

THE ⁵⁴²
INDIAN OPIUM TRADE

RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS



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THE TRUTH ABOUT
THE INDIAN OPIUM TRADE

BY

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FOREWORD

In view of the misconceptions which have arisen regarding the policy of the British Government towards opium in India, the facts in this book are now placed before the public.

The following conclusions, which plainly emerge, are of general interest. First, the Government of India does not encourage the cultivation and use of opium either for foreign or domestic purposes; on the contrary, it hedges them round with every conceivable restriction.

Secondly, the consumption of opium in India differs widely from the practice of Western countries. The demand for the drug comes, not from "dope fiends" who

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smoke it, but from millions of sane and normal people who have looked upon it for the last ten centuries as a family medicine. Excessive indulgence in opium is far more severely and far more generally reprobated than excessive indulgence in alcohol in the West. It is therefore much rarer.

Thirdly, thanks to the steadily pursued policy of Government, the opium trade of India both internal and external is surely if slowly disappearing.

Fourthly, the Government of India's *bona-fides* is proved by the fact that in an endeavour to assist China to purify herself of opium smoking, India sacrificed £4 millions of her own scanty annual revenue to keep Indian opium out of China. The fact that China now grows all the opium she wants herself at one-fourth the previous price, and exports

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immense quantities, without reference to the Agreement, is not the fault of India.

Fifthly, the Government of India refuses to allow opium to leave India for any country which prohibits the entry of the drug, and steadily fosters the practice of dealing with governments rather than with individuals. No less than 77 per cent. of her total exports goes direct to responsible governments. In China in particular, which produces about 580,000 chests a year, opium is so cheap that there is no motive for smuggling.

Sixthly, India is but one of many opium growing tracts in the East, and is alone in her policy of restricting cultivation and discouraging extended use. The latest figures at the disposal of the Advisory Opium Committee of the League of Nations (May 1921) show that some 90 per cent. of the world's pro-

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duction occurs in China : Persia and Turkey produce about 3 per cent. each, while India is responsible for about 4 per cent. and 4 per cent. only.

Those interested in the opium question will find it instructive to compare these conclusions, and the plain facts upon which they are based, with such partial presentations of undigested material as Miss La Motte's "The Opium Monopoly" (Macmillan, New York 1920).

L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.

June, 1921.

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY OF OPIUM CULTIVATION IN INDIA

The extensive cultivation of the opium poppy in India dates back to very early days ; and in fact seems to have been introduced about the time of the Mohammadan invasions between the 8th and the 11th centuries. It continued to be an important crop from this early period down to the time of the British rule. In almost every district where the climate and soil were suitable, the cultivation of the opium poppy was entirely unrestricted. Indeed, except for a tract of country round Patna in Bihar, the disposal of opium juice seems to have been similarly free. The principal producing areas included

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the greater portion of northern India and extensive area in Central India, which may be described as Malwa. In the middle of the 18th century opium of the best quality was grown in Bihar, but in the troublous times which followed, poppy cultivation throughout the north-east of India fell off. The Moghal government had established a State monopoly for the purchase and sale of opium round Patna. Contractors, after paying a large advance to the State, manufactured crude opium and disposed of it both for the export trade and for internal consumption. This monopoly continued up to the time when the British were establishing themselves in Bengal, although it had passed into the hands of a ring of rich Indian dealers who were practically independent of any obligations to the government. Since it was feared that any recognition of free trade in opium would cause an undesirable

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increase in consumption, resulting in large production, the East India Company decided to take over the monopoly for the benefit of the public revenues. Before long it was found desirable to dispense with the system of contractors and to deal direct with the cultivators through a State agency. The policy deliberately pursued was to produce a limited quantity of high quality opium by concentrating cultivation in the districts where the soil was most favourable and where the necessary supervision could best be carried out. Following upon the Moghal tradition, advance payments were made to the cultivator of the poppy, the object being to enable the cultivator to pay his rent without resorting to the money-lenders. This system, it may be remarked, persists up to the present, but has now lost any attraction which it originally possessed, since the amounts granted are extremely small.

