2nd and 4th Regiments of Sikh Infantry.
- (2) 15th Bengal Infantry—Each man took opium with him according to his requirements.
- (3) The 23rd Bengal Infantry.—Three pounds taken up by the Commissariat Department sufficed for two years.
- (4) The 32nd Bengal Infantry.—One pound taken regimentally, to be issued when ordered, but was brought back unused.
- (5) The 3rd Sikh Infantry.—A small quantity was taken up by the regimental chowdhri for use if required, but was brought back untouched.

Major-General Sir Robert Low, who holds the important military command of the Oudh district, said that the native troops under him were both Hindus and Mahomedans living in the North-West provinces. The opening questions and replies run as follows:—"As a rule are these men opium-eaters?" "No." "I presume there are exceptions in almost every regiment?" "Yes." "What is the highest number of opium-eaters reported in any one regiment under your command?" "Twenty." "And the lowest?" "Two, that is in the Ghoorka Regiment." "Is there any regiment in which none are reported?" "There is one." General Low said when he was in the 13th Bengal Lancers twelve years ago all the Sikhs took opium habitually in small quantities. The exact amounts he could not remember. Referring to a servant of his who had taken opium for a long time, the General said: "I did not know that he used it to excess until up in the hills we found ourselves without it. Then he became perfectly useless, and we had to send many miles to get some." Resaldar-Major Nur-ul-Hasan said in the 6th Bengal Cavalry, in which he had "served for thirty-six years, about three per cent. used opium. Opium does no harm to those who use it in old age on account of some disease; but it does harm to the brains, and makes the limbs useless, of those who use it from youth and gradually increase the dose. Such people become quite useless in the region of ice, and cannot

Q. 14,108.
to
Q. 14,112.

Q. 4,130

Q. 19,893.

- bear the severity of cold." It appears to be usual to use very sweeping terms as to the consumption of opium by the Sikhs and Rajputs. Sir John Strachey told the Commissioners in London, "the Sikhs in particular, who form so immensely important a part of our army, are almost invariably habitual consumers." He had often thought "the best practical answer to those who inveigh against the use of opium would be . . . to bring one of our crack opium-drinking regiments to London, and exhibit them in Hyde Park." In the evidence in India no trace of any opium-drinking regiment is anywhere to be found. Sir Lepel Griffin said of the Sikhs, "our regiments are full of opium-eaters." At Lucknow, Umballa, and Delhi, many officers of Sikh regiments gave evidence. Lieut.-Col. Battye, of the Guides, said 87 per cent. of his cavalry and 26 per cent. of his infantry "used opium." Of 432 cavalry and 246 infantry, 250 and 50, he said, "take it regularly." When asked: "You think that those 250 take it regularly all the year round, or are they winter consumers?" Colonel Battye replied: "I should think winter only." The medical officer of the regiment had told the Colonel "that in cases of pneumonia regular opium-eaters stand less chance of recovery than men who do not take it." Colonel Cook, of the 36th Sikhs, thought all his men took it "more or less," but that "in the majority of cases they take so little that they would not bother much about it" if the use was restricted to medical prescription. The habitual consumers were among the elder men "My regiment," he said, "which I should call an opium-eating regiment, suffered very severely from pneumonia." "The man who is much addicted to the use of opium is not thought well of by his fellows, on account of his not being so reliable a person." The Subadar Major a native officer of the regiment and a Sikh, said that out of the 912 men, "about 100" confessed to opium-eating, "but secretly 250 to 300 consume opium." He added: "I think opium-eating a bad habit, and often productive of harm morally or physically. I never take it."
- Q. 872
- Q. 1,559.
- Q. 17,020.
- Q. 17,030.
- Q. 18,641.
- Q. 18,654.
- Q. 18,661.
- Q. 18,667.
- Q. 18,688.
- Q. 18,687.
- Q. 17,529.
- Q. 17,142.
- Q. 17,138.
- Q. 17,108.
- Of the 45th Rattrays Sikhs, 5 per cent. acknowledge the regular use; the commanding officer thought 15 per cent. might so use it. A native officer of the 15th Sikhs, who took it, he said, advantageously, gave the number of habitual consumers in the regiment at 70. The habit prevails "to some extent, but not much," in the villages he came from. Major Hogge, commanding the 14th Sikhs, said: "Not more than from 5 to 8 per cent. of

the men of my regiment are habitual consumers of opium," and acknowledged this was contrary to his previous impressions on the subject. Of the 32nd Pioneers (Musbee Sikhs) 6 per cent. were habitual, 12 per cent. occasional consumers, and 82 per cent. abstainers. Of 240 Sikhs in the 10th Bengal Lancers "only 8 or 9 take it all the year round." Of the 2nd Punjab Infantry, Colonel Turner said only two or three per cent. take it regularly. (The Surgeon in charge had no doubt that it had a prejudicial effect in cases of pneumonia). Colonel Biscoe, 19th Bengal Lancers, gave no numbers, saying the figures varied so greatly. "It is also fallacious to take a percentage of Sikhs, because it is very rare for a young Sikh to take opium at all. The habit is chiefly amongst middle-aged and old men." This evidence is confirmed by most of the witnesses. The last of the Sikh regiments inquired into at Delhi was the 29th Punjab Infantry. Lieut.-Col. Reid said the general tone of the regiment "is against its use." "Nine men, that is 1 per cent. of the regiment, habitually eat opium.....of whom 3 men, or one-third per cent. of the regiment, eat in excess; and 6 men, or two-thirds per cent., eat in moderation." "Morally the results are bad. The habitual opium-eaters are marked men in the regiment and are not trusted like the rest. I would not enlist an opium-eater if I knew it." Only one commanding officer of Rajputs appears to have given evidence, viz., Col. Jamieson, 7th Bengal Infantry. He stated that in his regiment, 12 men used opium in moderation and 1 in excess. The general evidence from the Sikh States shews that "taking opium before 40 is considered objectionable, and a species of licentiousness."

Q. 15,747
to 15,752.

Q. 16,952.

Q. 17,059.

Q. 17,571.

Q. 18,702.

Q. 14,147.

Vol. V., p. 123.

It will be seen that the general statements made in London as to the habitual use of the drug by the Sikh soldiers break down when the facts are studied in detail.

SMOKING.

Another important aspect of the opium habit appears to have been inadequately examined from the scientific standpoint, *i.e.*, the relative merits or demerits of eating and of smoking the drug. From only twenty-four of the medical witnesses who appeared before the Commission do any definite opinions seem to have been elicited. Of these, four consider that smoking is not more

- Q. 1,561. injurious than eating, and twenty consider that it is. Sir George Birdwood is clear that smoking opium is "as innocuous as smoking hay, straw, or stubble." He adds: "I believe the statement is made that the Chinese are injured by it. This is to me an interesting puzzle, and I would like to have it cleared up."
- Q. 1,168. "Opium-eating, of course, one can easily understand may be harmful," and further, "nothing can be more hurtful, for instance, than the morphia habit now so prevalent in America." Dr.
- Q. 1,174. Martyn Clark, a witness who may be claimed by both sides, said, "The smoking of a drug is bound to be a very much more deadly thing than the eating of it." Dr. Vishram R. Ghole says:
- Q. 16,935. "Opium takes about half an hour to act when taken in the shape of pills. When taken as solution it acts sooner than when taken as a pill. When smoked it has effect in a minute. Smoking of opium acts more injuriously on the system than eating it. Dull and heavy looks, wrinkled face, debility, emaciation, some deterioration of the mental faculties, moral weakness, depraved appetite, &c., are more pronounced in opium-smokers than in opium-eaters." Mr. Garde, L.M., after an interesting account of the effects of both smoking and eating on the ordinary consumer,
- Q. 26,040. adds, "The effects of smoking are instantaneous and more energetic." Dr. Crombie believed the evil effects of smoking to be "very considerably greater" than any effects of eating, adding,
- Q. 26,060. "I think that is due chiefly to the conditions under which the opium is smoked." Dr. K. C. Bose said: "Theoretically speaking, opium-eating might be thought more injurious than smoking, as the fire removes most of the deleterious effects of the narcotic, but practically we find that smokers suffer more." Brigade-Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Gaffney said: "I consider madak smoking as hurtful as opium-eating is harmless, and am of opinion that madak smoking is one of the most pernicious and demoralising practices in India; it ruins the health, lowers both the moral and physical condition of the smoker, and the practice furnishes a large proportion of prisoners to the jail in any district where smoking is prevalent." Possibly Mr. Bocarro, L.M., suggests the
- Q. 3,510. reason when he says: "Smoking is generally had recourse to by hardened habitual opium-eaters." Man Sukh Lal had been informed by an opium dealer "that men who are content to eat two annas worth of opium will smoke twelve annas worth in the same time." At a meeting of the Calcutta Medical Society, reported in App. xxi., Vol. II., it appeared to be assumed
- Q. 3,842.
- Q. 25,956.
- Q. 26,240.

throughout that smoking was more injurious than eating. Among other peculiarities it seems the smoker "is afraid of water, like patients suffering from hydrophobia, and bathes only once or twice in a year." "Smoking," Dr. Mouat says, "is not an Indian vice." The non-medical official witnesses also agree, with hardly an exception, in condemning the smoking habit. Mr. Lyall complained, "The Anti-Opium Society has not distinguished between the smoking and eating of opium as I think it should have done." Mr. Stoker said: "A very clear distinction should always be observed between opium smoking and opium eating," and the Hon. A. Caddell observed: "The distinction is, I think, fully justified by the effects of the two habits on the people of these provinces." When we come to the expression of Indian native opinion, for one voice raised in defence of opium-smoking there are a hundred against it. Mr. Gupta, the Excise Commissioner, stated that smoking "is regarded as a degrading habit." Mr. Brownrigg, settlement officer in Oudh, says it "is popularly esteemed vicious." Mr. W. H. Cheetham said that six people, out of a population of 3,000, who indulged in smoking were "regarded as outcasts by the rest of the community." Dr. Ram Roy said, "Of course it is considered to be a disgrace to smoke opium." Mr. Ogilvie, an ardent official defender of the practice of eating, says of smoking, "This use of opium is generally reprobated." In a despatch on the consumption of opium in 1892, the Commissioner for Excise, Central Provinces, says: "Every effort should no doubt also be made to put a stop to the smoking of opium in all its forms, practices which are universally condemned as degrading and pernicious by all native opinion with which I have come in contact." Speaking broadly, this is absolutely true of native opinion as expressed before the Commission. An exception to prove the rule is to be found in one of the officials of the before-mentioned Opium Department of Bombay, according to whose opinion opium smoking in moderation "has done no harm," in fact it has been "a great advantage" to 600 men "of this class," and, though many were suffering, it was only "from starvation." Nothing can be more confirmatory of the strength of native opinion against opium-smoking than the fact that it is illegal in many of the Native States. Mr. Crosthwaite, agent to the Governor-General in Central India, said the rulers of the Native States "forbid opium smoking. I asked several of them, and they said that if a man smokes opium he becomes

II. p. 415.

Q. 1,121.

Q. 3,195.

Q. 19,527.

Q. 19,120.

Q. 4,975.

Q. 14,352.

Q. 5,804.

Q. 4,615.

Q. 15,698.

Q. 88.

Q. 27,098.

Q. 27,123.

Q. 27,103.

- Q. 21,829. yellow, and dries up, and is perfectly useless. They did not condemn it on moral grounds ; they merely said it destroys the man, and on that ground they felt bound to prohibit the smoking of opium." Lieut.-Colonel Robertson said: "In the two principal States, Gwalior and Indore, for instance it (opium smoking) is a penal offence." "I have no doubt that anybody found smoking in the public places would be prosecuted and punished criminally." Mr. Kershaw, opium superintendent of the Baroda State, was asked, "You say that the use of madak and chandu is made penal in the Baroda State by the Gaekwadi Act I.?" and replied, "Yes, opium smoking is not allowed." Rao Bahadur, V.K., Kante, superintendent of the Dewas State, was asked, "Do you inflict penalties on persons for smoking?" and the answer was, "A little fine, nothing more."
- Q. 21,870.
- Q. 22,084.
- Q. 22,533.
- Q. 23,061.

