

Dhananjayrao Gadgil Library



GIPE-PUNE-015760

OPIUM COMMISSION.

4

8
S/560

FIRST REPORT

OF THE

ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM;

WITH

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE AND APPENDICES.

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



LONDON:

PRINTED FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE,

BY EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE,

PRINTERS TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

And to be purchased, either directly or through any Bookseller, from
EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE, EAST HARDING STREET, FLEET STREET, E.C., and
32, ABINGDON STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.; or
JOHN MENZIES & Co., 12, HANOVER STREET, EDINBURGH, and
90, WEST NILE STREET, GLASGOW; or
HODGES, FIGGIS, & Co., LIMITED, 104, GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

1894.

[C.—7813.] Price 1s. 6d.

413.25M9t.11

C4.1-C4.2

15760

CONTENTS.

	Page		Page
ROYAL COMMISSION. - - - - -	v	Dr. F. J. Mouat - - - - -	75-77
FIRST REPORT - - - - -	vii	Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. -	77-80
FIRST DAY'S EVIDENCE:—		Mr. H. N. Lay, C.B. - - - - -	81-86
✓ Sir Joseph Pease, Bart. - - - - -	1-13	FIFTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—	
✓ Rev. James Legge - - - - -	13-17	Sir Thomas Wade, G.C.M.G., K.C.B. -	86-99
Dr. Maxwell - - - - -	17-23	Mr. Stewart Lockhart - - - - -	99-102
SECOND DAY'S EVIDENCE:—		Dr. F. Irvine Rowell, M.D., C.M.G. -	102-103
✓ Rev. J. S. Adams - - - - -	23-29	Mr. Alexander Langman - - - - -	103-104
✓ Rev. Hudson Taylor - - - - -	29-33	Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I. - - - - -	105-109
✓ Rev. Christopher Fenn - - - - -	33-34	Mr. Henry Lazarus - - - - -	109-110
✓ Rev. George Piercy - - - - -	35-36	SIXTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—	
Mr. Joseph Alexander - - - - -	36-38	Papers read from—	
THIRD DAY'S EVIDENCE:—		Sir Joseph Fayer, K.C.S.I. - - - - -	110-111
Mr. Benjamin Broomhall - - - - -	38-44	Sir Hugh Low, K.C.M.G. - - - - -	111
Mr. George Graham Brown - - - - -	44-46	Messrs. Bush Brothers - - - - -	112
✓ Rev. A. Elwin - - - - -	46-48	Mr. T. W. Duff - - - - -	112
Mr. Marous Wood - - - - -	48-50	Evidence of—	
Rev. Frederick Brown - - - - -	50-52	Mr. William Lockhart, F.R.C.S. - - - - -	112-116
Brigade Surgeon R. Fringle, M.D. -	52-56	Dr. George Dods - - - - -	116-117
✓ Rev. W. S. Swanson, D.D. - - - - -	56-57	Mr. David McLaren, with tables -	117-123
Mr. D. Matheson - - - - -	57-59	✓ Rev. T. G. Selby - - - - -	123-124
Dr. William Gauld - - - - -	59-61	Deputy Surgeon-General Partridge -	124-128
FOURTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—		Mr. Polhill Turner and Mr. -	
Sir John Strachey, G.C.S.I. - - - - -	61-70	Thomas Hutton - - - - -	128-130
Surgeon-General Sir William Moore, -		Mr. Alexander Michie - - - - -	131-132
K.C.I.E. - - - - -	71-74		

APPENDICES.

	Page		Page
I. Mr. George Batten's paper read before the Society of Arts on the 24th March 1891 - - - - -	133	ment in behalf of the Government in the House of Commons on the 10th April 1891, and the effect of existing Treaties regarding the importation of opium into China - - - - -	165
II. Historical note on "Opium and the Poppy in China," by Dr. Edkins; Shanghai, 1889 - - - - -	146	V. Extracts from an Australian Parliamentary paper concerning the effect of opium on consumers in Victoria, submitted by Sir George Birdwood - - - - -	167
III. Memorial from the Anti-Opium Society to the Earl of Kimberley, dated November 1892 - - - - -	162	VI. Memorandum handed in by Sir Thomas Wade, G.C.M.G., C.B., in reply to Question 1286 - - - - -	168
IV. Correspondence with the Foreign Office regarding Sir James Fergusson's state-			

ANALYSIS OF EVIDENCE - - - - - Page 170

ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

VICTORIA, R.L.

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, Empress of India, &c., to—

Our right trusty and well-beloved Thomas, Baron Brassey, Knight Commander of Our Most Honourable Order of the Bath;

Our trusty and well-beloved Sir James Broadwood Lyall, Knight Grand Commander of Our Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire, Knight Commander of Our Most Exalted Order of the Star of India;

Our trusty and well-beloved Sir Lakshmiswar Singh, Bahadur, Maharajah of Darbhanga, Knight Commander of our Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire;

Our trusty and well-beloved Sir William Roberts, Knight, Doctor of Medicine;

Our trusty and well-beloved Robert Gray Cornish Mowbray, Esquire, Master of Arts, Representative in Parliament for the Prestwich Division of the County of Lancaster;

Our trusty and well-beloved Arthur Upton Fanshawe, Esquire, Director-General of the Post Office of India;

Our trusty and well-beloved Arthur Pease, Esquire;

Our trusty and well-beloved Haridas Viharidas, Esquire, late Dewan of Junargarh;

and

Our trusty and well-beloved Henry Joseph Wilson, Esquire, Representative in Parliament for the Holmfirth Division of the West Riding of the County of York; Greeting!

Whereas an humble Address has been presented unto Us by the Knights, Citizens, Burgesses, and Commissioners of Shires and Burghs in Parliament assembled, praying that We will be graciously pleased to appoint a Royal Commission to report as to—

1. Whether the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of Opium in British India should be prohibited except for medical purposes, and whether such prohibition could be extended to the Native States:

2. The nature of the existing arrangements with the Native States in respect of the transit of Opium through British territory, and on what terms, if any, these arrangements could be with justice terminated:

3. The effect on the finances of India of the prohibition of the sale and export of Opium, taking into consideration (a) the amount of compensation payable (b) the cost of the necessary preventive measures; (c) the loss of revenue:

4. Whether any change short of total prohibition should be made in the system at present followed for regulating and restricting the Opium Traffic and for raising a revenue therefrom:

5. The consumption of Opium by the different races and in the different districts in 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:—

with the prayer of which Address We are graciously pleased to comply:

Now know ye, that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your knowledge and ability, have authorised and appointed, and do by these Presents authorise and appoint, you, the said Thomas, Baron Brassey; Sir James Broadwood Lyall; Sir Lachmeswar Singh; Sir William Roberts; Robert Gray Cornish Mowbray; Arthur Upton Fanshawe Arthur Pease; Haridas Viharidas; and Henry Joseph Wilson; to be Our Commissioners for the purposes of the said inquiry.

And for the better effecting the purposes of this Our Commission, We do by these Presents give and grant unto you, or any five or more of you, full power to call before you such persons as you shall judge likely to afford you any information upon the subject of this Our Commission; and also to call for, have access to, and examine all such books, documents, registers, and records as may afford you the fullest information on the subject; and to inquire of and concerning the premises by all other lawful ways and means whatsoever.

And we do by these Presents authorise and empower you, or any five or more of you, to visit and personally inspect such places whether in Our said United Kingdom or

within Our Indian Dominions as you may deem it expedient so to inspect for the more effectual carrying out of the purposes aforesaid, and to employ such persons as you may think fit to assist you in conducting any inquiry which you may hold.

And We do further by these Presents will and ordain that this Our Commission shall continue in full force and virtue, and that you, Our said Commissioners, or any five or more of you, shall and may from time to time, and at any place or places, proceed in the execution thereof, and of every matter and thing therein contained, although the same be not continued from time to time by adjournment.

And We do further ordain that you, or any five or more of you, have liberty to report your proceedings under this Our Commission from time to time, if you shall judge it expedient so to do.

And Our further will and pleasure is that you do, with as little delay as possible, report to Us, under your hands and seals, or under the hands and seals of any five or more of you, your opinion upon the questions herein submitted for your consideration.

And for the purpose of aiding you in such matters, We hereby appoint Our trusty and well-beloved John Prescott Hewett, Esq., Companion of Our Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire, Deputy Secretary to Our Government of India in the Home Department, to be Secretary to this Our Commission.

Given at Our Court at St. James's, the second day of September, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three, in the fifty-seventh year of Our reign.

By Her Majesty's Command.

KIMBERLEY.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

FIRST REPORT.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

We, the undersigned Commissioners appointed to inquire into matters connected with the growth of the poppy and the manufacture, sale, and consumption of opium, desire humbly to submit to Your Majesty the following Report of the steps which we have taken for the prosecution of our inquiry. Prior to our departure for India, six sittings were held in London and 37 witnesses were examined. On the 16th September we adjourned. On the 18th November we re-assembled at Calcutta, where we have held 20 sittings and examined 102 witnesses. A section of the Commission has recently returned from Burma, where it held seven meetings and examined 37 witnesses. At the commencement of the new year we intend to proceed on a tour through Northern and Central India. Our inquiry has not proceeded far enough to enable us to submit any recommendations upon the matters referred to us, but we think it desirable to present the Minutes of the evidence taken in London.

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

(Signed) BRASSEY.
J. B. LYALL
LAKSHMISWAR SINGH OF DARBHANGA.
WM. ROBERTS.
R. G. C. MOWBRAY.
A. U. FANSHAWE.
ARTHUR PEASE.
HARIDAS VIHARIDAS.
HENRY J. WILSON.

J. P. HEWETT, Secretary.

Calcutta,
December 30th, 1893.

INDIAN OPIUM COMMISSION.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE

THE ROYAL COMMISSION

APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO

"(1.) Whether the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited except for medical purpose, and whether such prohibition could be extended to the Native States;

"(2.) The nature of the existing arrangements with the Native States in respect of the transit of opium through British territory, and on what terms, if any, these arrangements could be with justice terminated;

"(3.) The effect on the finances of India of the prohibition of the sale and export of opium, taking into consideration (a) the amount of compensation payable, (b) the cost of the necessary preventive measures, (c) the loss of revenue;

"(4.) Whether any change short of total prohibition should be made in the system at present followed for regulating and restricting the opium traffic and for raising a revenue therefrom;

"(5.) The consumption of opium by the different races and in the different districts of India, and the effect of such consumption on the moral and physical condition of the people;

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

At the House of Lords, Westminster, S.W.

FIRST DAY.

Friday, 8th September 1893.

PRESENT:

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.O.B. (CHAIRMAN, PRESIDING).

SIR JAMES B. LYALL, G.C.I.E.
SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D.
MR. R. G. C. MOWERAY, M.P.

MR. ARTHUR PEASE.

SIR CHARLES E. BERNARD, K.C.S.I.,
Acting Secretary.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE, M.P., called in and examined.

1. (*Chairman.*) Sir Joseph Pease, I believe you are a member of the House of Commons?—I am.