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Two agencies were established for the cultivation of opium in north-eastern India, one in Benares and the other in Bihar. The Bihar opium was particularly popular in the Chinese market ; and with the cessation of the China trade, the agency closed down in 1911. The Benares opium, which fetched a relatively higher price, covered an increasingly wide area between the year 1840 and 1900. It reached its high water-mark in the year 1903-04 when the area cultivated was 435,326 acres. But between that year and the present day the yearly acreage of the Benares agency steadily declined, as will be seen from the figures given in Tables I and II.

This decrease has been largely brought about by the deliberate restriction of licenses for cultivation, consequent on the lessening demand from China. At the same time the prices of food-crops have risen during the

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period, and only the traditional dislike of the Indian cultivator to change has sustained the crop at its level. It will be seen that during the year 1916-17 to 1918-19, the acreage again increased. This was due to the fact that during the War the Indian Government was approached with a view to supplying opium required for war-use. In order to maintain the reserve which, in view of bad seasons, business prudence requires to be kept, the area under direct cultivation was therefore enlarged. The present normal demands for Indian opium have been taken to be 11,000 chests of 140 lbs for export, and 1.2 million lbs. for internal consumption. With an out-turn of 12 lbs. per acre the normal area should be 2,50,000 acres.

In addition to the opium-growing tract round Benares which is under Government control, there are certain other areas in northern India where the crop is grown. In

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the Punjab, for example, where no restrictions had been placed on the cultivation of opium by the Sikh administration, it was found impossible to prohibit the cultivation entirely. The greater part of the opium consumed in the provinces had always been imported from Malwa, from the surrounding native hill States from Kashmere and from Afghanistan. Cultivation, subject to the levy of a duty upon the home grown crop, is therefore permitted, but the area under poppy in the Punjab is very small, being only about 2,100 acres. In Ajmere-Merwara, the use of opium was very widespread and no restriction on its cultivation was formerly attempted, but since 1910 cultivation has ceased. In Kashmere, where the average area under poppy is about 1,700 acres, import into British India has now been prohibited. But it is difficult to impose the same restriction upon certain of the Punjab hill States,

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which produce opium for extra-local purposes. On an average the Punjab has taken 9,600 lbs. from this source during the past six years. In Afghanistan also opium is grown and amounts of the drug find their way into the North-west Frontier Province and into the Punjab. The average of the past five years has only been 860 lbs., but as much as 32,000 lbs. were imported during the year 1907-08.

But by far the largest source of opium which is not under Government control is that which comes from Malwa,—a region made up of Indian States which are not under the administration of the Government of India. The climate and soil of this region are particularly favourable to the opium poppy, the largest cultivating States being Gwalior, Indore, Bhopal, Narsingharh and Jaora in Central India proper; Mewar, Jhalawar, Kotah and Tonk in Rajputana; and Baroda. The history

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of the Malwa trade shows that for a long time there was practically no attempt on the part of the authorities of these States to control the opium business. At present, some degree of control does exist. The local demand has always been very considerable and the quantity produced for export large. Accurate early figures of the area under opium poppy are not obtainable, but table III shows the total acreage from 1903-04 to the present day.

In the early part of the 19th century the unrestricted trade of Malwa was a serious obstacle to the East India Company in its attempt to limit the consumption of opium and also to protect its own monopoly. But when in 1818 the British got possession of the Bombay coast it was possible to initiate a measure of control over a large part of Central India. As British supremacy secured the pacification of that region, the crop, which

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was very profitable, increased largely in extent. The artificial restriction of the amount of Bengal opium which came into the market led to a considerable quantity of the Malwa drug finding its way into British India. Attempts were made to control this leakage by the private purchase of a limited quantity; but several of the more important States refused to enter into the necessary agreements and a large clandestine trade continued. Finally, in 1830 the Malwa trade was openly recognised, and Malwa opium was allowed to pass through British territory for export upon the payment of a pass duty. This was finally raised to a level which placed Malwa opium on an equality with the Bengal opium in the market. The major portion of the Malwa trade was conducted with China; for Malwa opium had always been collected in oil, a practice not according to the taste of any of the foreign purchasers

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except the Chinese. But with the fall-off of the China trade, due first to the competition of the native-grown article in China, and secondly to the entire prohibition of the traffic by Government order, the production of Malwa opium considerably declined. The Government of India made arrangements with some of the States to purchase from them certain quantities of crude opium on the condition that they brought under fresh cultivation only the area immediately required, and that they conducted their cultivation under a form and control which would minimise the chances of smuggling into British India. The area cultivated under these arrangements for the year 1920-21 is about 84,000 acres. In addition to this of course the Malwa States continue to grow opium for their own internal demands.