In Burma the two opium habits of smoking and eating are found together and in nearly equal proportions. In Lower Burma, for instance, the number of eaters is returned at 10,978 and of smokers at 8,901. In some districts the eating habit is in the ascendant ; in others smoking predominates. The officials in most of the districts do not seem to care to distinguish between the two. Thus from Kindat it is stated, "The men in this list both smoke and chew. I do not know any difference between smokers and chewers. All the men in my list do both." Captain Johnson, Amherst and Moulmein Town, reports :—"The practice of eating is more prevalent, popular, and fascinating than that of smoking. I fear this can only be ascribed to the fact that opium smoking is an expensive luxury which can only be afforded by the few, while eating refuse opium is within reach of the poorest." Mr. Olive's report from Rangoon confirms this view. He writes : "The number of smokers and eaters fluctuates. When rice is cheap, smokers will predominate, when times are hard, eaters." "The pipe is generally preferred." "I should say for a guess that smoking costs about twice as much as eating." There is very little that is definite as to any difference in the effects. Two general passages illustrating this may be given. The Financial Commissioner says : "It is reported by observant medical officers that the pernicious effects of smoking opium are more marked than those of eating the drug, and they are produced earlier. The smoker is more susceptible to disease than the eater, and post mortem examinations have proved that the functional derangement in the smoker is more serious than in the eater."

Vol. II., p. 592

p. 579.

P. 557.

P. 539.

The superintendent of the Kyankpyu jail writes : " It is not easy to draw a distinction between the two forms of consumption, as the one is as vicious as the other, but as far as my experience goes, I am inclined to believe that smoking exercises a more pernicious and deleterious effect on the system within a short time than eating." p. 551.

Passing on to the written evidence sent to the Commission from the Straits Settlements, it appears that " the favourite method is smoking, but that it is common also to swallow pills of opium dross." The dross is the refuse left in the pipes, and " consists of charcoal, empyreumatic oil, some of the salts of opium, and a part of the chandu not consumed." It seems hardly needful to add that this is the resource of poverty. It is generally regarded as more injurious than the pipe. In China also these scrapings are eaten when the consumer can no longer afford to smoke. Mr. Wodehouse, Police Magistrate, Hong Kong, writes, " it is generally understood that the eating of opium is more injurious than the smoking of it, but the difference is relative and not actual." On the other hand, Mr. Stanton, the Police Inspector, writes :—" The effects are not so marked in the eaters as in the smokers, probably because they take it less often." Vol. V., p. 149.

Dr. Rennie, Formosa, considers that " the effects are similar, but are more rapidly produced by smoking." Dr. Swan, Canton Hospital, states that smoking is the " most injurious form." Dr. Dudgeon and many other witnesses say the effects cannot be distinguished. Dr. Atterbury, Peking, writes :—" Effects worse when eaten than smoked." Dr. Edkins writes that opium-eating causes " black features, black teeth, and a dry mouth." Dr. Douthwaite, Chefoo, says that in undertaking the cure of opium habitués he always considers that 1 dram swallowed will require the same treatment as 3 drams smoked. Consul Mansfield writes :—" I have never heard of opium-eating in China except as a favourite form of suicide." Many correspondents refer to suicide as the chief purpose for which the pure drug is eaten. Dr. Maxwell, Dr. Edkins, and others point out that the great amount of time wasted over opium-smoking is one of its serious consequences. p. 192.

p. 197.

p. 217.

p. 222.

p. 229.

p. 231.

p. 248.

p. 283.

p. 335

SOME NATIVE OPINIONS.

- If the native opinion of India had been heard with more spontaneity, and less filtration through the appointed channels, the evidence would have been more interesting. As it is, there is much expression of native thought, that abundantly repays perusal. Perhaps a fair summary is to be found in Dr. Chatterjee's remark, "There is hardly any organised public opinion with regard to opium-eating. In young people it is a matter of shame, in the old it is tolerated. Madak and chandu-smoking are always disgraceful." The Indian defence of opium, as a rule, is both more refined and apologetic than that of their British rulers. It has evidently not dawned yet on India generally, that either the opium habit, or the alcohol habit, is a necessity, and to be openly spoken of and defended as such. Witnesses on both sides, testified it was "one of the habits that people do not like to speak of": and also to the reproach which attaches, with more or less severity, to the term *afimehi*, opium-eater. Several said they had never heard opium advocated before the Commission arrived in India, and one added, "perhaps I shall never again as soon as it is gone." Skaikb K. Baksh thought people of all classes in the Punjab, "Sikhs, Hindus, and Mahomedans, are against it: but they would not give evidence against it because they fear taxation." Pandit G. Nath said, "Of course those who are in favour of Government, and those who wish that their trade should go on, will say that serious discontent will arise among the people, and so on; otherwise almost all families will be very glad if prohibitive measures are enforced." "It is nonsense to think that because opium is prohibited there will be any riots." Babu B. K. Datta said, why is there no public demonstration either in favour of it or against it? The reason is simple: the people would welcome it very well, but the only uncertainty is about the revenue, and therefore they do not organise any meetings, that is the general reason." One highly figurative gentleman assured the Commission that people had not lighted their houses since the news had been heard that prohibition was in contemplation. "They have not cooked their meals to shew that they are sorry for it." But even he was a half hearted champion, as he admitted, "no one in good health takes opium habitually." The Native Minister of one of
- Q. 11,858.
- Q. 6,003.
- Q. 14,686.
- Q. 14,702.
- Q. 19,968.
- Q. 23,451.
- Q. 18,306.
- Q. 20,047.
- Q. 16,511.
- Q. 16,519.

the large Rajputana States, thought prohibition possible, but very difficult. The British political officer thought it impracticable. Some witnesses expressed regret that the Commission was not enquiring into drinking as well as opium-eating. Mr. I. N. Mukharji quoted the complaint of an intelligent compatriot apropos of this British enquiry: "Their vices may remain, but whatever little vice we have must go." Witness held the Indian vice to be so superior to the British, that he invited the Anti-opium Association to persuade "the people of Great Britain to take to opium." Encouraged by this, Mr. Fanshaw asked if he might understand that witness eat opium? The reply was, "No, I only tried it five or six times. I took it for a short time because I was threatened with a serious chest complaint. I did not want to contract the habit, and I gave it up and took a few drops of *homoeopathic nux vomica*." G. D. M. Mehtaji said "if the Commission had been entrusted with the duty of enquiring about alcohol, opium, and ganja, all of them together, I am positively sure that Indians would have unanimously come forward to support the proposed curtailment and gradual abolition of the opium traffic. Ram K. Chaudhuri was absolutely opposed to prohibition until it could be done "without entailing the least financial burden on the poor and already overburdened people of India." Mohunt K. B. Roy asked if some law, severely restricting, or entirely prohibiting, the sale of opium, except for medical purposes, would meet with the approval of the great mass of the people, replied, "Yes, and all men in India, especially the women, will pray to their God for long life to Queen Victoria our Empress." Altogether ninety-one native witnesses spoke in favour of prohibition. Many of these recommended a system of registration for existing 'habituals' only. Here and there one advocated local option. A large number of witnesses in addition, including some on both sides of the controversy, pressed for further restrictions on the sale: whilst it may fairly be urged that native opinion was practically unanimous for the absolute prohibition of the vice of opium-smoking.

BURMA.

In previous pages references have occurred to Burma as occupying a distinct position in regard to the opium habit, one or two of the higher Indian officials, Sir David Barbour especially,

Q. 2,077. having expressed doubt as to whether the policy of restriction had not been carried too far.

Four members of the Commission—Sir James Lyall (chairman) Sir William Roberts, Mr. Mowbray, M.P., and Mr. A. Pease—visited Burma, and held sittings at Rangoon and Mandalay. The Royal warrant appointing the Commission authorises “any five or more of you” to call such persons, to visit such places, and to employ such persons as they might think fit for the purposes of the inquiry; but apparently these words were not regarded by the Commissioners as words of limitation. When the four Commissioners opened their inquiry at Rangoon, Sir James Lyall stated that they did not intend to go into the arguments for or against the total prohibition of the use of opium by Burmans, with the exception of certified consumers in Lower Burma. They accepted the fact of that policy. They intended to go into the arguments for and against the sale to non-Burmans and to take evidence with regard to them. This intention of not going behind the prohibition policy already arrived at was subsequently repeated to Mr. D. M. Smeaton. It is, however,

Q. 8,080. frequently difficult to interpret the questions actually asked, and especially those of the chairman, by the light of these statements. The present position in Burma may be best understood by reference to the memorandum of Sir C. U. Aitchison, published by order of the House of Commons, 7th April, 1881. It was largely quoted to the Commission by Sir J. W. Pease:—“When reviewing the report on the Administration of Criminal Justice for the year 1877, my attention was drawn to the change which was alleged to be gradually coming over the Burmese national character under British rule. One of the principal causes assigned was the growing habit of opium smoking. . . . Shortly afterwards, when on a visit to Akyab, I was waited on by a large deputation of the most influential natives of the town, who presented a petition describing, in very forcible language, the misery entailed on the population by opium, and praying that the traffic might be altogether abolished in Arakan. . . . The papers

Q. 77. now submitted for consideration present a painful picture of the demoralisation, misery, and ruin produced amongst the Burmese by opium-smoking. Responsible officers in all divisions and districts of the province, and natives everywhere bear testimony to it. . . . These show that among the Burmans the habitual use of the drug saps the physical and mental energies, destroys

the nerves, emaciates the body, predisposes to disease, induces indolent and filthy habits of life, destroys self-respect, is one of the most fertile sources of misery, destitution, and crime, fills the jail with men of relaxed frame, predisposed to dysentery and cholera, prevents the due extension of cultivation, and the development of the land revenue, checks the natural growth of the population, and enfeebles the constitution of succeeding generations. That opium-smoking is spreading at an alarming rate under our rule does not admit of doubt. . . . Native opinion is unanimous in favour of stopping the supply altogether, and no measure we could adopt would be so popular with all the respectable and law-abiding classes of the population." For many years the Government of India did not yield to these representations. When they did yield, it was done grudgingly. A dispatch dated the 29th June, 1892, recites that "there is no doubt that the voluminous papers in which the opium question in Burma has been discussed in past years show that there is practical unanimity of opinion (a) that the use of opium by the non-Burman population of Burma has no harmful effect, but it is, on the contrary, often beneficial; and (b) that the use of opium by the Burmese themselves is very deleterious to them. The opinion of the respectable Burmese and of the Europeans who are acquainted with the country is entitled to great weight, and the Governor-General in Council has not failed to observe that you have yourself accepted it as beyond a doubt that opium is to people of the Burman race an absolute poison, destroying their morals, and degrading them in every way." But His Excellency was unwilling to sanction the measures proposed by the Burman authorities without "more conclusive proof of the correctness of the general opinion on the subject." It is strange that the predilections of foreigners should have the first place in the consideration of Burmese affairs, and that when unanimity of opinion had been absolutely established, more conclusive proofs should still be called for. The further statistics and proofs were collected from the different districts of Burma and forwarded to Calcutta, with a minute by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, K.C.S.I., Chief Commissioner, and note by Mr. Smeaton, the Financial Commissioner. Sir A. Mackenzie said:—"With all deference to the view taken by the Government of India, I am content to rest the case against opium in Burma on the consensus of voices condemning it, extending as this does through a long series of years, and emanat-

Consumption
of Opium.
p. 103.