2. And you are the President of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade?—I have been President of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade since the death of Lord Shaftesbury, in 1888. He was my predecessor. I might say that the present Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade was one that was re-cast, if I may so say, in 1873, or thereabouts, having in view principally the Chinese portion of the question—not so much the Indian then as the Chinese portion. 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 demoralisation to the Chinese.

3. What description would you like to give us of the Indian portion of the opium trade?—As regards the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of opium I do not think that it was ever more clearly laid down than by the then Mr. Cecil Beadon, afterwards Sir Cecil Beadon, in his evidence before the East India Committee of 1871 which sat one or two years after that if I recollect right. He is asked, "In what mode is the

*Sir J.
Pease, M.P.
8 Sept. 1893.*

Sir J.
case, M.P.
Sept. 1898.

"land then selected for cultivation?"—"When any ryot wishes to cultivate opium, he goes to the sub-agent and asks to have his name registered, his land measured, and to get a cultivation license and the usual advance. The sub-agent makes inquiries, ascertains that the man is really *bonâ fide* an owner of the land which he proposes to cultivate with opium, has the land measured, and then makes an advance upon the security of the person himself to whom the advance is made and his fellow-villagers. The advance is made shortly before the sowing season. The ryot then sows his land, and when the plant is above ground the land is then measured by one of the native establishments, and if the ryot has sown all that he engaged to sow, he gets a second advance; if he has not sown so much he gets something less in proportion; or if more, he gets a little more. There is a sort of rough settlement at the second advance. Nothing further takes place till the crop is ripe for gathering, and when the ryot has gathered the crop he collects it in vessels and takes it to the sub-agent's office, there he delivers it to the sub-agent as the agent of the Government and receives the full price for it, subject to further adjustment when the opium has been weighed and tested and examined at the agent's factory. The opium is then collected at the sub-agency and forwarded to the factory; there it is exposed for a considerable time in large masonry tanks, it is reduced to a uniform consistency, and made fit for the market, some for home consumption; and some for sale in Calcutta for exportation—the greater quantity for exportation. It is there packed in cases and sent to Calcutta, and in Calcutta it is sold by auction at periodical sales and exported by merchants for consumption abroad."—"Is there any regulation by which the Government limit the extension of land so cultivated, or do they always accede to every request?"—"It is limited according to the financial needs of the Government; it is limited entirely upon Imperial considerations. The Government of India, theoretically at least, if not practically, decide how much opium they will bring to market, and, of course, upon that depends the quantity of land that they will put under cultivation and make advances for."—"Are great precautions taken to prevent any person cultivating the land with opium without a license?"—"It is absolutely prohibited." Now, my Lord, that being the state of things you will see that Sir Cecil Beadon distinctly states that it is limited according to the financial needs of the Government. And that is corroborated by extracts which I made some time ago from different messages from different local governors in India. 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." Mr. Grey, again, on the 29th April 1869, urged increased cultivation, remarking: "This would just suffice, and no more, to put us on smooth ground again." 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." I think that that entirely bears out Sir Cecil Beadon's view that the opium is cultivated for the purposes of revenue only, and without any other considerations than those Imperial considerations. Then I find in the financial statement for 1884-85: "The Government is indebted to Mr. H. Rivett Carna, 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. It is calculated, so long as the cost of the Malwa drug at 90 degrees consistence does not exceed Rs. 415 per maund, and the selling price of provision opium is not less than Rs. 1,202 for Patna, and Rs. 1,142 for Benares opium, the scheme for substituting Malwa for Bengal opium for manufacture into excise opium is, financially speaking, likely to prove successful." Therefore, the Indian Government

were not only taking care that their own opium was made fit for what is called their local consumption, but it also went further, to buy the Malwa opium to manufacture into a form which is suited for local consumption. I also found from a friend of mine, who wrote a letter which afterwards appeared in some of the papers, that the Government-manufactured opium is advertised in the carriages of the State railways. He says: "In travelling by the mail train on the State railway between Bombay and Ahmedabad, for the whole distance of 300 miles a curious advertisement confronts the passenger. It is in three languages, English, Marathi, and Gujarathi, and informs him that at Ahmedabad he can obtain 10 tolas of opium at the licensed shop, just outside the station." The Indian Government had not only that mode of pressing the sale of opium, but they had also, until the other day, when, on the instigation of Lord Cross, it was repealed, or nearly repealed, a curious clause in what is called the "Bombay License." "That if the aggregate of the quantities of opium sold by him by retail at his shops as shown in the monthly statements rendered in accordance with the last preceding clause fall short, at any time during the term of this license, of a quantity equal to [one twelfth, one twenty-fourth, or one thirty-sixth if the license is for one, two, or three years, and so on] of the minimum number of pounds specified in clause I. multiplied by the number of completed months elapsed from the date of the commencement of this license, he will pay to the collector within seven days after the end of the month up to which any such deficiency may have accrued, penalty at the rate specified in clause I. on every pound of such deficiency provided that the amount of penalty so paid will be remitted afterwards by the extent to which the deficiency may be made good by larger sales than (that is the quantity by the license) of the number of pounds specified in clause I. in any subsequent month or months during the term of this license." That clause the Indian Government have, I believe, abandoned at the instigation of a minute sent out by Lord Cross.

4. You are putting these matters before us, I suppose, to support your contention that there is a more direct moral responsibility lying upon the Indian Government, which is directly concerned in the manufacture and sale of opium, than there would be if the Government confined itself to the imposition of licenses and drawing a revenue from export duties?—What I want to show is that there never was in the civilised world such a curious case as this opium trade of the Indian Government. I have shown by Sir Cecil Beadon's evidence what it is; that it is from first to last a unique trade, whether it is a drug or whether it is something which is quite harmless or beneficial, and it is carried on as a cultivation, as a manufacture by the State; that the State tried by every possible means to obtain fresh and large sales for the drug. I do not think that in the wide world there is such a curious case of a State, or anything like a civilised State such as ours, manufacturing any article, much more manufacturing and dealing in a drug of this character.

5. You draw a distinction between a State's being directly concerned in the manufacture and the position which a State would occupy which simply levied licenses or imposed an export duty, and which, so far as its intervention in the trade is concerned, operated rather to check the trade than to encourage it?—I think there is a very great deal of difference between the two, but I cannot say that I am prepared to recommend that the Indian Government should merely be a licenser of the cultivation and manufacture. I think there is still another and a wider difference between a State saying: "Here is a deadly and a poisonous drug which ought only to be used under professional care," and granting licenses for that, and a State promoting in every possible way the sale, unchecked by medical influence and medical care, of that which I believe to be a drug, which ought only to be dispensed under medical supervision.

6. I believe your society has always considered that the opium trade has been an immoral trade, has it not?—We have always considered it to be an immoral trade; that is the ground on which we have agitated against it. I own that it is a somewhat difficult point to argue what is moral and what is immoral; and therefore I put down on my notes here the manner in which I should best define the reason why we think that the opium trade does not come up to the moral standard. The Anti-Opium Society always considered

it an immoral trade, that is, one that is carried on to the detriment of the human race. Without going into the question of what the Christian law would require, the moral law, which is after all based upon Christian law, indicates that no man should carry on, and no State ought to carry on, a trade which is detrimental to their fellow men, whether belonging to their own or to a neighbouring State. I went to the Imperial Dictionary to find what was the meaning of the word "moral" there, and it was thus defined: "Relating to the manners, practice, or conduct of men as social beings in relation to each other, and with reference to right or wrong." "The word 'moral' is applicable to actions which are good or evil, virtuous or vicious, and has reference to the law of God as the standard by which their character has to be determined." We say that the opium trade has a preponderance in it of evil over good, of vice over virtue, and that it does not come up to the standard on which communications between men, and especially Christian nations, should be based.

7. You have explained to us your opinion of the opium trade, regarding it from the moral point of view?—Yes.

8-9. And considering it with reference to these principles, then, you wish to show us that in your view the trade has been and is carried on to the detriment of people in India, and especially to those who use the drug in China?—I want, my Lord, to show that it is a drug. First of all we say it is a drug, and it is treated by our law as such. By the 31st and 32nd Victoria, 1868, chapter 121, which is an Act dealing with poisons, the seller of opium in England must be a registered chemist; if he dies, his death has to be reported. All articles in schedule A are poisons; opium and all preparations of opium are in schedule A. Bottles, boxes, phials, wrappers, or covers, must be labelled with "opium, poison" upon them, with the address of the seller. In India it is a curious fact that the Indian drug, with very rare exceptions, has never been cultivated as a medicine, and I think Dr. Watts, in his article on the subject, states it, but that evidence will be put in before you. The supply of medical opium for this country comes, not from India, not from our own colonies, but from Persia and from Turkey. The Indian drug is excluded as not up to the standard in our pharmacopoeia, so I am informed, but that you will get at first hand. It is a fact which no one can deny that whilst some races in India can take it to a moderate extent with apparent impunity, they are the stronger and the better fed races; but the greatest quantity of Indian opium that we make goes to China and is used merely for debauchery, and therefore we say that the Indian opium trade, not being a medical trade, is an immoral trade. It is admitted by all Indian authorities that the Indian opium is not grown for medical purposes, and the great bulk of it goes to China.

10. The bulk of the consumption of the Indian-grown opium is not in India?—It is not in India; it is in China.

11. Have you any observations to make on the opium trade with China?—It is often argued that if we were not to supply China with opium, China would supply herself with opium. That is an argument which is very well met in Dymond's "Essays on Morality." I have no right to do that which is wrong, if it is wrong, because somebody else is going to do wrong. Dymond puts it:—"If I were to sell a man arsenic or a pistol knowing that the buyer wanted to commit murder, should I not be a bad man? If I let a house knowing that the renter wanted it for the purposes of wickedness, am I an innocent man?" The argument that if I did not do it someone else would, Dymond treats as follows:—"Upon such reasoning you might rob a traveller on the road if you knew that at the next turning a footpad was waiting to plunder him. To sell property or goods for bad purposes because if you do not do it someone else will, is like a man selling his slaves because he thought it criminal to keep them in bondage." I wanted to bring that out that it might be on your notes, because it is an argument that is so often used in favour of the Indian opium trade, and I think has no defence in solid international morality.

12. Do you contend that the home growth—the growth of opium in China—has been stimulated by British influence?—I have not the slightest doubt in my own mind, but it is a very difficult matter to prove.

13. That is a contention of yours?—We contend certainly that if the Indian opium had been kept out of China the home growth would have lucked a

stimulus which it has had. It is perfectly natural for the Chinese, so long as Indian opium is going in upon them, to grow the drug in order to keep their dollars at home instead of going to India for opium.

14. I was asking you for the statistics of the trade?—The Indian opium sales for export were in 1880-81, 56,400 chests for China; 1889-90, 57,000; 1891-92, 54,000; and the excise chests, I have not got the last year, run about 4,000, 5,000, and 6,000 chests a year.