Altogether, it would seem, India is now

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responsible for only 4 per cent. of the world's total opium production. China herself produces some 90 per cent. and Turkey and Persia some 3 per cent. each.

CHAPTER II

THE OPIUM HABIT IN INDIA AND GOVERNMENT POLICY

We have already noticed that until some time after the British had been established in India, there was no restriction upon the consumption of opium. It must be remembered that the drug is not generally used for smoking in India, but is eaten as a kind of a family medicine, either in the form of pills or as a watery decoction. This habit is common in every part of India, both rural and urban, and the medicinal and non-medicinal uses of opium are not distinguished in popular opinion. The Royal Commission of 1893 concluded that the use of opium among the people of India was as a rule moderate, and that excess was both exceptional and condemned by

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public opinion. So eminent an authority as Sir William Roberts, M.D., F.R.S., stated that the larger part of the opium consumed in India was used for the mitigation of suffering and for the prevention and cure of disease. The best proof that the general use of opium in India is moderate, is to be found in the fact that while consumption of the drug is both general and widely distributed, the mean annual amount consumed per head is less than 1/16th of an ounce.

Such opium smoking as actually takes place is of comparatively recent growth and is indulged in for the most part by low and openly dissipated classes. Before the Hague Opium Convention was drafted, Government had closed six hundred shops which formerly existed for the sale of smoking preparations. Both the sale and manufacture of opium in a form suitable for smoking is now absolutely

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prohibited ; and the use of opium for smoking purposes is made almost impossible by a rigid limitation of the quantity which a person may at one time possess. This quantity varies from 192 grains in southern India to 768 grains in Sindh, the limit in most places being either 384 grains or 576 grains. By way of supplementing the effects of this restriction, Government is now preparing a Bill to prohibit public gatherings for opium-smoking.

As has already been mentioned, the opium consumer in India generally takes the drug as a medicine, and it is widely held that neither extensive moral nor physical degradation results from the practice. There is as yet no general sentiment against moderate use ; but excessive indulgence is reprobated, and consequently rare. The present position, gives little cause for alarm. The quantity of

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opium actually consumed in India, and the number of licensed shops for the sale of raw opium for the year 1918-19 is given in Table IV.

These figures do not include the illicit consumption, which varies in different parts of India according to local circumstances. Since it is the constant endeavour of the excise authorities to check the illicit use of opium, an increase in the amount of Government opium consumed during a particular period is generally to be ascribed to the increased efficiency of the preventive staff and the substitution of the illicit drug for the illicit.

It is impossible to appreciate the position of Government relative to the opium habit without considering the particular circumstances of India. The Royal Commission of 1893 found the great mass of Indian opinion

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entirely opposed to the prohibition of opium, as constituting an unnecessary restriction on individual liberty and an interference with established habits and customs. It must be remembered that the soil of most parts of India will produce the opium poppy. The population of India has accustomed itself to the consumption of opium through several centuries, and connects it with certain medical properties. The use of opium on ceremonial occasions is also sanctioned by long standing habit. As the Royal Commission stated "Upon every consideration of prudence and statesmanship it seems clear that in the position of the British Government in India, we cannot deal experimentally with 290 millions of people in a matter involving interference with the innermost concerns of personal life, without a clear pronouncement of India's opinion in favour of such a step."

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The policy of the Government of India towards opium has from the earliest times been consistent. The early British Administrators finding that they could not stop the consumption, decided to place it under regulation, at the same time distinctly declaring that "in taking this step they were desirous of countenancing only to the narrowest extent possible a habit which they found themselves unable to eradicate." Since 1813, when the first regulation on the subject was passed, the Government of India has remained steadfast to this policy. The method which is being employed to bring about the gradual and effective suppression of the manufacture and consumption of opium is to fence the trade round with every practical restriction, and slowly to increase the price to the consumers. We have already noticed the restriction which exists upon the possession of opium in any

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form by individuals. Only specially licensed persons may sell opium, the Government reserving to itself a wide discretion in its choice of licenses. The process of restriction must however be gradual in order that the end in view should not be defeated. For, as may well be imagined, in raising the rate of duty, in limiting the number of shops and in imposing conditions on the grants of licenses opium tends to become so expensive and so difficult to obtain, that an incessant vigilance must be exercised to prevent development of a regular trade in smuggled and illicitly produced opium. The success of this policy may be observed from studying the series of figures given in Table V.