Vol. II., p. 481.

P. 537.

ing as we know from authorities of every shade of opinion, official and non-official, European and native. . . . The statistics afford, however, I think, strong confirmation of the accepted and authoritative opinion to which I refer. The papers bring out, moreover, very clearly the fact that the evil is a rapidly-growing one in many parts of the lower province. . . . I agree with the Financial Commissioner that the best policy is "thorough." . . . I would close every opium shop both in Upper and Lower Burma. . . . We are not bound to ruin the indigenous race because a handful of foreigners finds our Excise system disagreeable." When the draft rules were sent for the approval of the Indian Government, the latter decided "that the extent of the evil has been exaggerated," and refused to sanction a rule requiring the registration of non-Burmans. The Burma officials said of the alteration:—"That it will render the enforcement of restrictions on Burmans much more difficult and far less certain goes without saying. Some of the worst smugglers have been found to be natives of India." But the Calcutta Government was not to be moved. At last on the 1st January, 1894, the new rules, as modified, became law. Burmans may not now purchase or possess opium for other than medical purposes except those in Lower Burma who have been officially registered as consumers. Non-Burmans may purchase and possess opium for private consumption. The total number of legal consumers in Lower Burma is estimated at 17,000, viz., 7,513 registered Burmans, 6,819 non-Burmans, and 2,668 added as a margin. For these the Government allows the very handsome maximum allowance of 45 grains per head per day. Thirty-six shops are still put up to auction, and in four additional places in Lower Burma opium is sold retail by Government officers.

Vol. II., p. 489.

p. 499.

p. 465.

Q. 8,080.

It is startling to find that the controversy between the Indian and Burmese Governments was re-opened and vigorously carried on by the section of the Royal Commission through its chairman, Sir J. Lyall. Addressing Mr. Smeaton he said: "I wish to *cross-examine* you upon your printed note of 27th April, 1892, because it is an exceedingly strongly-worded document, and one which when it comes into the possession of a certain part of the English public, will be much used and much relied upon. I must say that, after carefully reading it, it seems to me, particularly for an official paper, to be exaggerated and sensational in tone. I therefore think that it is right to cross-examine you to a certain extent upon

it." The chairman then asked : Do you not think that the heading "Physically or morally wrecked" is sensational? and Mr. Smeaton's answer is, "It is the heading prescribed by the Chief Commissioner." English readers, whatever be their opinions as to the effects of opium, will be surprised to learn that the chairman of the Royal Commission for the time being publicly announced that he should *cross-examine* a witness who came to give information in ordinary course ; further, that the witness was guilty of exaggeration and sensationalism before he had been heard in his defence ; further, that the rock of offence was stated to be this, that a strongly-worded official document would be much used and relied on by a certain part of the English public ; and lastly that the chairman had invited an official to pronounce the heading of a column for enquiry prepared by his superior officer to be "sensational." The whole proceeding can only be described as a travesty of the ordinary course adopted in conducting public enquiries. One illustration may be given of its effect. 8196. "Looking to the loose foundation of these inferences from statistics, do not you think the wording of clauses 4, 5, and 6 of paragraph 20 is very sensational for an official report? —No, certainly not ; I do not think those clauses are sensational."

Q. 8,081.

The spirit of the chairman seems to have been shared by the officer deputed by the Government of India to select the witnesses to appear before the Commission. The two witnesses selected to voice the sentiments of the Chinese against opium were both liquor sellers. By way of protest at this misrepresentation, a memorial was drawn up and quickly signed by some 300 Chinese in Rangoon, and presented by a deputation of 60 persons, stating that amongst the Chinese opium is considered as poison of very subtle power, which plays sad havoc among its consumers. "The ruination opium has brought upon all people is manifest enough," and concluding, "we shall be very thankful if opium is suppressed entirely." Another memorial was signed by 286 Chinese residents or business firms at Moulmein. It concluded as follows :—"We resent the imputation of being unable to do without opium, and do not want the door to be left open or even half open to this vice in Burma on our account. We will not be the pretext for the ruin of this country, but want opium altogether forbidden." At a meeting at Pegu the leading members of the Chinese community agreed that opium should be absolutely prohibited after six months.

p. 526.

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p. 560.

- It was generally allowed that prohibition had been successful in Burma so far as it had been tried. Sir C. Aitchison in 1880 said : " One fact is worth a bushel of argument. We succeeded in almost stamping out ganja, although the plant from which it is made grows wild in Burma." Mr. Bayne, revenue secretary, was asked if the prohibitory legislation with regard to Upper Burma is satisfactory and effectual, and replied : " That is the general tenor of the reports." Mr. Bridges, Commissioner of the Eastern Division, was of opinion that the prohibition in Upper Burma has been effectual except in the larger towns where there are a number of Chinese. Mr. Smeaton thought the law had been successfully enforced, but that the loopholes left by it were open to great objection.
- Q. 2,468. Much of the Burmese evidence relates to the jails. Of 979 persons in Bassein jail (3 only being women), 111 took opium.
- Q. 6,568. Of these 48 were in bad or indifferent health when admitted. But all were then well except 4. Surgeon-Major Dalzell said this proportion was " much larger " than amongst the other prisoners.
- Q. 7,585. When persevered in " it seems to bring on an untractable form of diarrhoea, which is generally the ultimate cause of death." Surgeon-Captain Davis, of the Rangoon jail, said of the opium habitual, that " about a month or six weeks after his admission he appears to turn the corner. I do not say in every case, but in a great number of cases, and he begins to gain weight. I think it predisposes to disease." Surgeon-Major Dantra said : " Perceptible diarrhoea is apparent in even moderate consumers. I have to keep them on very light work." Mr. Jennings, inspector of police, said of the men who acquire the habit : " They get fever and dysentery. Many of them die if they do not get it."
- Q. 6,673. In the Arakan jails in 1891 more than one half of the Burman inmates were opium consumers. The proportion of deaths amongst these in the Akyab jail during the then previous four years was " 200 per cent. higher than that of abstainers." In the Maubin and Myanaung jails the disease to which Burman consumers are observed to be most liable is dysentery, and most of them suffer from extreme debility. The majority of the deaths in these jails are of Burman smokers and eaters of opium. In Thayetmyo two-thirds of the Burman consumers were injuriously affected as against only one-third of the non-Burmans. Of the four jails of the Tenasserim division 61 per cent. of the Burmese convicts suffered injury from the effects of the drug against 48 per
- Q. 6,704.
- Q. 6,695.
- Q. 6,800.
- Q. 6,815.
- Q. 7,448.
- Q. 7,634.
- II., p. 539.
- p. 542

cent. of non-Burmans. From the Kyaukpyu district it was reported that nearly 69 per cent. of the prisoners "are addicted to this pernicious habit, and with very few exceptions almost all came in an indifferent or bad state of health." Deputy-Commissioner Houghton writes from Sandoway:—"These figures fully support the common idea that an opium-eater (or smoker) is a scoundrel and a thief, whilst there can be only one opinion as to the general effect physically and morally on persons of Burman race." Deputy-Commissioner Wilson and Deputy-Commissioner Batten testify to the same opinion. With regard to the extent of the habit amongst the Chinese in Burma, Mr. Irwin represents the general impression given in the remark, "I think most of the Chinese consume opium." Surgeon Dalzell puts it at 75 per cent. Mr. Weidemann said from a third to over a half. "I find that even the Chinese connected with the opium farm are not smokers. The headmen do not smoke themselves. I think the best men avoid it." Nine Chinese witnesses gave the following opinions:—

(1) 30 to 40 per cent. ; (2) about 6 per cent. ; (3) over 10 per cent. ; (4) almost all ; (5) not more than one-third ; (6) most occasionally ; (7) 5, 6, 8 per cent. ; (8) 8 to 10 per cent. ; (9) about 20 per cent. Apparently the proportion is much nearer one-third than one-half of the adult males, and this third includes the idle, the broken-down, and the criminals of the Chinese settlement. The pro-opium testimony of six Chinese consumers was a little mixed. Mr. Takkyu had smoked for 26 years. "Those Chinese who do not take opium (he said) are physically stronger than those who take opium. Mentally, I consider opium-smokers are improved by taking opium." The Chairman improved upon this by saying, "You say you think that opium-smoking makes men weaker in body, but it makes them *quicker* in mind ; how does the quickness in mind show itself." Answer : "It makes them good tempered—they are even tempered." Then this Balaam was asked, "Do you think a man who does not take opium can do his business as well as a man who does?" and the reply was, "A man who does not take opium is much better than the opium-smoker." It is needless to add he did not wish the Government to stop it. Others observed : "Those who are poor people, and have no money to smoke, will borrow off their friends, or turn thieves." "It does harm to poor people." "Opium without food does harm." Mr. Sit Kaung said opium smokers "can meditate better." He spent four hours a day over

P. 551

P. 553

PP. 575 & 577

Q. 6,584.
Q. 6,673.

Q. 6,731.
& 6,732.

Q. 7001—Q. 7399
(*passim*).

Q. 7,108.

Q. 7,114.

Q. 7,116.

Q. 7,153.

Q. 7,155.

Q. 7,140. smoking, adding somewhat needlessly, "My work is not very hard." A Chinese merchant who followed, said:—"The Chinese suffer as much as the Burmans . . . and it will be a kindness to the Chinese to prevent them from procuring the drug. The respectable merchants are all against the habit." A consumer who finished by saying, "I would not like it if my son smoked," represented apparently the opinions of almost every person addicted to the habit who came before the Commission whether in Burma, India, or from China.