15. So that by far the greater proportion of the whole quantity of opium produced in India goes to China?—By far. I have here a table, sometimes you get these tables in chests, sometimes in cases, and sometimes in cwts., and, like many other statistics, which I daresay other members of this Commission have followed, you do not find Government statistics the most easy to follow, in the constantly varying denominators. But here are the statistics of opium exported from British India for several years, from 1880-81, in cwts. In 1880-81 it is 113,125 cwts.; in 1881-82, 108,102 cwts.; in 1882-83, 110,512 cwts.; in 1883-84, 114,514 cwts.; in 1884-85, 102,195 cwts.; in 1885-86, 103,638 cwts.; in 1886-87, 112,987; in 1887-88, 106,398 cwts.; in 1889-89, 100,320 cwts. It does not vary greatly. It has rather fallen down lately. In 1889-90 the figures are 96,490 cwts., and in 1890-91, 97,863 cwts., as compared with 113,125 in 1880-81. The Straits Settlements seem to have increased from 14,113 cwts. in 1880-81 to 20,328 cwts. in 1890-91. The rest is comparatively small. Those are the large portions of the trade going to those places.

16. Now, looking at these statistics which you have given us, might I correctly take it from you that your Association is even more concerned to check or to stop the export trade to China than either to diminish or prohibit the consumption in India?—We consider that by far the most important part of the subject. At the same time I think the evident tendency in India was to increase the local consumption, it is not a very great one, but there was evidently a tendency to increase the local consumption in India; and I think I shall prove that there is a very large increased tendency on the part of the Government officers to acknowledge the evil and to keep down as much as possible the local sale.

17. And as far as you have had the opportunity of tracing the course of conduct of the officers of the Government in India, you are not prepared to say that there is any disposition on their part to give encouragement to the increased consumption of opium in India?—I propose, my Lord, if I have time, to touch on that; I think I can show from Lord Cross's Blue-book that there is a very large amount of care now being exercised, which I do not think was previously exercised, on the part of the Government officers in India, in diminishing it, and I look upon that as one of the greatest proofs possible that there is a moral evil connected with an extended sale.

18. I was going to ask you if you were prepared to give us some figures showing the revenue obtained by the Indian Government from the export trade?—The highest opium revenue was in 1880-1; it amounted to 8,451,276 Rs. That was divided into the Bengal duty, 5,826,924 Rs.; the Malwa opium duty, which is a Pass Duty on opium manufactured in the native states formed 2,524,455 Rs. Then the Budget Estimate for 1892-3 was altogether 5,399,800 Rs., of which about 1,800,000 in round figures came from the Pass Duty; therefore that shows a falling off of 3,000,000 Rs. between the year 1880-1, and the Budget Estimate for 1892-3.

19. Is that all you wish to give us with reference to revenue?—Yes, so far as this portion of the subject is concerned. I should like, if opportunity offers, to say a few words on the Indian Revenue generally; but that, I would rather take later.

20. I understand that you wish to proceed to deal briefly with the history of the Chinese opium trade?—In 1834 there was a decree issued by the Emperor of China against opium and its importation. In 1839, we had the first Chinese war. In 1842, there was Sir Henry Pottinger's Treaty of Nankin when we got 21,000,000 dollars from the Chinese, when Sir Henry Pottinger tried to get opium into the treaty, but failed. Then, in 1856, there was a seizure of the *Lorchs Arrow*; and on the 3rd of March 1857 a resolution against Dr. Bowring's conduct was carried in the House of Commons by a majority of 19. Then Lord Palmerston appealed to the country, and was reinstated in power. Then came the Treaty of Tientsin, in 1858, when opium was

Sir J.
Pease, M.P.

8 Sept. 1893.

Sir J.
Pease, M.P.
8 Sept. 1893.

admitted into China at 30 taels per chest. I do not want to go into the question whether this was forced on China or not; because I think it is a very immaterial question whether the Chinese wished to have it into the treaty or did not wish to have it into the treaty. It is in the treaty, and has been there ever since. I could go into the question of force, but that is a controverted question, and I do not think that it would add very much to the value of my evidence if I gave my own view on the subject, because it is a history of the past which may be either the one way or the other. But there it is in the treaty.

21. You have been giving us a general sketch of what has happened in the past; it is old history, and you are, I assume, prepared to recognise that it is no longer the policy of this country to use force or pressure to compel the Chinese Government to admit the importation of opium from India?—I am perfectly content with Sir James Fergusson's statement in relation to the treaty of Tientsin, made during the debate on the 10th of April 1891, though I have very great doubts whether Sir James Fergusson was quite right in his interpretation of the treaty. Sir James Fergusson said, "The Chinese at any time may terminate the treaty on giving twelve months' notice, and to protect themselves they may increase the duty to any extent they please, or they may exclude it altogether. This, I think I may say, that if the Chinese Government thought proper to raise the duty to a prohibitive extent, or shut out the article altogether, this country would not expend 1l. in powder and shot or lose the life of a soldier, in an attempt to force opium upon the Chinese." Now, my view of it, and I wish rather to put that upon the record, is, that the treaty of Tientsin (I have not read it for several years) can only be recast every ten years. He is quite right if he were speaking of the convention of Chee-foo. I believe 12 months' notice does operate on the convention of Chee-foo. He used the word treaty. However, if that is the policy of the Government we are perfectly content; if the Chinese are to be left at liberty to put on such duty as they like on giving 12 months' notice, then I say that so far as China is concerned she is left free and perfectly independent, and I trust that is the policy of the present Government as well as the policy of the Government that Sir James Fergusson represented.

22. That is undoubtedly, we may take it from you, the national policy at this time?—That is what I understand to be.

23. We leave China perfectly free to deal with the trade as her rulers may think fit?—That is what I understand to be the international policy.

24. You have already said that your interest is very deeply engaged in the suppression of the opium trade with China, and on the ground that you hold it to be an immoral trade?—Yes, and in that view we are corroborated.

25. Perhaps you would give us your position?—We are corroborated I think, first of all, by the state of feeling in this country. We have had memorials and petitions to Parliament from, I think, the assemblies of every Christian Church. We have had them from the two convocations of York and Canterbury, the Wesleyans in Conference assembled, the Free Church Methodists, the Baptists, the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians of England, the Scotch Church, the Free Kirk, the Friends, the Unitarians. Then we have, in addition, the missionaries in China and in India; and I have here a telegraphic message I got from the Bishop of Bombay, on the evening of the 10th of April, 1891, in which he says: "Public meeting at Bombay to-day. Resolved, opium traffic of India Government morally indefensible.—Bishop of Bombay, Chairman." In addition to this we had a petition to Parliament signed by the late Cardinal Manning and all the Roman Catholic bishops; and one from the clergy of London; and there was a memorial sent to Mr. Gladstone a year or two ago from the two archbishops, twelve bishops, the archbishop of Dublin and thirty mayors and provosts.

26. Have you got lists of the towns whose mayors made those communication?—No, I have not got a list here, but I can easily supply it, because I have a full copy of them among my papers. Then there were the clergy of London, the Dean of St. Paul's, the Archdeacon of London, Canon Newbolt, Canon Russel Canoa Larry, Archdeacon of Middlesex, Canon Farrar, Edwd. Carr Glynn. I also presented on that date to

the House of Commons an Indian petition with 4,136 signatures. I presented petitions from the Chinese Christians of Hong Kong, the Christian churches of Shanghai and of Canton, and the Pekin Anti-Opium Society; and one from the Straits Settlements, Singapore, had 1100 signatures to it. Then, the other day, there were 1073 Indian missionaries signed the following protest: "We are unalterably opposed to the participation by the Government in the demoralising traffic in opium, and we record our conviction that it is a sin against God and a wrong to humanity." Then the petitions this year to the House of Commons have almost exceeded, I think, those on any other subject unless it be the drink question.

27. Will you give us some of the figures?—In 1891, there were 957 petitions officially signed; 3,353 petition with 192,000 signatures. This year there have been 331 petitions officially signed; 2,563 petitions signed by 213,792 people. Some of those petitions were from towns that seemed to take a very special interest in the subject.

28. Would you give us some of the details?—Blackburn sent a petition of 11,000 signatures; Newcastle, 6,000; Croydon, 4,000; Derby and district, 2,800; Birmingham, 3,000; Liverpool, 2,000; Preston, 1,500; and so forth. Then, may I proceed, my Lord, leaving this part of the subject and that which I may call the case of the Christian churches?

29. Well, we should be glad to hear anything that you have to tell us which indicates the views of our public men on the subject?—I quoted in the House of Commons a very curious despatch from the East India Company to Lord Cornwallis in 1817, and he was one of the first of the Governors of India: "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 its 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."

30. What is the date of that?—That is as far back as 1817. Then it was my duty to hear Under Secretary after Under Secretary.

31. We shall be very glad to hear what they said, whether speaking in the House of Commons, or elsewhere?—First, I take Lord Salisbury in 1878, when we went to him as a deputation on the question of the Bengal trade, he said that: "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"—inconveniences of principle is rather a curious term—"which would have prevented any Government in the present day from introducing it. I entirely disclaim any intention to push the Bengal system farther."

32, 33, 34, 35 and 36. Have you any more similar quotations?—Mr. Bourke said, in replying to our speeches in the House of Commons, he being then Under Secretary of State for India: "The opium question had often been debated in that House, and he never heard anyone say aught in favour of the traffic from a moral point of view." The late Under Secretary of State, Mr. Grant Duff, now Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, said in the administration of 1868 to 1874. "There was a great deal to be said against this Bengal monopoly on politico-economical grounds. He supposed no one would invent such a system now-a-days; but we did not invent the system; we inherited it from the East India Company, and carried it on in the same way." Mr. Gladstone, in 1879, says: "The opium revenue we may accept with more or less compunction and regret, as ministering to our present necessity, but we have no right to reckon on its full continuance." Then perhaps the strongest of these statements was made by Sir James Fergusson, who at the time was Governor of the Bombay Presidency; Sir James Fergusson 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 con-
 " sumption 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 using 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." I
 " take the occasion to point out that Sir James Fergusson
 " objected on the grounds of public morality.

37. On the ground that your society takes?—Yes, that we have advocated all along.

38. Have you any more statements of the same kind?—I pass now from that to the House of Commons.

39. Some statements have been made in the House of Commons by the late Mr. W. H. Smith and Sir J. Fergusson?—Yes, and Mr. Smith stated that: "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." A little further on he said: "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."

40 and 41. Have you got the statistics showing the reduction in the acreage under the poppy?—The acreage under the poppy was reduced in accordance with these statements. In 1890 and 1891 there were 500,688 acres; and in 1891-92 it had been brought down to 463,665 acres. The chests to be sold were reduced from 57,000 to 54,000. Again, I take that as a proof that the Government desired to discontinue the trade. The highest opium acreage in any year I see on these papers was 594,921; that was in 1885-86. That is the highest I find.

42. By whom were these statistics supplied?—I received them from Mr. Curson when he was at the India Office.

43. Have you got the statistics there from year to year?—Yes, I have them from 1881.

44. Could you give them to us?—Yes, they are as follow: 1880-81, 536,017 acres; 1881-82, 531,275 acres; 1882-83, 495,740 acres; 1883-84, 505,823 acres; 1884-85, 565,246 acres; 1885-86, 594,921 acres; 1886-87, 562,052 acres; 1887-88, 536,607 acres; 1888-89, 459,864 acres (that is the lowest year I can find); 1889-90, 482,557 acres; 1890-91, 500,688 acres; 1891-92, 463,665 acres.