The increase of gross revenue, accompanied *There is,* by the diminution of consumption, *ref seen* is very marked. *to be any* In fact the complete control of the opium trade *from the* by Government permits of the *table.*

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most effective regulation and of the imposition of the highest duty. It also prevents the trade from passing into the hands of a type of person with which it would readily become associated.

CHAPTER III

THE EXPORT TRADE

It should be remembered that India is only one of many opium-producing countries. Asia Minor, Persia, Afghanistan, China and lately Japan are all at present comparatively large opium-growing areas. To take only the first and the last, it may be noticed that immense quantities of Turkish opium have been imported into countries so far afield as America during recent years, the largest purchasers in the Turkish markets in the early part of the year 1919 being Americans. In the latter part of that year American purchasers were exporting Turkish opium to Japan, which country none the less has increased its production of opium from 3,615 lbs. in 1910 to 151,948 lbs. in 1919. Figures placed before

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the advisory opium committee of the League of Nations show that China now produces some 580,000 chests, or 90 per cent. of the world's production, and so is quite independent of exports of opium from other countries. Turkey, India and Persia are now exporting approximately equal quantities, some 10,000 chests per annum. Thus the share of India in the total opium trade is quite small.

So far as India is concerned the export trade is of very long standing. At the beginning of the 16th century both Indian and Arabian merchants were trading in opium with Chinese and the other Eastern markets. Soon after this the European traders got a footing in the business. With the growth of British power in India and the gradual restriction of free opium traffic by the action of Government, the system of auctioning opium for export in Calcutta was introduced. The

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number of chests of Bengal opium sold annually at Calcutta during the period 1798-1821 remained practically constant at about 4,000 a year. Some time about 1830 the cessation of the European wars led to a great revival of the opium trade in the eastern seas and the competition of Persian and Turkish opium could no longer be neglected. Accordingly, the Government of India decided to revise its arrangements. As has already been noticed, it was found impossible to restrict the unregulated Malwa trade by direct purchase, and Government thereupon extended cultivation in Bengal and brought a larger supply of its own opium into the market. Between 1830 and 1848 the average sale at Calcutta had increased to about 19,000 chests, thereafter growing to nearly 50,000 chests in the middle "fifties". Except for depression during the years 1859-62 the quantity remained over 40,000

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chests until 1910-13, after which it rapidly declined. A study of the statistics given in Table II will elucidate the statement.

Up to the year 1797-98 the annual gross proceeds of the auction sales averaged about £110,000. In the first half of the 19th century the average was about £0·9 millions, but in response to the policy of restricting production and increasing price, the revenue expanded considerably from that time, standing between 1880 and 1909-10 at somewhere about £4 millions. The statistics given in Table VII will show that the quantity of Government opium sold has successively diminished while the average price realised per chest has continually increased.

In addition to the export of Government opium there must be reckoned the export of opium from Malwa. Between 1843 (the date when the annexation of Sindh made the

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regulation of the Malwa export trade to some extent feasible) and 1875-76, the average number of chests of Malwa opium exported from Bombay had risen from 16,000 to 40,000. Subsequent years witnessed a steady decline. The first year of the 20th century showed an export figure of only 26,000, while for the quinquennium 1901-1905 the average annual exports were 19,000 chests. As we shall now proceed to notice, the decline of the China trade has put a stop entirely to the export traffic in opium from Malwa.