Mr. Bradley, an apothecary, defended the use of opium amongst the Shans as their "only luxury." He also thought it "a necessity." It was true that they had tobacco. Later on he observed that "they take it out of sheer laziness. They have nothing else to do but smoke." He concluded by remarking, "It is very hilly, and people have to carry loads about, and they have lots of hard work in climbing." Dr. Cushing said in all cases under his ten years of observation in the Shan States opium coolies "went on from bad to worse. There is universal condemnation of the habit among the Shans." The Sawbwa (Chief) of Thebaw was in favour of "total prohibition of opium" in his State. He said: "They have very short lives if they smoke opium. No old people eat it." The ex-Sawbwa of Nyaunggywe said people "lose their strength by using opium. . . . Their mind becomes slow and indolent. Their lives are shortened." A captain of cavalry from the Shan States said, "The opium consumers are lazy men, and are no good." The Burmese witnesses may be briefly represented by a sentence from one of their merchants, "I would say in Burma that total abolition would be the best thing to be done, as they have done in the case of Ganja. It is desirable to prohibit the sale of opium. People of Burma would hail such measure with delight."

The report of the Excise department for 1893-4 recently published throws fresh light on the new departure in Lower Burma since the visit of the Commission. Mr. Smeaton, who does not appear to have been depressed by the chairman's onslaught, "is of opinion that the new opium regulations have come none too soon. Efforts in various quarters have been made (the report continues) to belittle the injury done to the people of Burma by the spread of opium. But facts are awkward and stubborn things, and the voice of a whole people is hard to ignore. That many Burmans who were fast becoming slaves to

the drug have succeeded in giving it up is admitted on all hands, and it is believed that many young men who under the old regime would now be in the toils of the tempter have been kept clear of temptation." The number of persons arrested, convicted, and punished on account of opium shows a slight decrease as compared with the previous year. Whilst 1 Burman in 8,436 was convicted of drunkenness, the proportion of convictions amongst non-Burmans, for whose sake the opium farmers are retained, was 1 in 500. A satisfactory feature is the decrease in the number of Burmans convicted of being drunk and disorderly.

Excise Report,
pp. 4 & 7.

P. 45

p. 8

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

Some of the evidence from the Straits has already been dealt with under the headings Tolerance and Smoking. The Colonial Secretary shows that one-half of the total revenue of the Colony comes from "the opium and spirit monopoly. Mr. Vermont, J.P., says that "more than two-thirds of the revenue is derived from opium, spirits, and pawnbroking." "Extinguish this source of revenue, the Colony must necessarily collapse." Answers to the schedule of questions were given by 36 persons; 17 of these were officials, 6 doctors, 11 merchants, &c., including 2 opium farmers, and 2 were missionaries. The following table indicates the drift of opinion :—

V. p. 179.

	Opium Habit.			Would alcohol be substituted ?		
	Good.	Bad.	Harmless in moderation.	Yes.	Probably.	No.
Official	1	5	11	—	2	3
Doctors	1	2	3	1	1	2
Merchants, &c.	1	6	4	—	—	3
Missionaries ...	—	2	—	—	—	2
	3	15	18	1	3	10

Speaking of the Chinese, the Hon. A. M. Skinner says :— "The respectable Chinese merchants, shopkeepers, clerks, and domestics are in a marked degree indisposed to confess to any opium smoking, or to admit opium smokers to their employment. Various explanations are given of this fact, but it seems in any case to be firmly held as part of the recognised Chinese code of moral opinion." Mr. Shellabear writes :—"Any employé of the opium farm in Singapore who is known to smoke opium is at

V. p. 178.

V. p. 165.

- once dismissed." The Assistant Protector of Chinese, Mr. Evans, has "observed no moral effects of moderate opium smoking on the consumers, and no social effects." He also writes:—"An opium-smoker is considered less reliable than a non-smoker, *e.g.*, a man would be unwilling to marry his daughter to an opium-smoker without compensating advantages. Opium "is also taken occasionally by way of being sociable, *e.g.*, when visiting a brothel with friends," and in answer to the question, "Do opium consumers usually desire to get free of the opium habit"? this Protector of the Chinese writes, "Yes, in a feeble kind of way, and they no doubt would be able to do so if they had sufficient strength of mind." Some of the answers suggest that the opinion of the colony on moral effects of any kind would not rank high. Practically, all the answers agree in representing the effects of opium on the Malays as injurious. Dr. Brown, who seems disposed to defend its use, says 75 per cent. of Malay Rajas who smoke may be regarded as opium sots. Mr. Riccard, Superintendent of Police, Penang, writes: "The majority of opium consumers become slaves to the drug, but a considerable proportion of the consumers are moderate consumers." Mr. Seah L. Seah, J.P., one of the principal Chinese in Singapore, writes thus:—"I observe opium effects, moral and physical; they have lazy propensity always, when smoking must be lying down; most of the consumers are poor, they generally bear in their minds wild thoughts, and act against morality; I believe they are sociable. As far as I know the effects on each race are the same." Mr. O'Brien, Auditor-General, considered "the use of opium an evil, but a necessary evil."
- V. p. 155.
- V. p. 156.
- V. p. 163.
161.
- V., p. 173.
- V., p. 183.

HONG KONG.

Hong Kong.

The Royal Commission requested that their questions should be sent to (a) the most intelligent and trustworthy gentlemen of oriental races and (b) to officials, medical men, merchants, and others who are specially conversant with Chinese and other Asiatic consumers of opium." Amongst the 61 persons so selected, the Colonial Secretary appears to have included only one missionary and one medical missionary.

The answers received may be roughly classed thus :—

	Opium Habit.			Would alcohol be substituted?	
	Good.	Bad.	Harmless in moderation.	Yes.	No.
Officials	—	4	3	—	4
Doctors	1	2	3	1	2
General	—	12	7	1	12
	—	—	—	—	—
	1	18	13	2	18

Mr. O'Brien writes: "About one-sixth of the Colony's revenue accrues from opium." Mr. Wodehouse, police magistrate, writes: "With regard to Chinese, the effects of any kind, whether moral, physical, or social, from taking opium, are in the direction of deterioration proportionate to the extent to which it is taken. . . . In every instance the adoption of the habit is a wound to the moral instincts of the individual, and lowers his self esteem, to the general weakening of his character. . . . Though a moderate indulgence in the habit might have no appreciable effect upon either the physique or morale, it is more likely that the matter is one of degree rather than of difference in kind, and that it is not possible to draw a hard and fast line between excessive and moderate indulgence on the one side of which injury commences, or on the other, ceases to do harm." "The habit of opium-smoking is condemned as both degrading and injurious by the great majority of Chinese. The use of alcohol is so little known to them that they are scarcely qualified to institute comparisons between the opium habit and the alcohol habit." Mr. Wodehouse, referring to the possibility of making good the opium revenue, concludes: "If it could be done consistently with the large questions of policy and expediency involved in its adoption, it would be infinitely preferable to the present method of obtaining a revenue by means of an opium farm, which is attended with many hardships and irregularities falling entirely upon the Chinese population." Mr. Mitchell Innes, the treasurer of the Colony, writes: "Drink maddens, while opium soothes. The Government should be thankful that they have imbeciles rather than maniacs to deal with among the intemperate of the Chinese community!" Out of eight Chinese replies only one is defensive of the habit. The writer says: "Opium smoking is like gambling; same as drinking with Europeans, it is a national vice, and it can never be altogether done away with." Lum Sin Sang, the opium farmer, appears to be a frank gentleman. He says about 10 per

V., p. 190.

V., p. 191.

V., p. 190.

V., p. 187.

V., p. 188. cent. of the Chinese adult males are consumers ; few women, and no children. "As a rule the Chinese consumers are inactive and their bowels are costive. The majority of the Chinese consumers of opium eventually become 'opium sots.' The habit is condemned as injurious by the general opinion of the Chinese. The Chinese are in favour of abolishing the opium farm and establishing a Wai-shing and Manila lottery farm in its stead." The remaining Chinese replies speak strongly of the evils resulting from the habit. Lau Wai-Chun concludes with this sentence : "In thus stopping the supply of opium, the whole of Asia will be benefited, and England will be carrying out the will of Heaven in protecting its children, and will receive in return infinite blessings."

In May, 1893, a new form of the opium habit was found to have invaded Hong Kong. Several establishments had been opened for providing injections of morphia. The ostensible reason was to get rid of the craving for opium. The immediate result was that the craving was satisfied at one-sixth of the cost of Government opium. Mr. Crow, Government analyst, reported that "Poverty on the one hand, and the exorbitant charge made by the opium farmer for the smoking extract on the other, are, in my opinion, the chief causes of the introduction of this practice." In describing one of these establishments, he writes :—"I entered, and observed three men asleep on mats, and about twelve or fifteen standing in the verandah. Some . . . had just had injections ; the others were waiting their turn. There were numerous puncture scars on their arms. The quantity used depended on the amount of opium the patients had been in the habit of smoking. The syringe was a good instrument of American manufacture." The first persons to call out against this innovation were, very naturally, the opium farmers. They wrote to the Colonial Treasurer complaining that as the charge for each injection was very small (1 cent.), large numbers of persons went ; and it was believed that a considerable diminution in the receipts of the farm was owing to this cause. They asked the Government to step in and stop the practice by modifying the law or passing a new law. The police, colonial surgeon, and Government analyst were then communicated with. It was apparent at once that "there can be no two opinions as to the baneful nature of this practice, and that no effort should be spared to stop it forthwith." It appears now that the consumers have

been driven back into orthodox ways, for the Royal Commission are informed, "There is every reason to suppose that the practice of morphine injecting has been practically stamped out in this colony, an ordinance having been introduced to effect that object."

CHINA.

It has already been stated that opium is mainly manufactured by the Government of British India for the Chinese, the exports amounting to nine-tenths of the whole produce. In substance, therefore, though not in letter, the China trade and its effects are by far the most important matters which came under the cognizance of the Commission. It is needful first to refer briefly to two questions which came to the front at the outset of the enquiry. [The one was whether England forced opium on China; the other whether China was now free to refuse it.] Sir Joseph W. Pease, who had no doubt that what he considered [“to be the forced introduction of English opium into China, stimulated very much the home growth” in that country,] said, “We desired that China should be left perfectly free to act with regard to opium, and levy such duties on opium as she might choose, and that the Indian opium should be kept out of China as a source of great demoralization to the Chinese.” [Professor Legge put the Chinese view, as expressed to him in 1877 by the first Chinese Ambassador to this country. Kwo Sung-tao was disappointed on finding that Professor Legge held that the English took higher views of virtue than the Chinese, and retorted, “You say that England, looked at from a moral standpoint, is better than China; Why then, let me ask you, has England tried to force upon China her opium, and still continues to do so?” After some historical evidence from the witness, the Chairman interposed with the remark, “We may take it that we all regard that policy of the past with great regret, and that we accept the statement which was made on behalf of the late Government by Sir James Ferguson, that such a course of policy as that would never be permitted again.” [Mr. Donald Matheson, who was imprisoned in the factories, in the opium trade in China in 1839, and finally threw up his partnership as he could not reconcile it with the wretchedness of the people from opium-smoking, gave interesting evidence as to] (the causes which led from the smuggling of opium

Q. 2.

Q. 181.

Q. 206.

Qs. 790-2.