45. Does that embrace all that you wish to say to us on the point of the acreage?—Yes, and they show that that which Mr. Smith has indicated had practically been carried out. Although in one or two years there are little jumps up, the quantity has been reduced from 594,920 acres in 1885-86 to (in the present year) 463,665 acres, because the Indian Government acted on the view that the trade was one that ought not to be pushed, but ought to be gradually relinquished.

46. We should be glad if you would state shortly the history of the opium question in the House of Commons. In what session was the question of the opium trade first discussed; how many motions have been made on the question, when divisions have been taken, and what were the numbers on both sides?—The resolution which I moved in 1891 (it was on the Friday, on the question of leaving the chair) was this. The question proposed was: "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the chair," and my amendment proposed to leave out after the word "That" to the end of the question, in order to add the words: "this House is of opinion that the system by which the Indian opium revenue is raised is morally indefensible, and would urge upon the Indian Government that 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." I think I shall prove to the Commission that the House of Commons affirmed the doctrine which is laid down in that motion, that it was morally indefensible. The question was put in the usual form on Fridays, when the motion is, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the chair," in order, technically, that the House should go into Committee of Supply. To this resolution I moved an amendment in the usual Friday form, to leave out from the word "That" to the end of the question, in order to add the words I have just read. The Speaker put the question that the words proposed to be left out, that is, from "That the Speaker do now leave the chair" stand part of the question. The House divided, Ayes, 190, Noes, 160. (It was really 161). I want to show that the House of Commons virtually passed a resolution by a majority of 30, that the opium revenue was morally indefensible. The words of my motion were then added to the word "That," and the main question, as amended by me, was proposed by Mr. Speaker according to the decision of the House on the division. The question as amended was then in possession of the House, and before it was finally put, my words could have been altered by the consent or vote of the House, but no amendment to those words was proposed. If Sir Robert Fowler had not moved an addition, and no other motion had been made, the question as amended by the majority of the House would have been put, and the majority would no doubt have carried it. But Sir Robert Fowler moved an amendment in the form of an addition, and an addition only. That addition became the property of the House, and could have been amended, it could have been accepted or rejected as proposed or amended; but the original words could not have been touched after the addition had been moved. This was the position of affairs when the Speaker, at one o'clock, adjourned. The only question of uncertainty was not my resolution, but Sir Robert Fowler's amendment. Had time allowed, other additions could have been moved, but not so as to destroy the meaning of the unaltered words. That statement is a correct statement, not altogether my own drawing up.

47. In what year was that?—That was on the 10th April 1891.

48. Was a division taken on that occasion?—A division was taken on that occasion.

49. And what were the relative numbers?—160 to 130 is the chronicle of the division. When you look at the list it is really 129 to 160. We always call it 30 majority, of course.

50. For your motion?—For my motion. Therefore I say that the House of Commons practically condemned the trade in that year as morally indefensible.

51. Have there been any subsequent divisions?—There have been a great many debates, of course, where there have been no divisions. In 1870 the previous question was carried against Sir Wilfred Lawson on an opium motion; 46 voted with him, and 151 against. In 1875, June 26th, going into Committee of Supply, there was a motion moved by Sir Mark Stewart which was rejected, the figures were 57 to 94. The previous question in 1883 was carried against me, 66 to 126. In 1889 Mr. Samuel Smith had a motion which was rejected; 88 voted for and 165 against. With regard to my motion on the 10th April 1891 (the one I have just referred to), 160 voted for it, and 129 against it. Lastly, we had Mr. Gladstone's amendment embracing a Commission, and I beg to call your attention to the fact that this was only a question of which of the two Commissions, and the wording of the appointment of the Commission. There 105 voted with me, and 184 with the Government. But you will see, my Lord, these divisions have gone 46, 57, 66, and 88, and on the great question, the moral question, 160; and the last 105 on the question of the appointment of the Commission.

52. What was the issue between you and the Government with reference to the wording of the Commission?—Well, I am not quite sure that I am at liberty to say exactly, but I can tell you my own point was that in my resolution I wanted that the trade should be declared as morally indefensible, and I refused to take any Commission that did not admit that. The appointment of your Commission has in it the word "whether." "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

Sir J.
 Pease, M.A.
 8 Sept. 189.

Sir J.
case, M.P.
Sept. 1892.

"States." I was quite ready (adding further words), to have voted with the Government if it had been "when the growth," having due regard to the revenue of India, &c. Of course that resolution does not admit, by putting in the word "whether," the moral question, which is the question on which we stand.

53. Have you completed what you wished to say in reference to the position of the question in the House of Commons?—I think I have, my Lord, entirely.

54. You have been in Parliament for many years, and you have gone through many contested elections. Would you tell the Commission that your experience would justify you in saying that constituencies take an interest in this question?—I think they take a very great interest in it. I have attended meetings in Scotland and all through England, down as far as Plymouth. Other gentlemen in this room have attended still more, and I never saw meetings on any subject which were attended by such large numbers of people, and with so much enthusiasm. I was exceedingly struck with the numbers of the people attending, and the character of the people attending and the large platforms that we have had.

55. And do you find local speakers of ability and influence in their respective districts coming forward and speaking upon this question with deep interest and manifesting some close study of the question?—With very great interest. You will have gentlemen before you who, I think, have attended more meetings than even I have, but wherever I have been it has been very remarkable, that a large amount of information and knowledge of the subject has been displayed. Our society is a very small society as far as money is concerned, but we are strong in affiliated societies throughout the country. Each one looks after its own funds. We have comparatively small funds at our disposal.

56. Having completed what you wished to say with reference to the position of the question in the House of Commons, would you like at this stage to give us any evidence of the state of public opinion on this question in other countries?—There are only three other countries, I think, that I have taken the trouble to inquire into. First, in California. I doubt myself I may say honestly, whether these laws are well carried out, but the Californians have a State Law, section 307: "Every person who opens or maintains, to be resorted to by other persons, any place where opium, or any of its preparations, is sold or given away to be smoked at such place, and any person who, at such place, sells or gives away any opium or its said preparations to be there smoked or otherwise used, and every person who visits or resorts to any such place for the purpose of smoking opium or its said preparations, is guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, or by imprisonment in the county jail not exceeding six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment." Statutes, California, p. 34, 1881.

57. Are there any other countries which have legislation on this subject?—A Bill has passed through the Lower House of the colony of Victoria by a very large majority, very much like the Californian law, only I think it is much more carefully drawn, so far as I know, than the Californian law as regards dealing in opium.

58. In what session was this submitted to the Victorian Legislature?—It was read the first time on the 13th April 1892.

59. Have you any other countries?—The Dutch have raised an anti-opium agitation against the sale of opium in Java, and there have been meetings at Amsterdam or Rotterdam.

60. Have you anything to tell us with reference to treaties dealing with the prohibition of the importation of opium?—The Chinese treaty with America excludes opium; the Chinese treaty with Russia excludes the importation of opium.

61. What are the dates of those treaties?—I cannot give you the dates of those. They have been for some time in effect. And there is also the treaty of England with the Corea.

62. That is recent, I suppose?—That is more recent; it prohibits the introduction of opium.

63. In your position I suppose you have heard a great deal from the medical missionaries and from others giving you their impression with reference to the

effect of the use of opium—perhaps you would give us something upon that?—I have got an enormous amount of evidence with regard to China.

64. Would you make your own selection of the most important?—There is so much of it that I am almost afraid I should not know where to stop; but I will first read from the papers called "The agreement between the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the Governments of Great Britain and China contracted at Che-foo, September 13th, 1876." Sir Thomas Wade says: "The evil of opium smoking in China I do not contest. I do not abate it by a parallel between it and the abuse of spirit even amongst hard-drinking nations. The smoker to whom his pipe has become a periodical requirement is more or less on a par with the dram-drinker; but the Chinese constitution, moral or physical, appears to me to be more insidiously invaded in the case of the first. The confirmed smoker is not, or is seldom, at all events, outwardly committed, like the drunkard, to indecorum. The indulgence appears, at the same time, to present a special attraction to the Chinese as compared with other peoples. The use of it, in my experience, has become more general in the class above that in earlier times addicted to it."

64a. Have you any evidence from missionaries?—A petition from missionaries and ministers of the gospel in China was presented by my brother on the 8th April 1883, at the time he was in the House. That petition says: "That opium is a great evil to China, and that the harmful effects of its use cannot be easily overstated. It enslaves its victim, squanders his substance, destroys his health, weakens his mental powers, lessens his self-esteem, deadens his conscience, unfits him for his duties, and leads to his steady descent, morally, socially, and physically." Then the petitioners go on to "pray that your honourable House will early consider this question with the utmost care, take measures to remove from the British treaty with China the clause legalizing the opium trade, and restrict the growth of the poppy in India within the narrowest possible limits."

65. Do any of your authorities make comparison between the effects of opium and alcohol? That is an argument I myself never cared much to go into, because, if drink is bad it does not follow that opium is better, or if opium is bad, that drink is better. M. Carne, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1870, writes: "I do not believe that there ever has been a more terrible scourge in the world than opium. The alcohol employed by Europeans to destroy savages—the plague that ravages a country—cannot be compared to opium." That writer was M. Carne, a French traveller, in an article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. The Reverend B. H. Graves, M.D., 13 years medical missionary at Canton, writes in the "Friend of China":—"The habit of opium smoking is more dangerous than that of taking alcohol, on account of the insidiousness of its approach, and the difficulty of escaping from its clutches. This vampire seems to suck all the moral courage out of a man. As to deeds of violence, opium must yield the palm to alcohol."

66. At what date?—In 1870, I think it was. Then Sir George Stanton, who was the representative of the East India Company at Canton, said many years ago: "It is mere trifling to place the abuse of opium on the same level with the abuse of spirituous liquors. It is (i.e., the abuse) the main purpose in the former case; but in the latter it is only the exception." Then Dr. Dudgeon, surgeon to the Peking Hospital, said in a paper printed in the transactions of the Social Science Association, Liverpool meeting, 1876, page 596: "Speaking generally, it may be asserted that it is next to impossible to give up the habit when once it is formed. A very large number of criminals die in China from deprivation of the drug while in prison. The well-nigh impossibility of renouncing the habit is to be taken into account when considering the question, of the possible moderate use of the drug. We cannot get over the enthralling power of the drug, the supreme difficulty of renouncing it, the necessity of increasing the dose, the almost inevitable death that follows its sudden deprivation, and the steady descent, moral and physical, of the smoker. With spirits the harm may be said to be the exception, but with opium it is the rule. Many drink, but few abuse; many smoke opium, but all abuse. With the opium-smoker there is no intermission or fit as

"in the case of the drunkard; the victim must have his regular allowance."