China was for many centuries the principal market for Indian opium. Counting the Malwa opium, which almost entirely went to China, the number of chests exported from India to that country between 1853 and 1892 never fell below 60,000 annually. During the years 1892 to 1907 the yearly quantity exported to China averaged about 50,000 chests

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to the value of something over £4 millions. The export of opium to China had been regulated by an additional article in the Chefoo Convention of 1885, according to which all Indian opium was required to pay a fixed fee before it was allowed to break bond in China. In 1906 however the Chinese Government issued an order for the complete eradication of the cultivation and consumption of opium within ten years. Negotiations were opened with the British Government, in accordance with which the Government of India arranged to diminish the total amount of both Malwa and Government opium offered for export by 1/10th of the average yearly quantity imported into China during the period 1901-1905. In addition to this regular annual diminution of more than 5,000 chests of certified opium, the Government of India agreed to reduce the number of chests for sale to China

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during the years 1912-14 by a further quantity, to compensate the Chinese Government for the import of uncertified chests held in Hong Kong and the treaty ports at the time when the treaty was concluded. Only opium certified by the Government of India was to be allowed to pass the Chinese customs. Further, the Government of India promised to close completely the whole Indo-Chinese opium trade before the year 1917, if proof were forthcoming that China were able to carry into effect her good intentions. It was also agreed that China might prohibit at any time the import of Indian opium into any province as soon as native cultivation had ceased. Since only eight out of 22 provinces of China ordinarily engaged in the Indian trade, and since these provinces produced only 6 per cent. of Chinese home grown opium, this last concession was

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an important one. But the agreement was found to be working badly, for the Central Chinese Government had not the ability to force its policy upon the provinces. When the Chinese revolution broke out, the trade in Indian opium was reduced to a state of chaos, and the auction of opium certified for export to China was finally stopped by the Government of India in 1913. This was a particularly heavy blow to the Indian states of Malwa, whose export trade was almost exclusively confined to the Chinese market. Bitter complaints were received from the State authorities at the cessation of a commercial arrangement in which they were so vitally interested.

In addition to China, other countries have also from time to time taken their share in the opium trade of India. The Straits Settlements have always been a large importer of Indian opium, the average in the first years of

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the 20th century being about 12,000 chests per year. Between 1905-06 and 1919-20 the number of chests exported from India to the Straits Settlements has fallen from over 12,000 to just over 4,000. India does not represent the only opium supply of the Settlement ; for example in the year 1919-20 nearly 1,200 chests of Persian opium were also imported. Another of India's opium customers is the Dutch East Indies, which since 1917 has dealt direct with the Government of India. In the year 1919-20 1,800 chests were exported from India to Batava. Siam also buys direct from the Government of India and imported, during the year 1919-20, 1,400 chests of opium. During that year, French Indo-China, Japan and the United Kingdom took about 1,000 chests each, and Hong Kong nearly 800. British North Borneo took 250, Ceylon 60 and Mauritius 35.

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In 1907, when the agreement with China, was entered into, 16,000 chests were estimated to represent the requirements of the extra-China market. In 1911, this limit was cut down to 14,000 chests and in 1912 to 13,200. This ration was calculated on figures supplied by the Board of Trade, being based on the estimates of the imports of the various countries which at that time took opium. This estimate will be found in Table VIII.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXPORT POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

The policy which the Government of India has adopted in attempting to regulate the export trade is to endeavour to supply opium direct to the countries which consume it instead of auctioning the opium to private buyers. It is important to note, however, that there is no obligation on any contracting government to take any minimum quantity of opium, although that government is expected to take substantially its whole requirements from the Government of India. The statement below gives the number of chests so far supplied in this way together with the probable estimates for the year 1921.

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	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921
Straits Settlements (including the Malay States)	2400	3750	3750	4000	4000	3000	3000
Hong Kong	420	360	420	360	540	180	120
Siam	...	...	...	1700	1700	1700	1700
British North Borneo	...	...	...	...	120	120	192
Dutch East Indies	...	...	2200	2200	2200	2900	2300
Ceylon	...	...	...	...	...	10	70

At the present moment, purchasers at public auctions in India may send opium to countries even which the Indian Government has agreed to supply direct, but there is of course not the slightest obligation on these countries to receive it, or indeed to take any opium at all. Without the permission of the governments concerned, no opium, whether purchased by auction or supplied by the Government of India, can enter other

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countries. A decrease is continually being made in the quantity offered at public auctions. In 1915 this was just 10,000 chests and by 1918 it had been reduced to 5,600. For 1920 the maximum quantity advertised for auction was fixed at 4,000, but during the year only 2,320 chests were sold. As has already been mentioned the necessity for the public auction of opium will probably disappear with the conclusion of direct contracts with the large opium importers which hitherto rely upon private firms. These are at present Japan, Portugal and France.