- to war between the two countries. Mr. H. N. Lay, C.B., for 17 years resident in China and attached to Lord Elgin's mission, said, "The pretence that we have forced opium on the Chinese is fustian, and they (the Chinese authorities) are only making those statements for the purpose of damaging the English." Mr. Lay was of opinion that the clause inserted by the Americans in their treaty with China making opium contraband, "was intended as a slap in the face for the English." He thought the large boat population of China could not live but for opium as a febrifuge ;"
- Q. 1,277. but observed in reply to another question, "They have encouraged our opium, and we, by *allowing the Chinese to overtax it*, have stimulated the growth of the native article enormously in every province. I think that the most short-sighted policy that ever was pursued on our part." It is a little difficult to understand the folly of "allowing" a country to tax an imported drug if it has always been free to do as it liked in the matter.
- Q. 1,237. Sir Thomas Wade, a high authority on the historical question, stated that opium was introduced into China long before the British Government had anything to do with it. "The first war, unhappily, will always inevitably be described," he said, "as the opium war;" but he considered the "wars were directly traceable to the insolence and injustice of the Chinese in their determination to ignore relations with us altogether." In reply to other questions Sir Thomas said : "Our grand difficulty with China is that we have never anything to offer." "If the Chinese were minded to-morrow to raise the duty (on opium) or to make fresh arrangements regarding the revenue, there is not a shadow of doubt that we should not—as in former days when there were no relations at all—meet them with a direct negative." This also suggests that behind the opium trade of former days loomed a high-handed policy which would not be tolerated now. Asked why Great Britain refused for so many years to confirm the Chefoo Convention, Sir Thomas said, "For the length of the period I am in great part responsible." "On the other part, the Indian Government were very naturally alarmed lest there should be a sudden or even a gradual increase of this inland taxation." And the Chairman remarked, "No doubt it did drag largely, because the Home Government were afraid that it would give the Chinese Government too much liberty with regard to the imposition of provincial duties or internal duties." Another witness, Mr. David McLaren, ex-president of the Edinburgh Chamber of
- Q. 1,281. Q. 1,262. Q. 1,285. Q. 1,286. Q. 1,336. Q. 1,337.

Commerce, recurred to the wars, but was promptly checked. The report reads:—Lord Elgin, in his private letters, says as regards the origin of the war, “That wretched question of the ‘Arrow’ is a scandal to us. Nothing could be more contemptible than the origin of the existing quarrel. I thought bitterly of those who, for the most selfish objects, are trampling under foot——”

(*Chairman.*) (1,755.) “I do not think we want to go any further into the history of the Chinese wars?” I will afterwards——

(1,756.) “We have heard very full statements on both sides,* and we do not want to pursue that subject further.” “Very well, my Lord.”

It may be taken, therefore, that the Commission are not proposing to deal with this subject at any length in their report. At Calcutta Mr. Alexander succeeded in adding the three words which completed Mr. McLaren’s intercepted quotation, viz., “this ancient civilization.” Mr. Alexander also gave other reasons for holding that “Sir Rutherford Alcock was substantially justified in telling the East India Finance Committee of 1871, “We have forced the Chinese Government to enter into a treaty to allow their subjects to take opium.”

Q. 2403.

The present freedom of China was assumed by the Commission in the first instance, and was disputed by Dr. Maxwell. He said, “I want to say very definitely, my Lord, that I hold China is not free, and that I think such statements as those of Sir James Ferguson and . . . Mr. Curzon that China if it pleased could be in the same position as Japan—that China, to-morrow, could issue an edict prohibiting opium, are quite inconsistent with what, I think, most people understand by treaty obligations. At the present time China is bound to us in England.” The Chairman observed those gentlemen “were the official representatives of the Foreign Office speaking in their official position, and on their official responsibility in the House of Commons.” “Well,” Dr. Maxwell replied, “I speak from the point of view of China,” and having the terms of the Chefoo Commission in his pocket, he proceeded to shew that if China terminated the Chefoo agreement the Treaty of Tientsin would revive, and China would not be free to deal with opium as she

Q. 250.

Qs. 252-3.

* No full statement on this part of the subject, except those of Sir Thomas Wade and Mr. Lay, appears in the evidence.

might wish. Sir James Lyall truly said, "That is quite contrary to what has been said in Parliament." The point was eventually referred to the Foreign Office, and a letter from the Foreign Office is given in App. iv., vol. i. This states, "This arrangement (that at present in force) was to remain binding for four years, after which either party might give twelve months' notice to terminate it. And in the event of its termination, the arrangements under the regulations attached to the Treaty of Tientsin (1858) should be revived." Dr. Maxwell was, therefore, right. It is only needful to add here that Sir David Barbour's evidence at Calcutta shewed that the Indian Government is by no means prepared to assent to the doctrine of giving China a free hand in the administration of her own affairs. He said, "If we abandon our treaty rights in China and allow the Chinese to impose any import duty they please on Indian opium, the whole, or practically the whole of the Indian revenue from the export of opium to China will be lost to India."

Twenty-four witnesses on China were heard in London and ten in India, in addition to a batch of five Chinese, who were asked a few questions at the close of a sitting, and contrived to be absolutely non-committal in their replies. Questions were sent from Calcutta to Her Majesty's Minister in China, to be answered by (a) the Consuls there and any Chinese officials whom the Minister "thinks it desirable and unobjectionable to consult;" and (b) by "medical men, merchants, and others, resident in or natives of China, who are specially conversant with any part of China in which opium is grown or consumed." It is stated (p. 145) that a "few additions were suggested by the Government of India and adopted by the Commission." The answers received represent 139 persons, making, with those who appeared in person, 178 in all. They may be classified thus:—

Officials (mainly Consuls)	34
Chinese	16
Medical Men (including Medical Mis- sionaries)	47
Commercial Men, etc. (14 in the trade)	37
Missionaries	44
	178

Consul Fraser enclosed only one set of replies besides his own, with the remark, "Here is only one European merchant, a

German, and even if he were present instead of absent, he has nothing to do with the opium trade, which is passing into the hands of the Chinese." Several of the Consuls, in forwarding replies, refer to the special knowledge of missionaries as the reason for seeking their aid. Consul Scott, after alluding to the long experience of two missionaries, writes, "It was my intention to have answered the questions myself, but, on consideration, I find that my information and opinions are for the most part secondhand. I have never turned my attention directly to the subject of the effects of opium on the Chinese." Consul Bullock writes, "I can testify to the experience and competence of the writers. The papers are for the most part furnished by missionaries. But missionaries in China, speaking the language, constantly moving about, and always in close contact with the people, are able to give far more trustworthy opinions on such a subject than any other class of persons can, though many of them, of course, have strong prejudices concerning it." Consul Allen writes, "As a private resident in China my experiences in China have not the weight either of those of a medical man or those of a missionary. We Consuls have little private intercourse with the natives outside our homes and offices." Whatever be their opinions, the replies of the missionaries show large knowledge of the subject. The answers of some of the other witnesses do not disclose the special information or intelligence which the writers doubtless possess.

P. 213.

p. 266.

V. p. 279.

Some of the opinions given are non-committal ; others speak of evil and good, including medical use in the latter. A study of the whole leads to the following result :—

	OPIUM HABIT.	
Good if Moderate.	Harmless if Moderate.	Injurious.
9	46	119

Forty-five witnesses say alcohol would not be used as a substitute. Nearly all the rest imply that this is no danger in China. Under a dozen say it might be.

The medical evidence taken separately gives the following table :—

Good if Moderate.	OPIUM HABIT.			Prophylactic.	
	Harmless if Moderate.	Injurious.	Yes.	No	
2	8	37	5	31	

Medical men, excluding medical missionaries :—

Good if Moderate.	OPIUM HABIT.			Prophylactic.	
	Harmless if Moderate.	Injurious.	Yes.	No.	
2	8	14	4	16	

Of the native evidence, excluding the non-committal witnesses referred to at Calcutta, one expresses no opinion ; one a smoker, defends the habit ; two pronounce it injurious ; and seven denounce it vehemently ; five speak of opium as much worse than alcohol. None controvert this. A Chinese General, whom Consul Brenan says, "has seen much service and is thoroughly qualified to give an opinion on the opium habit" V. p. 222. writes : "The pseudo pleasure is obtained at the expense of natural contentment. As years go on the craving increases. Agriculturists who work hard all the year round know too well the value of money : not more than one or two per cent. of these smoke." "When a long course of smoking has undermined the constitution, the victims all repent the course they have followed, but it is almost impossible for an old habitual smoker to give it up. He may try, but the craving overcomes him. For some inscrutable reason Heaven has sent down this curse ; in the interest of the race I earnestly pray that the plans of Heaven may be changed."

Whilst the number of witnesses who defend the habit in China is relatively very small as compared with those who defend it in India, the difference in the character of the defence is equally striking. The chief note of the pro-opium witnesses for China, if they may be so called, is an apologetic note, and their defence is essentially negative. General Mesny, for instance, of the Chinese army, who speaks of opium as the "king of drugs," and says "they are by no means thankful to the well meaning but misguided people who have given England so much trouble in the matter," says also : "Smokers as a rule cannot hold out as long as non-smokers without rest." It is also an undoubted fact that opium-smokers do not relish the frugal fare that suited them very well before they indulged in opium," and concludes : "It is no doubt a great pity that the Chinese should be so addicted to opium." Mr. Duff, formerly a very large opium importer, argues : "Being on demand, and so largely required, it must have some beneficial effect." Dr. Henderson says : "I believe that opium smoked in moderation has no very special effect on the health of

the consumer, physical or moral." Dr. Milles: "The large proportion who use opium do so with little or no injury." Mr. de Burgh Daly, M.B., who thinks the evils of opium "have been greatly exaggerated by missionaries," and who has been classed as regarding its moderate use as harmless, yet writes as follows: "Without injury 20 per cent. of consumers, with slight injury 40 per cent. of consumers, with great injury (opium sots) 40 per cent. of consumers." "Burden coolies would be better and stronger men, and able to endure as much work if they never commenced the habit." "I think all native and foreign employers look with a watchful and suspicious eye on an opium-smoker." Dr. Matthews, editor of the only medical journal in China, considers that 70 per cent. use it without injury, 27 per cent. with slight, 3 per cent. with great injury. In reply to the question, "Is the habit of consuming opium condemned as degrading or injurious by the general opinion of the Chinese," he answers: "The consumption of opium by the better classes is not condemned as degrading. The question of its being injurious is dependent upon personal equation, idiosyncrasy, excess, and moderation!" Dr. Funzehman thinks "that by its use the sum of human happiness in the Chinese Empire is vastly increased, and the unavoidable misery of the failures in the bitter struggle for existence, which rages there to a very great extent, alleviated." This opinion follows his statements that "ennui (is) the worst torment of the leisured classes in China, and the chief persuasive to the use of opium;" that "the well-to-do merchants" have the largest proportion of users; and that habitual consumers "not to excess, are liable to dyspeptic troubles."