Then Sir Thomas Wade in a much earlier quotation than that which I made just now from him writes in a memorandum of 1858: "It is to me vain to think otherwise of the use of the drug in China than as a habit many times more pernicious, nationally speaking, than the gin and whiskey drinking which we deplore at home. It takes possession more insidiously, and keeps its hold to the full as tenaciously. I know no case of radical cure. It has insured in every case within my knowledge the steady descent, moral and physical, of the smoker, and it is so far a greater mischief than drink that it does not, by external evidence of its effects, expose its victim to the loss of repute which is the penalty of habitual drunkenness. There is reason to fear that a higher class than used to smoke in Commissioner Lin's day are now taking to the practice."

67. and 68. You have given us no very recent opinions.—We have an Indian authority, Dr. Hantley, in 1892 or 1893: "Alcohol has not been dragged into the opium question by anti-opium agitators. The agitation in this phase of the question was started by the pro-opium agitators. The comparison has been made, and will be made, and in justice to alcohol, the opium eater or smoker in the East should not be confronted with the alcohol drinker of the West. It is somewhat surprising to read such a statement as that of Dr. Lawrie: 'Alcohol destroys the health and leads to crime. Opium does neither the one nor the other.' The *Lancet* on this subject says: 'The position of the two agents is by no means identical. Alcohol doubtless is, in its pure state, a poison.'

69. Is that all you wish to say with reference to that?—No; I have a great deal more that perhaps I would like to take.

70. We do not wish to restrict your statement?—I am only afraid of taking up your time, my Lord. This is 1882. The Rev. W. H. Collins, M.B.C.S., formerly Medical Missionary at Peking: "After fully 20 years' (furloughs deducted) experience of opium smoking in China, I solemnly affirm that it is a most deleterious practice; far more so than either spirit drinking or tobacco smoking. The man who smokes opium becomes enfeebled both in body and mind. The wealthy man may continue the practice for many years, being able to vary his diet and to increase the dose of opium; but the poor man loses both his appetite and the means of procuring food at the same time, and quickly becomes a total wreck. When a man has been enabled, by the aid of medicine, to break off the habit, he nearly always yields to temptation, and resumes the habit. Self-interest never enables such a man to abstain from smoking, but he will resume the pipe, knowing well that the result must be the starvation of his family, and his own miserable end. I have only seen three or four cases of permanent cure out of many hundreds that I have treated." Then in 1893, Miss Geraldine Guinness in "Four Years' Sojourn in China": "had travelled through six of its provinces, and was also personally acquainted with the opium question in Tonquin, the Straits Settlements, Colombo, and Aden. She gave a graphic account of some of her opium experience in China. She spoke of how her heart had ached and bled during the painful hours in which she had worked by the bedside of women and girls who had poisoned themselves by opium to save themselves from fates worse than death, to which they had been sold because their fathers and husbands wanted opium. The opium vice is not one crime simply, but a concentration of all crimes. She spoke of the great opium palaces of lust in Shanghai that she had visited, where hundreds of women were held in bitter bondage. Crime of the blackest dye is directly traceable to opium in China." There are only two more, my Lord. I have a great number, but I think these two will do. I have picked them rather promiscuously than with any special design at the present moment. This is Archdeacon Wolfe in 1888:—"The devil could not have invented a more pernicious vice for the destruction of soul and body than this of opium smoking, and woe to the man who by word or deed gives any support or encouragement to the hell-born traffic! It is necessary for every friend of the Chinese to speak out in the plainest and most decisive

manner on the evils of opium smoking. The people are being ruined by it, and it is indeed a lamentable spectacle to see professing Christian men speaking and writing in defence of this horrible crime. The pernicious results of this soul and body destroying vice are apparent all around. Cadaverous looking faces meet one on every side, and the slovenly habits and the filthy appearance of the people generally testify too plainly to the evil it is working on this once-industrious and energetic population. The rapid progress which opium smoking has made during the last 20 years among all classes of this population is a very serious matter for us missionaries. Humanly speaking, opium smokers are beyond the reach of conversion, as the vice unfits them for the perception of any moral or spiritual truths. Can the Church of Christ in England do nothing to influence the nation to withdraw from the abominable traffic which is causing so much moral, spiritual, physical ruin to this great people? It is a sad reflection on the Church of Christ in England that it seems powerless to influence the English people in so important a matter as the Indian traffic in opium. Men openly and without shame prostitute their wives, in order to procure for themselves the means of indulging in opium smoking. Little children are sold as slaves and turned away from the embrace of their helpless mothers in order that their degraded fathers may have money to buy opium. All this and much more may be told of the effects of opium smoking on the miserable people; yet professing Christians in England see no harm in it, and openly advocate the abominable traffic which makes it possible and comparatively easy for the Chinese people to ruin themselves and their wives and children for time and for eternity!" The next is a letter I received from Mr. David Hill. Mr. David Hill is the son of an old Yorkshire gentleman, and went out as a missionary to China, and I have had several conversations with him on subsequent dates to this letter, but this is one he wrote to me.

71. On what date?—1881. He says: "The effects of opium smoking upon the Chinese generally have again and again been depicted to the British public in strong and earnest language, but never I think too strong, and certainly never too earnest. No language can fully picture to others the deplorable consequences of opium smoking which I have myself seen in China even in the case of some of my own Chinese acquaintances." Mr. Hill is a man after whom anyone can speak.

72. I presume your Association is in touch with a large body of missionaries in the East?—You will have several of them before you, and I believe that our Association is in constant communication with them.

73. And would you undertake to say that so far as your knowledge extends the opinion of the missionaries is a unanimous opinion on the subject?—I will not say it is unanimous, but almost unanimous. There are some, especially among the Indian missionaries, who do not take quite so strong a view as some of those that I have read.

74. Would you say of the missionaries in China that their opinion is unanimous on the subject, or nearly so?—We do not know of any exception among the Chinese missionaries.

75. But is it the case in India that the unanimity is less pronounced?—Might I give you, my Lord, an American one, the Rev. Howard Malcolm: "No person can describe the horrors of the opium trade. That the Government of British India should be the prime abettor of this abominable traffic is one of the wonders of the nineteenth century." (I cannot give you the date of this.) "The proud scutcheon of the nation which declares against the slave trade is thus made to bear a blot broader and darker than any other in the Christian world."

76. Does that complete what you wish to give us as a fair general representation of the medical and missionary opinion?—I think I should be trespassing almost unduly upon you if I went on.

77. No, we are quite prepared to hear from you the full case?—I believe you will have as a witness Dr. Maxwell who has seen a great deal, and I hand him over my other extracts if he chooses to make use of them. May I say that I have one or two more proofs with regard to India and the effects of opium. One of the most striking papers that ever was written I think is: "The Consumption of Opium in British

St. J.
Pass. M.)
8 Sept. 189

Sir J.
Pease, M.P.
8 Sept. 1893.

Burmah," a copy of a memorandum by C. U. Aitchison (now Sir Charles Aitchison), written in 1880 on the consumption of opium in British Burmah, and there he describes in extraordinarily strong language, but language which has been corroborated since by subsequent testimony, the effect of the introduction of opium into British Burmah by the Indian Government. He says: "It is no debateable question of the effect of opium on the human frame that is here raised. Under some conditions the moderate use of opium may be beneficial. The Chinese population in British Burma, and to some extent also the immigrants from India, especially Chittagonians and Bengalees, habitually consume opium without any apparent bad effects; those of them who have acquired the habit do not regularly indulge to excess. With the Burmese and other indigenous races the case is different. The Burmese seem quite incapable of using the drug in moderation. A Burman who takes to opium smokes habitually to excess. The habit once acquired can rarely, if ever, be broken off, and this infirmity of temperament is pandered to by the dealers in opium, who tempt young and respectable men to their ruin by giving them opium for nothing, well knowing that the taste once acquired will be habitually indulged. The papers 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. To facilitate examination of the evidence on this point, I have thrown some extracts from the reports into an appendix to this memorandum. 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 jails 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." As the Commissioners I dare say are already aware, the Indian Government in Burmah has at length taken steps to extinguish the curse of opium in that country. And they say that because "the use of opium is condemned by the Buddhist religion" (they do not say anything about the laws of morality or the Christian religion) the Government, believing the condemnation to be right, intends that the use of opium by persons of Burmese race shall for ever cease." That is being carried out in Burmah, making exception of the Chinese and the Indians, who had according to the first issue, and I hope still have, to register themselves as smokers of opium in order that it may be kept from the Burmese. I dare say this copy of Sir Charles Aitchison's papers and the reports of the other officers in Burmah, which corroborate that very strong clause which I have just read, are or will be among the papers which you have or will have laid before you.

78. Does that complete what you have to say?—I should like to say one or two words more.

79. We are ready to hear you on the medical aspect of the case?—There is a very striking illustration that I am going to read from Lord Shaftesbury's speech in 1843 when he brought a motion before the House on the subject.

80. The House of Commons?—Yes. He said: "I will request to this the serious attention of the House. The writer says: 'However valuable opium may be—'"

81, 82, 83, 84. Who was the writer?—I will come to that directly, my Lord; I am quoting now straight from Lord Shaftesbury: "However valuable opium may be when employed as an article of medicine, it is impossible for anyone, who is acquainted with the subject, to doubt that the habitual use of it is productive of the most pernicious consequences, destroying the healthy actions of the digestive organs, weakening the powers of the mind, as well as those of the body, and rendering the individual who indulges himself in it a worse than useless member of society." Some people may think it is a beneficial stimulus. This doctor says: "I cannot

but regard those who promote the use of opium as an article of luxury, as inflicting a most serious injury on the human race." The first gentleman who signs this letter is Sir B. Brodie, and to the letter is attached this statement: "The following gentlemen state that they entirely agree with Sir B. Brodie in the opinion expressed by him in the foregoing letter, and have accordingly attached their signatures to it: Sir Henry Hallford, Bart., M.D., F.R.S., F.H.S., President of the Royal College of Physicians; Anthony White, Esq., President of the Royal College of Surgeons, and Surgeon to Westminster Hospital; W. F. Chambers, M.D., F.R.S.; Thomas Hodgkin, M.D.; George Gregory, M.D.; C. Locock, M.D.; Robert Ferguson, M.D.; Henry Holland, M.D.; Anthony Todd Thomson, M.D.; Thomas Watson, M.D.; Charles J. B. Williams, M.D.; John Glendinning, M.D., F.R.S.; James Carriok Moore, Esq.; Benjamin Travers, Esq., F.R.S.; John Ayrton Paris, M.D.; John Forbes, M.D., F.R.S.; Richard Bright, M.D.; Robert Liston, Esq., F.R.S.; J. M. Latham, M.D.; Roderic MacLeod, M.D.; Casar Hawkins, Esq.; James Johnson, M.D.; Frederick Tyrrell, Esq.; and C. Aston Key, Esq." All these are surgeons and physicians with whose names we were familiar in our earlier days. That same view is entirely taken by the physicians in our time. I leave that in Dr. Maxwell's hands. We have a memorial of the same character signed by about 5,000 English physicians, and there is also another signed by a large body of medical men in Bombay, native medical practitioners most of them.