The main fact of the Indian opium trade during recent years is that India, including the Indian states has now ceased to send about 50,000 chests annually to China and has foregone something in the neighbourhood of £ 4 millions. On the other hand, China herself, according to the figures laid before

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the Advisory Opium Committee of the League of Nations in May 1921, is producing about 580,000 chests herself at the present time.

The loss of the China trade and of the £ 4 millions of revenue which it brought with it, has meant much to a country so poor as India. There would be some consolation in the loss if we could believe that the opium consumption of the world had decreased by this amount. But the price of the drug in China has fallen by three-fourths of late, and it seems plain that Indian opium has only made way for supplies locally grown, amounting according to the latest statistics, to the astonishing total of 580,000 chests. The revenue voluntarily relinquished by India has been merely transferred elsewhere.

In addition, while India used to export 16,000 chests a year to the extra-China market she now exports less than 11,000 chests. The

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striking diminution of the trade has been to some extent disguised by high prices. Whereas at one time as many as 1,00,000 chests of opium left the shores of India in one year, and while in the early years of the present century the average annual export was about 70,000 chests, during the two years 1918-19 and 1919-20 the exports were under 14,000 and 12,000 respectively. In future the exports are likely to be under 11,000 chests.

The policy of the Government of India in the matter of exporting opium has been much misunderstood. If any country decides to purge itself of the use of this drug and prohibits entirely the import of opium, the Government of India refuses to allow opium for that destination to leave its shores. For example a consignment of opium for China would not be allowed to leave Calcutta. Further, the Indian Government prefers to consign opium

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only to the government of a country or to consignees approved by a government and 77 per cent. of the total opium export of India is now disposed of in this way. But the import laws and the power to make them effective are the weapons of the importing country rather than of the Government of India. The Indian Government is not prepared to restrict export to a nation which at the same time is allowing import from other countries. To do so would merely reduce Indian revenues without any concurrent advantage in the reduction of opium consumption. The Indian Government has for many years conducted the opium trade on open and honest lines, producing an unadulterated drug for which people are prepared to pay more than for the Turkish or Persian product. While Government subjects the trade to severe restriction and to constant, if gradual,

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diminution, it believes that so long as any part of the world requires opium, Indian opium, containing as it does less morphine, will meet the demand in a less harmful form than other varieties. In a word the Indian Government does not feel that it is furthering the world's moral progress by withdrawing from the market in favour of other nations which do not exercise the same strict control over a traffic so dangerous.

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TABLE I

ACREAGE UNDER OPIUM CULTIVATION IN THE
BEHAR AND BENARES AGENCIES.

1840-1901.

Year.	Behar.	Benares.	Total.
1840-41	105,254	45,767	151,021
1850-51	183,716	73,892	257,608
1860-61	175,704	96,383	272,086
1870-71	304,719	211,132	515,851
1875-76	294,329	236,401	580,739
1880-81	271,741	264,541	536,282
1885-86	283,446	311,475	594,921
1890-91	254,975	246,744	501,719
1895-96	236,684	295,588	532,272
1900-01	220,400	386,262	606,662

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TABLE II

ACREAGE UNDER OPIUM IN THE BENARES AGENCY.

1904-1920.	
1904-5	378,961
1905-6	409,221
1906-7	387,473
1907-8	362,311
1908-9	258,257
1909-10	251,538
1910-11	264,550
1911-12	200,672
1912-13	178,263
1913-14	144,561
1914-15	164,911
1915-16	167,155
1916-17	204,186
1917-18	207,010
1918-19	177,124
1919-20	155,871

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TABLE III

ACREAGE UNDER OPIUM IN MALWA, 1903-1920.

Year.	Central India.	Rajputana.	Total.
1903-04	151,728	102,859	254,587
1904-05	115,116	98,615	213,731
1905-06	91,865	54,812	146,677
1906-07	162,622	84,289	246,911
1907-08	119,770	71,944	191,714
1908-09	85,566	49,063	134,629
1909-10	62,873	46,100	108,973
1910-11	87,329	59,933	147,262
1911-12	47,290	24,693	71,983
1912-13	22,016	25,127	47,143
1913-14	2,288	9,989	12,277
1914-15	2,904	12,416	15,320
1915-16	1,450	9,118	10,568
1916-17	15,419	31,022	46,441
1917-18	26,658	27,693	54,341
1918-19	11,237	13,634	24,871
1919-20	12,027	29,180	41,207

TABLE IV.