V. p. 252.

V. p. 270.

V. p. 269.

P. 330.

p. 282.

No statistics are available to prove the consumption of opium in China. In a report to the Indian Government by Consul Spence in 1881, he estimated the home growth at more than three times the Indian imports. It is agreed that this growth has increased. It is probably safe now to estimate it at more than four times the imported article. The evidence, generally speaking, is irresistible, that it is viewed purely as a luxury. Consul Spence said that Mr. Parker, "after travelling all over the thickly settled parts of the province, estimates the proportion of smokers thus:—

Q. 5-351.

Q. 5-381.

Q. 5-432.

Labourers and small farmers	...	10 per cent.
Small shop-keepers	... ..	20 "

Hawkers, soldiers	...	...	...	30 per cent.
Merchants	...	...	...	80 „
Officials and their staffs	...	...	...	90 „
Actors, prostitutes, vagrants, thieves	...	...	...	95 „

Q. 1,380

Consul Spence agreed that the proportion of smokers varies in different classes according to their means of leisure, but felt sure the percentage amongst the labouring classes was too low. As in India, the vice is greatest in the towns. In many country districts the peasantry are, as yet, fairly free from it, but almost everywhere the evil is said to be spreading rapidly. Women, except prostitutes, seldom take it, and children very rarely indeed. Professor Legge said: "I should say now that in some places 20 per cent., but that upon the whole 10 per cent. of the population, some 40,000,000, are opium-smokers." Two witnesses gave, as a common Cantonese saying representing the popular opinion: "The Ten Cannots regarding the opium-smoker" [He cannot (1) give up the habit; (2) enjoy sleep; (3) wait for his turn when sharing his pipe with his friends; (4) rise early; (5) be cured, if sick; (6) help relations in need; (7) enjoy wealth; (8) plan anything; (9) get credit even when an old customer; (10) walk any long distance."] The following evidence, given before the war, bears upon some of the causes of China's humiliation before the Japanese:—Mr. J. Graham Brown said: "At the time of anti-Russian excitement—on the march of fifty-four days to the capital of Chinese Turkestan—they raised three regiments in Lan-Chan of 1,200 soldiers each. Out of these 1,200 soldiers the natives expected that about 300 would arrive at Urumtzi; the others would die or desert on the road. The Hu-nan Regiments nominally do not smoke opium, and their officers threw this question in our teeth most bitterly." Yu-Keng-Pak writes: "How can China help being weak? Those who discuss the opium trade say that it does incalculable harm to China; it is from it that China is reduced to poverty and weakness. Surely England must shrink from the judgment that is passed on her behind her back." Dr. Dudgeon writes: "There does not seem much hope for the rejuvenescence of China so long as this terrible evil remains in their midst." Mr. Starkey, merchant (twenty-nine years in China) writes: "The opium habit is undermining society in this province, the moral standard of non-smokers is affected by it, and the people are surely deterior-

Vol. v., p. 227.

p. 231.



p. 261.

rating. The Chinese soldiery and the Tartars are all opium-smokers if not checked. The officers in every camp indulge in the pipe. As long as the smoking of opium in China is tolerated the people will remain inert, and will thus never be a danger to other nations in Asia.] The Rev. Griffith John quotes a native author as follows: "The Supreme Ruler must have a meaning in causing opium-smoking. He must intend to destroy the nation.

p. 265.

There is no other way of accounting for the love of the Chinese for opium." Consul Bullock says: ["The Chinese, so far as I know, are unanimous in agreeing that there is some loss of physical power occasioned by opium-smoking."] Ask a Chinese

p. 266.

which would win in a fight, a regiment of men allowed to smoke, or one of similar men who were prevented from doing so, and he will laugh at the simplicity of the question." Consul Allen says: "The Brigadier-General in charge of the troops told me that he dismissed at once any soldier caught smoking opium. For all that I believe the accusation brought against the soldiers and underlings is not underserved." Mr. Archibald writes the mischief is not so apparent in sedentary life, "but in cases where

p. 278.

men are called on to put forth effort at a moment's notice, to be in the hands of opium-smokers is to ensure disaster." Mr. James Jackson says: ["If the habit continues to spread I regard the Chinese race as doomed to decrepitude."] The Rev. C. Jeremiasen states: ["Officials, merchants, and persons in general, are wholly demoralized and ruined by the misuse of this otherwise pernicious drug."] "The effect of opium on the Coreans," says

p. 293.

Dr. Laudis, "is more decided than on the Chinese. It ruins morally and physically at least 90 per cent. of all Coreans who use it." These extracts might be further continued, but must close with a statement of Consul Hurst's: ["As long as China remains a nation of opium-smokers there is not the least reason to fear that she will become a military power of any importance, as the habit saps the energies and vitality of the nation."]]

p. 302.

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p. 321.

Details of the frightful ravages of the opium habit in different provinces were clearly given by Mr. Broomhall and many other witnesses. [It was proved that no opium-smoker is received into the membership of any Christian community, Protestant or Catholic, British or foreign.] [Perhaps the most irresistible evidence to the deadly hold of the drug on its victims is the flocking of the people to the hospitals for rescue from its grip. Dr. Maxwell had 250 persons in five months.] Mr. Elwin

described a hospital built for this special object. Dr. Douthwaite writes of over 200 in-patients in one year. Dr. Gillison had treated some 1,500 to 2,000 of these patients in a hospital in nine years. Dr. Swallow has applications "each day to come into hospital." This class of evidence is absolutely undisputed: it goes far to justify the contention of one of the witnesses: "Most persons who proclaim opium harmless, do so really because they are ignorant on the subject."

CHARACTER OF THE ENQUIRY.

If, after a study of the evidence presented by the Blue Books, the question is asked—and it will be increasingly asked, as time goes on—"Was the enquiry of the Royal Commission impartially conducted and complete?" the answer can only be: "No, decidedly not," and for these reasons:—The dissatisfaction in Great Britain at the wholesale manufacture and sale of the drug for use as a stimulant and intoxicant—a dissatisfaction confined to no party or sect—necessarily involves dissatisfaction with the Indian Government in its position as chief manufacturer, salesman, and profit receiver of the business. The fact that the Indian Government was one of the parties to the issue before the Commission, was recognised by the Chairman early on in the proceedings at Calcutta. Lord Brassey, addressing Mr. J. G. Alexander, the Secretary of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, at the conclusion of his evidence, said:—"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."

Under these circumstances the Royal Commission should have kept an even keel between the disputants, recognizing and respecting the official position of the authorities, but scrupulously holding its own as an independent court of enquiry by virtue of a Royal mandate. This was not done. The mistake was made of staffing the Commission throughout with officers of the Indian Government. Sir Charles Bernard was secretary to the Commission in London. When it arrived in India Mr. Hewitt took his place, and returned to England with the Commission. Soon after their return he was recalled to India, and Mr. Baines stepped into his place. Mr. Dane, who had acted on behalf of

the Indian Government throughout its visit to India, and marshalled its witnesses, also returned with the Commission to England, and has since been assisting in the preparation of the report. These four gentlemen are four very able Indian officials. Throughout its proceedings in this country, the staff of the Commission has found its home at the India Office, and there the Commission has met to prepare and consider its report.

In its proceedings in India, the importance of maintaining an appearance of impartiality appears to have been frequently lost sight of. At Patna, on the 3rd January, 1854, Mr. Wilson, one of the Royal Commissioners, stated that after he had been at Gya at the house of a Baptist missionary, an inspector of police had called "and proceeded to question the missionary about my friends and myself, as to where we had been, whom we had seen, and particularly whether we had spoken to any opium cultivators." "The important point is," Mr. Wilson proceeded, "that this inquisition was made within a week of the Royal Commission coming to this part of India, and I desire to enter the most emphatic protest against this kind of attempt by any officers and authorities whatever, to interfere with persons who are interested in the opium question who may be prosecuting enquiries, or who may become witnesses before this Commission. It is not with me a personal matter, but a public one, and I entertain a very strong opinion on the matter." Mr. Wilson added that the circumstance seemed so extraordinary that before making a public protest, his son and a friend had been over to Gya to verify it. The Chairman, after hearing his colleague, simply remarked: "The Commission, having heard Mr. Wilson's *statement*, will call upon Mr. Macpherson, the resident Magistrate, to offer an explanation." The next day, when Mr. Macpherson appeared, the Chairman said: "You are aware that the attention of the Commission was called by Mr. Wilson to the circumstance of his visit to Gya, which *seemed* to have been followed up by some action on your part, or on the part of your officers, of which *he* felt entitled to complain. I believe you have seen his statement?" Mr. Macpherson then read a long statement. The following extracts indicate its nature:—"I met Mr. Harris, District Superintendent of Police at Gya," "and mentioned to him that I had heard from Mr. Dane that anti-opium people had been about our district, hunting up evidence they seemed to think of importance, and I asked him if he had received any reports of

the visits of such persons." . . . "I said the inspector need do no more than ascertain who had been to the district, what they did there, and who were working up the case with them." "I had no idea whatever that any gentleman of the name of Wilson had ever been to my district, and I regret extremely that the action of the Inspector, who was quite a new man, should have resulted in any annoyance to that gentleman." (Mr. Wilson) "I do not know that I have anything to say. I entirely disapprove of this spying, but I have nothing further to say about it. In Ireland it is called 'shadowing.'" The Chairman then remarked: "I think the situation is sufficiently clear. In a general way the Government of India are naturally anxious—a very important interest being at stake in the enquiry we are conducting—to obtain information as to the points to which exception may be taken by witnesses who are likely to be called before the Commission. All that seems reasonable enough. At the same time it is perfectly certain that any member or members of the Commission are in their strict right in visiting localities that they think it is important for them to see. It is quite clear also that nothing should be done by any officer of the Government of India which would be comparable to what is called in Ireland "shadowing." In the present instance I think it is not unreasonable that the Government should desire to be in possession of information as to who was coming from Gya, and as to what they might be likely to state; but I am sure Mr. Macpherson himself must regret the manner in which the enquiry was made." The next day Mr. Wilson, in referring to the matter, said: "My protest is directed against any such system and any such practise for any such purposes. I desire Mr. Macpherson to understand that in not accepting his apology I have no personal feeling. As I stated previously I brought the matter forward on public grounds, and as it was a public matter I could not accept the apology in that (personal) form." Mr. Macpherson then expressed regret "to anybody who in any way feels that the action I took was not proper," and Mr. Wilson thereupon modified that part of what he had said, but was unable to modify his view "as to the nature of the transaction from a public point of view." From the beginning to the end of the incident the Chairman, to judge from the official report, shewed himself much more anxious to defend the Indian Government than to vindicate the position of the Royal Com-

mission in India, and neither he nor any other member of the Commission said one word in support of Mr. Wilson's contention, that the absolute freedom of all persons to offer evidence without any Government interference, ought to be made plainly manifest.