85, 86, 87, 88. Does that complete what you wished to say on the medical question?—Yes, on the medical question. Then there is a Blue Book of Lord Cross's which will also no doubt be laid before you. It is "The Consumption of Opium in India 1892." I will not touch on the Burmese part, because I think that may be called a settled question. But going into other districts of India there is a consensus of opinion on the evil effects of opium consumption. Colonel Clarke says: "The district magistrate, whom I have consulted, considers that 'the use of opium and ganja does not exhibit any abnormal sign of increase, alcoholic drinks, the consumption of which is increasing, being a counter attraction,' but he is in favour of reducing the number opium and ganja shops, as 'the evil effects of the indulgence in these drugs are perceptible in the large towns.'" Mr. F. C. Anderson, Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, says: "I am to say that the Officiating Chief Commissioner agrees with the Commissioner of Excise in his remarks about distinguishing opium eating from opium smoking, and the greater importance of discouraging the latter in every legitimate manner." 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." Colonel G. H. Trevor, Chief Commissioner, Ajmere-Merwara, says: "A man who frequents a liquor shop is not so likely to become a confirmed drunkard as one who pays even a few visits to an opium den is likely to develop into a confirmed opium eater or smoker; it is to the interest of the vintner not to let him get intoxicated on the premises for fear the license should be revoked, and for the same reason not to encourage drinking that makes men disorderly. The liquor having issued from a Government distillery, its quality has been tested, and as a rule, it does not pay the vintner to change the quality except by dilution, which is common enough. These conditions do not, I believe, apply to the case of the opium den, at any rate in equal degree. There no attempt is made, or if made, it is more difficult to check excess; and though excess may not lead to crime in the same way as liquor does, it produces a more lasting effect upon the individual, and through him or her on future generations." Mr. T. D. Mackenzie, of Bombay, says "the object of the Government, apart from the moral duty which rests on it to endeavour to encourage the people to detest intemperance, is to prevent the illicit consumption of opium, and any measures compatible with that object which can be shown to be effectual in decreasing the consumption, or checking the spread of the consumption of opium, will most readily

"be adopted." Then comes the Collector of Satara: "The vice of opium smoking evidently possesses a fearful fascination, when once it is acquired, and its effects are deadly, depriving the victim of all moral resolution. With these facts made palpable it is a serious thing for Government to offer any facility for acquiring the vice by licensing a shop, where any one is at liberty to make a trial."

88 and 89. Have the licenses for consumption on the premises been withdrawn?—They have been practically withdrawn, but Colonel Clarke says that the opium shops are the rendezvous of low characters and that such gatherings might well be interdicted by law. Mr. James, in Bombay, Northern Division (that is in Sind), says: "Some respectable persons might continue to smoke privately by themselves, while the lowest and most degraded would, as now, frequent the shop." The consumption of opium has been or should be reduced. There are a great number of witnesses to that. A report from Madras says:—"The Government is aware that the opium traffic is carefully watched by the agents and their assistants, and that so far from 'teaching the people' to rely on opium as a febrifuge we are doing all we can to gradually wean them from their hereditary habit of using it on all occasions." Wherever the prohibition has been tried it seems to have been attended with success.

91 and 92. Does this Blue Book to which you have referred and from which you have given us numerous extracts contain in any number opinions in another sense?—It qualifies some of those opinions which I have stated. For instance, the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces says:—"Under these circumstances I venture to think that it would be a useless task for the Government of this country to attempt to suppress altogether the use of the drug. All that it can properly do, and does do, is to secure the supply of a good article, or by suitable arrangements to make the retail price of this article as high as compatible with the prevention of smuggling." I believe that that has been honestly done. One gentleman in Assam says that he considers opium is a necessity.

93. At any rate you find a large body of opinion in support of the views put forward by your association?—Yes; and I will also, I think, add that I have quoted them in corroboration of what I stated in the commencement of my evidence, that I believe the Indian Government is alive to the evil, and is, at the present moment, doing a great deal more than it ever did before to restrict the local consumption.

94. Does that bring you conveniently to the question of finance?—If you please, my Lord.

95. I think I am right in suggesting that, as a man of experience in affairs, you will not fail to recognise that the Indian Government are under the necessity of raising a certain revenue, and that in the present financial condition there would be a serious difficulty in substituting other sources of revenue for that which is drawn from opium?—Of course, we all know that when we have not money to spend we begin to look at two things, one, increasing the revenue in other branches, and another, decreasing the expenditure. The case of the opium revenue has got into a much more easy shape than it was when I commenced with this subject. As I have shown the net revenue is now about 5,000,000 a year in tens of rupees, Rs. 5,390,000. It has gone down Rs. 3,000,000. The Indian Government in 1880-81, when it had the highest opium revenue, had a net income of 84,000,000 of tens of rupees; in 1892-3 the estimate for the net revenue of the Indian Government is 5,800,000 of tens of rupees. If the opium revenue had continued to grow, it would have been 9,100,000, but they have done without 3,000,000 of revenue; and Indian expenditure has gone up, as your Lordship will see directly, 14,000,000 of tens of rupees. Now where has it all gone? The army charges, exclusive of the Afghan war charges in 1881-2, were 13,800,000 tens of rupees; in 1892-3 the army estimate was 31,150,000 tens of rupees; in 1893-4 the estimate is 32,340,000 tens of rupees. The British soldiers were increased from 63,000 in 1885 to 71,000 in 1891; and the native soldiers are increased from 126,000 to 149,000; so that the army has gone up 31,000 men.

96. The native army?—The two armies have gone up 31,000 men, 23,000 of which belong to the native and the rest to the European army. There is an increased expenditure of something like Rs. 8,000,000 on the army. I am not in this chair to say that that

army expenditure is entirely useless or unnecessary, but it strikes any man looking at it that it is a very enormous increase, and whether the frontier policy of India is a wise policy or not—whether the annexation policy of India is or is not a wise policy—still I cannot help thinking that if reforms were properly carried out in the Indian expenditure, and if there should be a further development of the resources of India—I cannot help thinking that the opium revenue would form a very little item if it were all lost. There is a letter from Lord Lytton, dated from Malvern, in the "Daily Chronicle" of February 22nd, 1882, in which he says: "Wisdom, I suppose, is justified of her children in the long run, but the run is sometimes a very long one. No Indian Finance Minister has ever left to his successor such a splendid financial legacy as Sir John Strachey. No one who will take the trouble to study the finances of India without prejudice can doubt that they are in a condition which might be envied by almost any country in Europe. I have the satisfaction, such as it is, of feeling sure that this will be admitted some day, if the financial policy of my administration is not disastrously reversed. But I confess that I contemplate with considerable apprehension Major Baring's adoption of Sir L. Mallet's craze about handing over the public works of India to 'private enterprise.' No such enterprise exists, or can be created, at present in the country itself, where the normal rate of interest is 12 per cent. And how would the people of England like to see all their railways and canals in the hands of capitalists living at the other end of the world, ignorant of and indifferent to the conditions of English society and government, yet exercising upon these conditions, through a distant Parliament, in which the English people were not represented, a certain irresponsible influence, naturally animated and guided only by a view to their own exclusive interests as the proprietors of all the means of inter-communication throughout England? In the Indian railways the Government of India possesses a vast and annually growing property—and expanding source of revenue not derived from taxation, which exists in no other country—and to me it is as clear as the sun in heaven that the financial prosperity in India will in future depend mainly on the development of her railways and canals. People ask, 'What would happen if the opium revenue were to fail?' I reply, 'Cover the country with railways, and neither the loss of the opium revenue nor anything else need seriously disconcert us.'" The population of India is 287,000,000, the railways are 17,564 miles. I believe the population of America is 62,000,000, and the railways are about 170,000 miles.

97 and 98. The annual income of the inhabitants would be very different in the two cases, would it not?—No doubt, it would be exceedingly different. Sir William Hunter says in his book that there are 222,000 square miles of cultivated area in India, and that the uncultivated but cultivatable area is 101,542 square miles. Therefore, I say that the development of India ought to be our answer to those who object to part with the opium revenue. Let alone the question of army or any other economies, such development would soon make up for the comparatively paltry revenue which is now left from the opium trade.

99. You have given us the aggregate figures showing the large increase of revenue in recent years; have you got the information as to the principal heads under which the increase has taken place, or may I take it from you generally that it was chiefly under railways and public works?—I have not the figures here. I think it was general, but railways contributed largely. I would hardly like to commit myself to a reply without looking further into the figures, but my general impression is that the main source was the increase from railways.

100. Have you any observations to offer with reference to the uncertainty of the opium crop? That seems to have been before Indian statesmen for a very considerable time. In the reply to Lord Hartington's Minute in June 1881 (I think Lord Ripon was then the Governor-General) there is the passage: "It is difficult to speak with any confidence as to the future of the opium revenue. Any opinion that may be given must, of necessity, be very conjectural." At the same time, the facts which we have so far elicited, that is to say, the necessity of raising the price paid for crude opium, the difficulty of extending

Sir J.
Pease, M. I.
8 Sept. 189:

Sir J.
case, M.P.
Sept. 1893.

"the area under cultivation in India, the necessity which may be forced on us of reducing the quantity of opium annually offered for sale, and the increase in the production and the improvement in the quality of the Persian and Chinese drugs, which renders it doubtful whether a diminished supply of Bengal opium will enhance the price realised at the sales, and may indeed render it necessary to reduce the export duty on Malwa opium, all point to one conclusion, namely, that, although the total loss of the opium revenue does not appear imminent, it is by no means improbable that it may undergo a considerable diminution." Then in 1881-82, "Moral and Material Progress," page 33, signed by Lionel Tennyson, "The weather was, however, generally favourable to the growth of the poppy, and the quality of the drug was good. Fever was prevalent amongst the cultivators. The poppy is being slowly banished from the most fertile lands by the potato and the sugar-cane, as the value of those crops is being gradually enhanced by improved communication and European machinery. The system of advances is reputed to be the chief inducement to the cultivator to grow so precarious and troublesome a crop as opium, and that system is now being adopted by firms interested in other crops." December 1881, Letter from the Government of India on Finance, "On the whole, the evidence goes to show that, although we may be able to retain the present area of cultivation in the Benares Agency, we cannot count with any certainty on being able to extend it." E. Baring in 1883-4 quotes his own reports of 1873, "The process of depletion cannot continue indefinitely. An exceptionally good crop may, indeed, again replenish the reserve. But we cannot rely on a fortuitous circumstance of this sort. An average crop, or, at all events, a succession of average crops, will oblige us to resort to one of two alternatives, we shall be forced either to increase the production or to diminish the amount offered for sale." Then he goes on again in 1883-4 (Financial Statement, page 41), "So long as the value of the rupee and the opium revenue continue liable to such fluctuations as those which we have recently witnessed, the financial situation of India must always contain some special elements of instability." Then we have in "Moral and Material Progress, 1892," page 89, "It is reported that cultivators of opium have lost heart, after experiencing three bad seasons in succession; that new cultivators are gradually withdrawing from the industry, while there is a tendency on the part of older cultivators to lessen the poppy area cultivated by them in favour of the more robust and less precarious cereals. The Behar opium agent adds that 'the opium department have difficulty in maintaining their position, they cannot drop cultivation at will without losing it permanently.'" The "Calcutta Englishman" states, in 1891:—"The opium cultivator in India is becoming uneasy concerning the future of the industry. An idea that Government contemplates a cessation of opium manufacture appears to have obtained widespread credence in the opium-growing centres of Bengal, and many ryots, especially those near the great towns, are reported to have abandoned the cultivation of poppy in favour of potatoes or tobacco. The result is detrimental alike to the interests of the cultivators and of the Department, for, in the words of the Behar agent, 'When a cultivator has once severed his connection with the Department, and has begun to take advances from mahajans in another line of business, it is difficult to get him back.' The recent orders of Government reducing the area of cultivation, together with the bad out-turn of the past three years, have no doubt tended to accentuate the feeling of insecurity, and it is hoped that a successful season will go far to restore the confidence of the ryot." This I cut out of the "Pioneer" of Allahabad. After commenting on the danger to the Indian opium revenue from the increased cultivation of the poppy in China, the "Pioneer" says:—"Another cause which is slowly but steadily working against Indian opium is the growing unpopularity of the cultivation with the ryots, especially in Behar. They find that, with facilities of traffic and rise in the price of cereals, several other crops pay very much better than opium. Hence the cultivation of the poppy is gradually falling off. Tobacco, potatoes, sugar-cane, turmeric, chillies, and other condiments are more profitable in the long run than opium. The best lands of the villages are no longer devoted to the poppy, as they once were, and if the ryots still adhere to the cultivation in poorly productive villages, it is