OPIUM CONSUMED IN INDIA, 1918-1919.

Province.	Area in Square miles.	Population.	No. of shops for the sale of raw opium.	Mean con- sumption in grains for each head of population.
Assam	53,015	5,842,000	330	.145.92
Bengal	78,699	42,141,000	820	13.82
Bihar and Orissa ...	83,181	33,243,000	548	13.82
Bombay	123,059	18,560,000	923	46.08
Burma	230,839	10,491,000	124	69.12
Central Provinces	99,823	11,971,000	1,069	49.165
Madras	142,330	38,230,000	638	13.82
N.-W. F. Province	13,418	2,042,000	66	47.62
Punjab	99,779	20,330,000	827	41.47
United Provinces...	107,267	47,692,000	1,031	15.36

THE INDIAN OPIUM TRADE

TABLE V.

CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM IN THE MAIN PROVINCES OF BRITISH INDIA.

(Gross Revenue excluding cost of production.)

Year.	...	Consumption. Gross Revenue.	
		(Lbs.)	£
1909-10	...	993,400	937,300
1910-11	...	995,100	972,300
1911-12	...	993,200	1,066,700
1912-13	...	1,007,800	1,146,700
1913-14	...	1,011,300	1,347,000
1914-15	...	996,200	1,365,500
1915-16	...	956,800	1,420,300
1916-17	...	962,100	1,403,000
1917-18	...	980,800	1,514,000
1918-19	...	936,400	1,644,800

THE INDIAN OPIUM TRADE

TABLE VI.

CHESTS OF OPIUM AUCTIONED AT CALCUTTA.

1900-1920.

1900-1	...	45,300	1910-11	...	37,560
1901-2	...	48,000	1911-12	...	26,330
1902-3	...	48,000	1912-13	...	17,890
1903-4	...	48,000	1913-14	...	9,070
1904-5	...	48,000	1914-15	...	10,648
1905-6	...	49,200	1915-16	...	10,020
1906-7	...	52,800	1916-17	...	9,129
1907-8	...	48,900	1917-18	...	4,264
1908-9	...	45,900	1918-19	...	5,102
1909-10	...	42,300	1919-20	...	3,600

THE INDIAN OPIUM TRADE

TABLE VII.

CHESTS SOLD IN AUCTION, AVERAGE PRICE
AND GROSS PROCEEDS, 1909-1920.

Year.	No. of chests sold in auction.	Average price realised in £	Gross proceeds. £
1909-10	... 42,300	107.5	4,546,000
1910-11	... 37,560	192.7	7,240,000
1911-12	... 26,330	186.0	4,898,000
1912-13	... 17,890	185.6	3,320,000
1913-14	... 9,070	140.1	1,280,000
1914-15	... 10,648	104.8	1,130,000
1915-16	... 10,020	114.7	1,149,000
1916-17	... 9,129	187.4	1,807,000
1917-18	... 4,264	216.8	930,000
1918-19	... 5,102	230.4	1,163,000
1919-20	... 3,600	331.6	1,170,000

THE INDIAN OPIUM TRADE

TABLE VIII.

ESTIMATED REQUIREMENT OF THE EXTRA-
CHINA MARKET IN 1911.

(i) British Colonies outside India.		
Mauritius	...	20
Seychelles	...	200
Canada	...	50
Trinidad	...	20
Jamaica	...	5
British Guiana	...	10
Fiji	...	5
		310
(ii) British Colonies in Asia.		
Hong Kong	...	400
Straits Settlements	...	2,180
Ceylon	...	130
Borneo	...	126
Sarawak	...	152
		2,988
(iii) Far East outside China and omitting Formosa and Japan.		
Malay Straits	...	1,000
Siam	...	1,360
Dutch East Indies	...	3,000
French China	...	800
Macao	...	500
		6,660
(iv) Estimated consumption of China opium in French Indo-China...		2,200
(v) Formosa		1,000
Total	...	13,158
(Say)	...	13,200