In the appendices to Vol. II. are printed several memorials from public bodies on the subject of opium. Those from the British Indian Association, and the Upper India Chambers of Commerce, are strongly pro-opium: one from the Calcutta Missionary Conference is strongly anti-opium. The latter opens by saying "That your memorialists have no desire to prejudice the approaching enquiry by Commission into the State traffic in opium; but as public bodies have not refrained from anticipating the evidence to be offered to the Commission, and the judgment to be formed on it, your memorialists feel that it ought to be clearly placed before the Government, that the views which have been published in favour of a continuance of the said traffic, are not, and never have been, the only ones that have been held in India." In the last clause the Government is humbly solicited to direct enquiry to the plain issue, whether the use of opium save under medical prescription is a good, safe, and wholesome habit, or a bad, dangerous, and degrading one, &c. On this memorial the Hon. D. R. Lyall, the member of the Board of Revenue in charge of the Excise and Opium Departments, presented to the Commission a long controversial criticism in writing, the spirit of which may be gathered from the following extract:—"I contend (and I claim to know more of the subject than the memorialists) that if used moderately, opium is the safest and least harmful of all habitual stimulants." It is needless to say that the pro-opium addresses, though equally contentious, passed without the advantage of accompanying official criticism. This singular intervention of Mr. Lyall is the more noteworthy as he was the official entrusted by the Government of Bombay with the collection of the evidence, or, as he said, "to get together first the official, next the medical, and next the independent witnesses." Yet, after this treatment of independent memorialists, Lord Brassey, addressing Mr. Lyall, took occasion to remark: "We are satisfied that the Government of India have taken very proper steps to put their case before us, and we are sensible that they have done their best to co-operate with the Commission in the not very easy task of eliciting all the facts which it is desirable to bring before this Commission, in dealing with an extremely

complicated question. We have read your circulars, and they seem to be circulars which it is very proper that the Government should prepare and distribute amongst those who are competent to give evidence before the Commission." The next day Mr. Wilson said that he was unable to endorse the Chairman's observations as to the action of the Indian authorities.

On another occasion Mr. Wilson called attention to the following official statement submitted by Mr. Westland: "The Government, however, will not reply to such evidence as a defendant, but will merely pursue their course of enabling the Commission to fully ascertain the actual facts," as inconsistent with a previous statement, viz., that whilst the Government were prepared to suggest non-official witnesses who would give "independent evidence," they "cannot undertake to specially search for witnesses who will give evidence against opium." (It appears further, from one of the Chairman's statements at Patna, that when the enquiry began at London, there was "an intimation made to us on behalf of the Government of India which seemed to me very reasonable; and in pursuance of that we began our enquiry by inviting those who object to the present opium policy to state their case.") Lord Brassey said, speaking of Mr. Westland's statement just referred to: "At any rate speaking to me through Mr. Westland, they (the Indian Government) desire now to take a broader position." But this construction is repudiated by an official letter complaining of Mr. Wilson's statements. It is there stated that no new departure was intended. After this letter of complaint, Mr. Wilson wrote out the grounds of his objection to the action of the authorities in India. Mr. Dane and Mr. Hewitt replied at length, putting their constructions on the withdrawal or non-calling of witnesses. Mr. Wilson withdrew the charges respecting two witnesses, but declined to withdraw the rest of his letter. The Commission without further investigation, wrote to the Indian Government saying that the other members "are agreed that the Government of India have consistently pursued their declared course of endeavouring to place them in full possession of the actual facts." "If here and there an instance should occur of indiscreet zeal, it would not justify a charge against the Government, that they had not acted up to the spirit of their undertaking to facilitate the inquiries of the Commission in every way in their power. The Commission are of opinion that Mr. Wilson has not proved the specific charges

Q. 11,426.

V. p. 275.

V. p. 376.

made by him." Throughout this incident, also, not a word escapes from the Chairman or any Commissioner save Mr. Wilson to vindicate full freedom of approach and expression to any person desiring to give evidence in the face of any instances of "indiscreet zeal" on the part of "subordinate officials."

Mr. Wilson took exception to a circular issued by the Indian Government as "a note on the chief points on which evidence is to be submitted in this province" (Bengal). He pointed out that it brought the cost of prohibited measures to the front, instead of placing it last, as in the resolutions of the House of Commons. A stronger objection appears to be this: that the circular indicates that the only classes whose views were to be specially invited, were those "who as landowners, cultivators, or factory hands, are concerned in the opium industry." These were to receive special attention in addition to "the magnitude of the interests bound up with opium in those districts in which the poppy is cultivated," &c. Mr. Wilson objected, that of sixteen witnesses who had sent in abstracts of evidence, but had not been called at Lucknow, eight had expressed opinions more or less unfavourable to opium, whilst everyone of the twenty-one witnesses produced by the authorities at Lucknow, gave evidence much more favourable to the Government. Mr. Dane admitted that three were opposed to opium, but contended that the rest could not be so regarded. Mr. Wilson's point, however, was that they made greater admissions under certain heads than any of the witnesses the Government produced, and this was not contested. One reason Mr. Dane gave for not calling a native medical practitioner at Benares throws light on the selection generally. "Of the five medical officers tendered for examination at Benares, Dr. Cameron, the civil surgeon, held what I may describe as anti-opium views, and I submit that it would have been altogether unreasonable that Babu Ishan Chandra Roy should be put forward as a witness on behalf of the Government, merely because he happened to hold views which were unfavourable to the policy of the Government." So a native medical officer was withdrawn from the Government list, because one medical officer out of five selected held anti-opium views. Mr. Wilson's complaint that no adequate steps had been taken to encourage the people boldly to come forward before the Commission and to speak out their minds fearlessly, elicited no reply from the representatives of the Govern-

V. p. 371.

V. p. 369

V. p. 373

ment, nor any response from any other member of the Commission.

More refreshing illustrations of the working of the official mind are to be found in Ap. iv., Vol. II., which sets forth the questions issued by Lieut.-Colonel Abbott to the Rajputana States and the accompanying correspondence. Colonel Abbott first prepared a note of his own opinions, then drew two series of questions for witnesses, based apparently to a great extent on his own opinions, for the use of the political officers "to draw their attention, and through them the attention of the Durbars, to the serious importance of the subject." The conclusion of the note runs: "I propose that all witnesses be examined at headquarters by the Durbars, with the aid of political officers, and that the written replies of the Durbars to the questions asked of them be based on the information which these witnesses supply. These same witnesses should, of course, be sent to appear before the Commission, and should reach Ajmere a week in advance of it, in order that I may become acquainted with all, and see if each one understands or what points he is required to give evidence."

IV p. 386.

It will be seen that Colonel Abbott instituted two preliminary examinations before the real one, and in addition, the abstracts were forwarded to the Government. The success attending these rehearsals was evidently great. It is to be regretted that space precludes full justice to some of the results: but three quotations from three witnesses must suffice. "If the supply of opium were suddenly stopped, nearly all consumers over 50 years of age (moderate included) would be dead within a month." "If the supply of opium were suddenly stopped, nearly all consumers over 50 years of age (moderate included) would be dead within a month or so." "If the supply of opium were suddenly stopped, nearly all consumers over 50 (moderate included) would die within a month." It is not to be wondered at, that the Maharaja of Karauli should write, "I have the pleasure to inform you that my friend Colonel Abbott will furnish you with informations, other than those that have been put down in the papers, regarding this State, as he has kindly consented to represent the Rajputana States": or that the evidence of L. L. P. Munsarim, Salt Department, Dalia State, should conclude, "This is the general opinion, but whatever Government thinks is right." Such methods of dealing with evidence are unworthy of a Royal Commission, and would discredit a departmental enquiry.

See also App.
V. Vol. IV.
Q. 21, 128.

Q. 21, 150.

Q. 21, 156.

IV. p. 388.

IV. p. 424.

It is quite natural that questions of finance and compensation should loom the largest before Political Agents and Administrators generally : it is also reasonable that evidence should be specially sought from those most immediately concerned, both with the trade in opium and the use of it. But it seems to have been forgotten that there are two sides even to these reasonable lines of action. The majority of the Commissioners have evidently been impressed from the outset with the idea that the use of opium in India is comparable with that of alcohol in Great Britain. There is this excuse for them, that excepting the visit of four members to Burma, the Commissioners confined their investigations to the centres where opium is most largely used or grown. Not only so, but the representation of India brought before them was drawn in overwhelming proportions from the opium producing and consuming districts. From the Native States represented by Colonel Abbott, the largest number of witnesses brought from one State was 14 from Jhallawar with a population of 343,601, whilst Jeypore, the largest State, with a population of 2,832,276, was represented by 6 witnesses only. The former being an opium producing State, the latter not. Again, Rajputana as a whole sent 1 witness for every 160,000 persons to the Commission. Mysore and the Presidency of Madras, where opium is little used, sent 1 only to upwards of a million persons. The Kathiawar State, with a population of 2,318,642, which draws a very high revenue from opium, had 46 witnesses ; as well as the honour of being represented on the Commission by its former and present Dewan, or prime minister, Mr. Haridas, Veharida. Whilst Haidarabad, with a population of 9,845,594, where opium is at a discount, had only 4 witnesses. Mr. Reid, Commissioner of the Northern Division, prefaced his evidence with the remark, "The consumption in the Deccan being insignificant, I confine my remarks to Northern Gujerat." But the prosperity of vast populations in India, without the adventitious aid of the drug, is in truth a most important factor in the whole matter, and just so far as this has been ignored by the Indian Government, and by the majority of the Commissioners, must the proceedings be described as partial and one-sided.

One more sentence is due as to the witnesses. In India, no doubt, the claims of rank and position must be acknowledged, but why it should be thought that the opinions of maharajahs who never, or only once in twenty years, visited their estates, should be of

value on the question of opium cultivation, will remain a mystery even to the most diligent reader. On the other hand, an Englishman is bound to record his protest against the method of appraising the value of a witness adopted by two of the Commissioners representing the Government of India on the enquiry. When Mr. S. C. K. Ratman, B.A., had given his evidence, Mr. Fanshawe said: "What is your pay as assistant-schoolmaster in the High School?" The answer was: "I have no objection to answer the question; but may I ask whether you put that question to all the European witnesses who have been examined?" "I wish for a reply." "My pay is Rs. 75." Mr. Fanshawe and Sir James Lyall asked similar questions on other occasions.

As the Commission appears to have shared in the view occasionally expressed that the evidence of missionaries was prejudiced, it is well to give the reply made to this by the Rev. N. H. Russell: "Why should we raise an obstruction to a man joining our church if it were not a very serious matter with us, and why should we come before the Commission and offer evidence which, so far from making us friends, will draw down upon us a certain amount of ill-feeling from those whom we count our friends, the rulers of India? Some people may say we are fanatics. We do not look upon it that way. We wish to lay before the people of England, through the Commission, our opinion that we think opium is a serious evil, and I do not see at all where the prejudice comes from. If there were a prejudice it would be all the other way—a prejudice in order to add to our numbers, that would be the natural aim of the workers."

No reason is given for the omission of any reference to Ceylon throughout the enquiry. Apparently public opinion there is strongly averse to opium.

The partizan attitude indulged in by Sir James Lyall, as Chairman of the Commission in Burmah: when he cross-examined Mr. Smeaton on an official document, distasteful apparently to the Indian Government, has been previously noticed.