"simply for the sake of the opium advances which are, and have always been, a great incentive, not only to the cultivators, but to the landholders, who get their rents in a lump sum without much trouble. The process of decline cannot be arrested unless Government is prepared to compete with the rise in prices of other cereals, by paying a proportionately higher rate for opium, and thus counterbalancing the advantages of other more paying crops by its system of advances. Moreover, this make-shift of sowing the crop on inferior lands and getting the Government advances is gradually producing a discouraging effect on the cultivators. If there is one crop that needs superior lands and careful tending, it is the poppy crop. The cultivators find year after year that their labour and capital have been devoted in vain to a crop which will not repay their efforts, and they naturally become disheartened. There is a growing dearth, too, of good lands suitable for poppy in Behar, after providing for other paying crops such as those mentioned above, and for indigo." I have read these extracts to show that it is in the opinion of those best qualified to judge in India, not only what I believe to be an immoral revenue, but it is one that cannot be relied upon.

101. Have you any remarks to give us with reference to the revenue that is derived from the transit duty on opium from the Native States?—That revenue is a revenue, as is well known, per chest, taken from the opium grown. The chests in 1879-80 that paid duty were 46,211, carrying a duty of 750 rupees. In 1880-1 that had fallen to 36,000 chests, but the duty then was 700 rupees. In 1883-4 the chests fell to 33,586, and the duty was lowered to 650 rupees. In 1888-9 the chests fell to 30,000 (you see it had gone down from 46,000 to 30,000 in ten years), and the duty was 650 rupees. Now they only charge 600 rupees per chest, and the quantity, I believe, is still going down, or it is certainly at a standstill. Now, a chest of Malwa opium, I believe, costs fully as much as a chest of Indian opium, which runs to 427 rupees per chest. The pass duty now levied is 600 rupees, which makes the cost of a chest 1,025 to 1,027 rupees. The sale price of opium is stated in 1891-2, in the East India accounts, as a probable 1,000 rupees; therefore, there is not much profit out of it for the Native States beyond what the native princes obtain from a larger rent from the opium lands than from corn and cotton lands.

102. It is obvious that in imposing these heavy charges upon the opium grown in the Native States the action of the Indian Government does not tend to encourage the growth?—It looks to me as if it were a very falling revenue. The duty was lowered from 750 rupees a chest to 600; therefore, the Indian Government expected to get more opium from them, but the quantity has still been falling. Then there is a curious paragraph, to which I would desire to call the attention of the Commission. In the "Moral and Material Progress of India, 1888-9," page 9:—"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 compensation or other concessions." So it looks as if we were not only reducing the duty from 700 rupees per chest to 600 rupees, but that we were giving them either money compensation or other concessions.

103. (Sir James Lyall.) That was an arrangement, I think, to prevent its being smuggled into India?—I can only say what I have found—I think it is one of those points upon which the Commission would desire to have information.

104. (Chairman.) Are there any other points which you would like to bring before us in your evidence-in-chief?—I have exhausted the minutes which I have made, and I have to thank you for having heard me at such considerable length.

105. On the paper you place before me as the summary of your position, you allege that the opium trade is an immoral trade, and that if not an immoral trade it is as low a trade as can be conceived, and you urge that it is a decreasing trade, and that the difficulties of cultivating the poppy have increased; that China can upset the trade at any moment; and that as a source of revenue it cannot be relied upon?—If Sir James Ferguson takes the correct view of the policy of the British Government—that China may do in 12 months anything she likes—we are holding the Indian opium revenue at the mercy of

China. I would venture merely to say that if the Commission do not come to the conclusion that it is an immoral trade, I would lay before them the view that it is about as low a trade as you could possibly go into. For a great Government to be trading in a drug nine-tenths of which, it must be admitted, is used for debauchery and not for any good purpose, I think is about as low a position as could possibly be conceived.

106 and 107. (*Sir James Lyall.*) Is it a great Government that is trading in it? I mean as regards the Malwa opium, how can you say that it is the Government that is trading in the drug?—I did not say so, sir, I said that the Indian Government is trading in the drug in the Bengal Presidency. The other is a transit duty, of course. I think there is a considerable difference between a transit duty from native states, provided that you have the difficulty always that if you have the cultivation in the native states you have very great difficulty from the local position of the native states in dealing with the question of cultivation in your own country.

108. (*Chairman.*) Moved by philanthropic considerations which I am sure we must all appreciate, you have evidently taken immense pains and interested yourself very deeply in the consideration of this question. I understand, Sir Joseph, that you have not personally visited India?—I am sorry to say that I have not personally visited India or China. I have endeavoured to show, perhaps, at too great a length, the reasons which have actuated me in my humble share in the anti-opium campaign. I am accused of being a crazy philanthropist by some of my Indian friends, and can only say that I have felt it my duty to collate facts and draw deductions from them. I do not think that I am one of those people who are carried away by enthusiasm on any given subject. I have endeavoured to lay before the Royal Commission the views which have actuated me over a long period of years in endeavouring to do away with the share of the Indian Government in a trade which, to use Lord Cornwallis's words, "ought to be abandoned out of compassion to mankind."

109. And in the capacity that you thought it your duty to take upon yourself as president of the Anti-Opium Association, you have had, and no doubt are constantly having, placed before you communications from all parts of the East in which this trade is being conducted, and in which the opium drug is being used?—Well, I suppose that when a man takes the position that I have taken on this subject, I think every member of this Commission will know that he becomes the centre for letters of all sorts and shades of character, and out of that large correspondence there is often a difficulty in weeding out error from truth; but I think that that which I have kept and preserved is that which carries to my own mind the conviction that it was based on truth and did not belong to the spurious or erroneous.

110. (*Sir James Lyall.*) You referred, Sir Joseph, to the anxiety of the Indian Government in 1869 and later to increase the growth of opium. I should like to ask you, did not that refer entirely to the supply for the export trade in Calcutta? That growth was intended to be for that?—I have no doubt it was entirely for the export trade in Calcutta, which was then at a much higher rate than it is at present, and was entirely confined to the cultivation in Bengal.

111. Has not the Government of India given up the idea of extending the growth, and agreed to greatly diminish it if it makes any change; that all change should be in the direction of diminution of the growth?—I hope so, but when I got those figures of the acreage it did not quite bear out that view, because, as I said in my evidence-in-chief, in one or two years there was a little jump-up, but the Government resolution (which I suppose is practically binding on the Government of India) the other day was—"That 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." That is in accordance with the policy enunciated by the late Mr. W. H. Smith, which, I suppose, is really the policy of the Government, and which was again pressed upon the Government of India by the resolution which was carried in June this year in the House of Commons at Mr. Gladstone's suggestion.

112. I think you admit, Sir Joseph, that the question has two entirely separate sides—that is the internal consumption side, and the export to China and other

countries, the export trade side?—I have always taken that view, that the Indian side of the question was not nearly so important as the Chinese side of the question.

113. I was going to ask, do you not admit that the system in India, as far as regards internal consumption, is a very strongly repressive system?—I think it has become so lately owing to the agitation in this country increasing the vigilance of the Indian Government, and opening their eyes to the harm that was likely to arise from a larger local consumption.

114. Have you ever tried to think of any material improvement of that system which could be suggested?—I do not see that there is any other mode than total prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy except for medicinal purposes, and the sale by license of medical opium. In this country no one can buy opium, but at a druggist's, and it has a registered sale.

115. Do you think that the English system of sale by druggists really stops anybody from getting opium who wants to get it for non-medical purposes?—Of course it is very difficult to compare English habits and tastes with Indian habits and tastes, but I have no doubt the policy is restrictive. I cannot doubt that.

116. I went the other day into a chemist's shop, and being suspicious that probably the system in England would not repress it if anybody wanted to get it for non-medical purposes, I asked him and he told me that anybody could get opium who likes?—Yes.

117. And he gave me instances of many people—one lady, for instance, who was getting from his shop 10 ounces a week of laudanum for her consumption, and he mentioned that in a few places in England, where the use of opium for non-medical purposes is common, the druggists had the opium made up in packets ready for their customers as they came in. Well, are you aware, supposing that to be correct, that the number of druggists' shops in an English town or an English neighbourhood is very much larger than the number of opium shops in any part of India with which I am acquainted?—I have had no statistics before me, and I could not give an opinion, but what you state is perfectly true, that if you want to buy it you can buy it, but you buy it under these restrictions, that the man that sells it is a registered chemist, and he has to mark the thing as a poison.

118. He marks it as a poison, but that is a mere distinction in name. Anybody who wants to use it for non-medical purposes can use it. That is what I hear, and that is what naturally seems to follow?—I think there is very great reason to believe that there ought to be further restriction in this country.

119. In India we have not even the chemists. I think you remarked that the growth of Indian opium is not only for the purposes of the drug, but for the purposes of intoxication; but are you aware that opium is very largely used in India as medicine, and that, perhaps, with the exception of the few English, or people who are prescribed for by English physicians, and who are a mere mite amongst the mass of Indians, that the other Indians, if they use opium for medicine, use the Indian opium?—Yes, I am quite aware that they use it, but whether it is used for medicine or not I do not know.

120. It is used largely for medicine by every native physician, every native Hakim, every old woman who prescribes in her own neighbourhood for medicine?—Whether that is a judicious administration I very much doubt.

121. I know; but it is very largely used?—I think Sir Benjamin Brodie's paper and other papers that I have read in the "Lancet" take the same view, that it is a drug, and must be treated as a drug.