It is impossible to trace from the five volumes of evidence all the facts as to the schedules of questions sent to China and the East. Those to the Straits Settlements were sent from London: those to China from Calcutta, after additions had been made to them at the instance of the Indian Government. The answers do not in all cases appear to correspond to the questions given. It is hardly worthy of a Royal Commission seeking for

information as to the social, moral, and physical effects of opium on the Chinese, to exclude British missionaries from the enumeration of the specific classes of persons from whom this information was desired ; and to have it explained to them by Consuls in return that the missionaries were in many cases the best informants.

CONCLUSIONS.

I now come to the conclusions resulting from this study of the five volumes of evidence published by the Royal Commission, or such of them as can be briefly stated.

That opium is at once a drug and a poison, and a famous and valuable medicine, may be taken as admitted on all hands. It is over its non-medical use—over indulgence in the opium habit by persons not suffering from disease—that the battle rages. The field of the contest is indeed a wide one. It stretches from the western shores of India to the eastern provinces of China, or to such of them as may be left to her by the non-opium consuming armies of Japan. In these vast territories the conditions of life, the habits of the people, necessarily vary greatly, and statements made respecting one portion with knowledge and accuracy, may have to be qualified and conditioned when applied to others. This remark holds good of all classes of testimony alike. The danger of over sweeping generalizations is just as apparent on the part of those who honestly hold that the salvation of the race is bound up with the maintenance of the present systems of policy and law : as it is on the part of others who are impelled to warm protests against some policy or system, by the knowledge of human lives wrecked and ruined under it.

The two gravest instances of error of language revealed in these five blue books are unquestionably those of statements made to Parliament by ministers of the Crown. The first is the announcement that the policy of the Government had been greatly to diminish the cultivation of the poppy in India : and the second that China could by terminating her existing engagement with regard to opium, put herself into a position of perfect freedom with regard to its import for the future. Both of these statements were made and confirmed by responsible statesmen

in their official capacity, and both are shown beyond all gain-saying to be mis-statements of the actual facts.

With regard to British India. In presenting the case for the present system of producing opium, it does not appear to have occurred to the Government that any representation of the peasants was needful. The statements of officials and of land-owners were deemed sufficient. So far, however, as the Commission got any direct and personal information from the ryots, the Bengal opium monopoly came badly out of the enquiry. Grave abuses in the methods of dealing with the cultivators were elicited, and grave neglect of those abuses on the part of the authorities was proved. The notable raising of the price paid to the cultivators soon after the visit of the Commission discredits many official statements as to the profitable nature and popularity of the crop.

The general practice in British India of putting up the licenses for the sale of opium to public auction every year, or every three years, conflicts strongly with the expressed anxiety of the Government to restrict the home consumption of the drug. The opium-farmers naturally do their best to spread its use. This commercial system of intensifying the interest of the vendor in the sale ; of pushing it, as well as restricting it by means of high licenses, is opposed to Eastern thought and customs, and was strongly objected to by many of the Indian witnesses.

Whilst the use of opium for one purpose or another is known throughout India, the opium habit over the greater part of India is exceptional. The statistics indicate that in the provinces of Madras, Bengal, and Oudh, containing a population of over 120,000,000, the consumption for all purposes does not exceed an average of fifteen grains per head per annum. The Government allowance for soldiers who have accustomed themselves to the habit is twenty grains per day. The allowance for registered consumers in Burmah is fixed at forty-five grains per day. Four "habituals" at ten grains per day, amongst 1000 people, would practically account for the whole of the licit opium consumed, leaving the medical use to be set against any illicit consumption, whatever that may be.* It is playing with words to compare the extent of the habit to the prevalence of

* Mr. Stoker, speaking for the North-West Provinces (where the use is greater), as well as for Oudh, puts the ordinary consumption of a moderate opium-eater at fifteen grains per day, and says this only allows four per thousand of the population.

alcohol in Britain. On the other hand the evidence is conclusive that in many districts the opium habit is deeply rooted and widely spread. This is especially the case in the large cities, where it is admitted on all sides to be the accompaniment of vice and demoralization. There is grave reason for holding that the evil in some of the large towns has increased and is increasing. The habit of opium-smoking is a recent importation into India, but has already obtained a cancerous growth in some centres of population. Two other main factors as to consumption are these: whilst the opium habit is condoned in men on the downhill side of life, which seems to be reached in India at the age of 40, it is infrequent and universally condemned for men in health before that period; it has also obtained but little hold upon women.

Beneficial effects are claimed for the habit as a prophylactic against malaria and as a stimulant. Those medical men who extol these advantages admit (with a mere fractional exception as to the first), that they never prescribe it for either the one or the other. Sir William Roberts said to a witness: "I do not attempt to say that opium is a prophylactic in the sense that quinine is," and the evidence as a whole more than confirms the admission. The exhilaration or intoxication which results is transient: its calls upon the system (for it contributes nothing of its own) is followed by reaction, requiring regular renewal of the dose. Though the repetitions produce a deadening effect or tolerance, yet the craving becomes more imperious the longer the use and the greater the indulgence.

Q. 16,122.

On the other hand, there are evil effects of the habit both great and unquestioned. It is only maintained in India at the price of a ceaseless toll of wrecked and shrunken lives at one end of the human scale, and of infants sacrificed at the other: a toll of vast numbers of suicides, and of nauseous debauchery. Even the staunchest apologists, for the things that are, admit that the people would be better without the habit: but because "human nature is what it is," a drug that leads it further into captivity, and effectually prevents a man from being lord of his will and master of his passions, is forsooth to be defended through thick and thin!

It will be said that the opium habit compares favourably with the alcohol habit, and that the latter is more dreaded by the Indians than the former. There are some striking exceptions

to the latter view, on the part of men who believe the violence of drink is preferable to the deadliness of opium, but in the main Indian opinion and official opinion is the other way. On the other hand the evidence points to this, that the opium vice is more secret, insidious, and absolute when it has got the mastery over its victim. No one is quite so foolish as to contend that two blacks make one white, but the assertion that if opium is got rid of, spirits must infallibly take its place is hardly more enlightened. The evidence shows that among the Sikhs and Rajputs, the two habits are found together, whilst vast districts are practically free from them both, and from all quarters of China the idea of this alternative is scouted. The dogma of one man one vice, manifestly upheld by some of the Commissioners, did not commend itself to the more thoughtful and religious and patriotic minds of India, whatever their creed might be. The responsibility of Britain in regard to the spread of intoxicants in the East is surely heavy enough already. When the old-fashioned delusion of resorting to alcohol in hot climates is being everywhere exposed, and praiseworthy efforts are successfully made to save the British troops there from this form of danger, the Commissioners might have found some better propaganda to their hands than that of inferentially preaching the universal craving of mankind for an intoxicant, and some supposed profound adaptation of Indians to their drug and of Europeans to their drink.

“Rightly or wrongly,” said the Hon. J. U. Yagnik, “the belief current among the people at the present day is that the Government pursue their Abkari policy with the true instincts of a trader, the governing consideration being that of revenue more than one of morality.” This was said especially of the drink trade, on the evils of which nearly all officials laid special stress as compared with those of the opium trade. It is greatly to be desired that the whole Abkari policy in India should be altogether changed and made protective to the people as against both habits. No doubt very many of the administrators in India are loyal and devoted to the well-being of the millions over whom they are placed. There are others who appear to have made no study of the social state of the people. A very large amount of the pro-opium evidence is wholly negative in its character. If similar evidence were taken as to the presence of wild beasts in India, it would point strongly to the view, that it is a great mistake to

suppose there are any tigers there at all. And yet about one thousand persons per annum are destroyed by them !

It has been shown that the restrictive policy granted to Burma by the aid of anti-opium pressure from the United Kingdom is still referred to grudgingly in India. The evidence also shewed that the withdrawal of Government licences for opium-smoking dens is under the ban of some officials. The collector of excise at Bombay said: "In deference to the mistaken and faint-hearted scruple, that in the eyes of the people of India such duties discredit Government, the supervision of opium-smoking houses was withdrawn." It is not to be wondered at that his chief opium inspector, in the course of the trials of three missionaries and the editor of *The Bombay Guardian* for defamation in exposing some sham opium clubs near that city, said: "There are about 150 clubs at Bombay. . . . I do not think the opium-smoking clubs at Bombay and Mahim are undesirable. . . . I do not think the opium-smoking establishments should be shut up; therefore, we have not tried to shut them up." In contradiction to this it was represented to the Commission, on the strength of one feeble attempt, that efforts had been made. After the prison doors had been closed on the Rev. A. W. Prautch, the officials tried again, and obtained several convictions.

The Indian Government now is on the horns of a dilemma. Its friends have proved too much. If some of its zealous servants are right, the barriers which restrict the sale should be broken down. According to them opium should be brought to every house: and instead of putting the highest price, as at present, on the drug in the malarial districts of Assam and Orissa, it ought to be given away to enable the people to live. But in truth the beneficial theory of opium as a dietetic breaks down hopelessly under the weights it has to carry. No Government can so belie the facts of history, or undermine the well-being of the vast, but pitifully poor populations committed to its charge, by encouraging the use of a drug declared to be a poison not only by science, but by the law of our land; and a policy of further restriction, and prohibition for other than medical uses, is the only one which can consistently be aimed at.

Whether as regards India, Burma, or China, these five volumes of evidence—carefully compiled as they have been, in the main through the instrumentality of an able Government

fighting for its revenue as necessary for its life—yet leave an unmistakable conviction, that the opium habit, apart from any medical use, is physically injurious, and morally indefensible, just in proportion to the extent to which it prevails.

It has been shewn how the independent evidence as to the causes of the opium war with China, was closed by the President of the Commission. The admissions made, however, by British officials engaged in the transactions, are ample in themselves to prove, and to condemn the pressure put forth by Great Britain on behalf of the smuggled drug. With regard to the present position of the two countries, it was reserved for an eminent medical missionary to correct both the Commission and the Ministers of the late Government, and to shew that China cannot legally free herself from the treaty obligations in regard to opium which we have imposed upon her. The results of the Royal Commission enquiry, poor and partial as it was in this respect especially, shew afresh, by an overwhelming preponderance of positive testimony, the disastrous consequences of the opium habit in China; and point beforehand, with curious precision, to the undermining of the fabric of that ancient State which is every day becoming more and more apparent. By the evidence of this Commission also, British India has now become the last country in the world that can gainsay the evil, for with unanimous voice her people and officials alike condemn opium-smoking as an unmanly and demoralizing vice. The only fig leaves left for the trade are the pleas that it is now too late to give it up: that we had better cling to the profits to the last. Confucius taught that "the mean man sows, that himself or his friends may reap, but the love of the perfect man is universal." Is a Christian empire content to take a lower stand? It is beginning to be understood of Asian and African commerce, as well as of our own, that any trade which defies all ethics is a doomed trade. Some treasures, it has been well said, "are heavy with human tears." The sooner the opium trade to China is stopped, the sooner will be closed the record, in the words of the late Earl of Shaftesbury, of "a sin and a shame."

[THE END.]

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