122. You mentioned, Sir Joseph, the fact of an advertisement of an opium shop in a railway carriage on a State line; have you any reason to think that that advertisement was put in by the Government and not by the owner of the shop?—No, but the Government licensed the shop, I suppose.

123. Licensed the shop?—Or licensed the seller.

124. The Government license a public-house in England, but that is repressive. As to the advertisement in question, have you any idea that that advertisement was put in by the Government and not by the owner of the shop?—No. It does not make any

*Sir J.
Pease, M.P.*
8 Sept. 1898.

Sir J.
Pence, M.P.
8 Sept. 1893.

matter in the view I take who put the advertisement up. The man sells the Government opium, and the more he sells the better for the revenue and the worse for the people, it seems to me.

125. There was a reference to a clause in the vendor's lease?—License.

126. That they must sell a certain amount of opium, or else, at any rate, pay for that certain amount of opium?—Yes.

127. That has been abolished?—Lord Cross recommended that it should be abolished.

128. It has been abolished, and I do not know that it is worth perhaps much referring to; but are you aware what the object of that clause was?—I saw that in Lord Cross's blue book it is stated that the object was to prevent smuggling and the consumption of illicit opium. How that could do it I cannot tell.

129. Well, the object was actually to protect the revenue, not to increase the consumption?—It says, "prevent the consumption of illicit opium."

130. You could not make a man sell more by putting that in?—Well, it makes him very desirous not to be fined, and to get the profit on what he had sold.

131. All these men are desirous to sell as much as they can I am afraid, but you would not increase their desire?—I think you would increase it very much. If you fine me for every ounce of the article that I do not sell, then you take away part or the whole of the profit I have got on the number of ounces that I do sell.

132. The object, both in the case of certain spirit licenses and the opium licenses, I believe the stated object was this. It was founded by experience that the men sold a great deal more than they put down in their returns, and it was known to be impossible, and shown by statistics to be absolutely impossible, that they could pay the license duty which they did pay if they did not sell a great deal more than they admitted in their returns. To meet that, an amount was put down which was known to be well within the amount which they actually sold, so as to secure that Government should get that, the duty?—To the unsophisticated mind it can only bear one view, that the man had to sell the amount in the license. Taking it for granted that you are dealing with an honest man, you would not give a dishonest one a license—at any rate the magistrates in England do not license a dishonest publican if they know it, and you immediately say, "you have not sold as much opium as you ought to have sold, and therefore you are fined," and you take away the profit of that which he has sold. It is a mysterious clause, rather.

133. I think you said that probably the Chinese only favoured, as it were, the growth of opium in China because they were under a certain amount of pressure or compulsion to admit our opium, and they preferred, if opium was to be used, that the Chinese should get the dollars and not the Indians?—I think there is no doubt that what I consider to be the forced introduction of English opium into China stimulated very materially the home growth. I believe the Indian opium is of a much better quality, and is liked by the richer class in China, and that the others not being able to buy English opium grow their own.

134. I want to ask you with reference to that, why do you think they admit Persian opium?—Into China?

135. Into China, because they never have been under any pressure or compulsion to admit Persian opium?—I do not know; the Persian opium is by far the finest quality of opium.

136. Well, Persian opium goes in largely; why do they admit it; if they only admit Indian opium, which is also a very fine quality, under pressure, why should they admit Persian opium?—I do not know. I must not ask you a question, but Persian opium comes through India.

137. You put great weight, Sir Joseph, on the Government of Bombay's objection to permit the cultivation in Bombay, when the question was raised by the Government of India. Is it not the case that the Bombay Government never proposed to prohibit the supply in the ordinary form common over India, but that it only argued that the old Indian policy whereby cultivation was prohibited in Bombay and Madras, and those provinces were made to rely on supplies drawn from the poppy grown in the native states, should be

maintained?—It went a great deal further than that; it said that if it was not maintained it would be attended with very detrimental results; in fact the word "moral" comes into it.

138. Yes, but was not the reason that if you allowed cultivation which had been always prohibited—which has always been the policy of the Government of India in Bombay and Madras, there must be a certain amount of leakage and untaxed consumption. Was not that what the Government of Bombay meant?—I do not know what they meant; all I know is what they said that if it was grown there, it would be attended with moral disaster.

139. I think you referred to the Californian law and the Australian law. I think those are both laws for the prevention of the consumption of opium on the premises?—Yes, anybody selling and dealing.

140. For sale on the premises?—The Californian law goes a great deal further than that. It evidently was passed under a sense of the demoralising effect of opium on the Chinese population in the first instance, and that being communicated to the Europeans, and I had a call from a gentleman who is the present Prime Minister of Victoria, who told me that the feeling was exceedingly strong in the Colony, that the Chinese had communicated the habit to the younger Europeans, and that girls were seduced under the influence of opium, and that there was a strong feeling among the whites as against the Chinese and against the opium trade.

141 and 142. The Bill, I think, referred to consumption in shops on the premises?—I do not like to read a whole Act of Parliament, but these are the marginal notes:—"Opium not to be imported except by licensed importer and for medical purposes." "Restriction on importation." "Opium imported contrary to this Act to be forfeited." "Importer not to sell opium except to medical practitioners, chemists, members of College of Veterinary Surgeons, or licensed persons." "Except under Poisons Act, no person to buy opium without a license." "Commissioner may grant annual licences to buy opium." "Entry of sales of opium by importer." "No person to smoke opium." "No person to eat or drink opium, except as a medicine." "No person to prescribe opium unnecessarily."

143. That is the Australian Bill?—That passed the Lower Chamber, but not the Upper Chamber, because of the dissolution.

144. You read, Sir Joseph, some terrible descriptions of the evils of opium-eating in China?—Of opium smoking.

145. Do you not think that those remarks apply mainly to cases of gross excess, and that perhaps, in cases of gross excess in spirituous liquors the same sort of terrible descriptions might be composed if the question were raised?—I am afraid it would be very difficult to limit the descriptions of the damage done by excess in spirituous liquors, but I think that these quotations which I have read prove that opium is a much more insidious poison; but my objection is that we are trading in this poison for the purpose of raising revenue, and we are selling it for the purpose of raising revenue. Having found that it is detrimental to other nations and to other people, it is wrong for us to raise a revenue by continuing in the trade.

146. I wanted to ask you this. Supposing it to apply fairly to opium consumption as a whole, how would you explain the fact that the Chinese in the Straits, in Hong Kong, and in Shanghai, which is a British possession or settlement in China, in California, and in Australia, are (as regards a large proportion of them) opium smokers, and yet as merchants, clerks, tradesmen, agriculturists, artisans, and labourers they are admitted to be very shrewd, industrious, and successful, not only easily beating the Indians, the Burmese, the Malays, and the Japanese who meet them, but you will find them also beating Europeans, and being notorious among all Asiatics for honesty in performing their contracts?—My experience is that an excess of stimulants, occasionally taken, has often characterised some of the very best workmen I have known. Of course, you do not get the same time out of the men as you do out of a steady and sober man, but it is unfortunately the case that among your very best workmen some will give way to habits of drinking; but that does not take away what I call my responsibility in going into the trade, that is to supply them. They may do what they like, but I must do right.

147. I think, in coming to that, that your great objection is the position which the Government occupies in that particular Bengal opium growth?—I say I have no right to be in a trade which is detrimental to other people. Other people may do it, but I have to form my own opinion of what is right.

148. It is the case, I think, is it not, that the Government is only in that position in Bengal, where it manages the growth, we may say, and certainly carries out the manufacture?—The Bengal case is far worse than the other, though I have stated already that I should have thought, if the Malwa trade is to be purchased, and the native princes are getting very little out of it, that the duty of the Indian Government would be to try and give these concessions to Malwa for something which was much more valuable to them than the growth of the poppy.

149. What concessions?—The concessions named in that blue-book, the purchase of opium concessions.

150. I believe those concessions are simply concessions given to some States upon condition that they would not allow opium to be cultivated at all?—A very good concession, too.

151. And to another State the concession was given on the ground that it would actively exert itself in preventing smuggling. All this you would find probably entirely unobjectionable?—It says that some of them are cash. If the Indian Government could do without the revenue, the opium trade might be stopped; because every one would admit that it is only on the ground of revenue that there is any excuse for carrying on the trade.

152. I wish to ask rather a hypothetical question. Supposing the Chinese Government were sincerely anxious to restrict and reduce, but perhaps found it could not absolutely prohibit the consumption of opium, but wanted sincerely to restrict and control the consumption, would not its most practical and natural way of proceeding probably be rather to follow the example of the Indian Government, as we say, what the Indian Government does in Madras and Bombay, that is, to begin by prohibiting the import of opium?—That would be, no doubt, the first step.

153. Excepting very limited amounts and under a heavy duty and then it would go on to prohibit the growth entirely in China, and so get the foreign opium into its hands as we do in Bombay and Madras. We allow no cultivation, we allow a certain amount to come in from the native States and with that carry on a very restricted supply to the people at an enormously high price, compared with the natural price of the article. Would not that be really the way in which the Government of China would probably act?—It is a very hypothetical question, but I should think you have very likely depicted what the course of the Chinese Government would be, which would, of course, have my hearty co-operation with the view of steadily diminishing the quantity.

154. Might not the Government of China, if it began to do that, find it necessary to take up very much exactly the same position as the Government of India does in Bengal, except probably that they would not export it?—Might they not refuse to allow cultivation except by licensed cultivators, and to insist that all the opium produced should be made over to its government agents?—Yes, and if the Government of China pressed

upon the governors of the provinces, as we are proposing to do upon the Government of India, to continue a policy of greatly diminishing the cultivation of the poppy, I should think the world was getting better.

155. (Chairman.) You are not sure that the Chinese Government may not be influenced in their treatment of this question by considerations of revenue?—I think they are.

156. And though they recognise the moral disadvantage to their people they may possibly be governed by considerations of revenue, and hesitate to adopt a policy of prohibition on that account?—My belief is, from communications which have been made to me by those who have seen and called upon Li-hung Chung, who is the great Prime Minister of China, that the Chinese will not believe in the sincerity of the British Government in regard to giving up the introduction of opium into China. "If," they say, "we were not going to send opium into China, their opium policy might be considerably altered."

157. (Mr. Pease.) I only wanted to ask, was there not some limitation to the opium or poppy that could be grown in Malwa?—I am not aware that there is any limitation, it is entirely, I believe, in the hands of the native rulers.

158. Is the reason why the quantity of poppy grown in Malwa has decreased because it is not profitable?—The price of the chest was at one time 1,300 rupees. It fell to 1,100 and stood about 1,100, and now it has been latterly 1,000; there was a little rise, then the other day there was a very heavy fall on the Government measure for the stability of the rupee, which I should imagine to be rather a temporary fall, and it is because instead of getting 100 or 200 rupees per chest above the cost of duty and manufacture, they can get very little out of it except that which the native ruler gets in the increased land tax for the better lands on which the poppy is cultivated.

159. Was the reduction of the transit duty made for the purpose of stimulating the cultivation of the poppy in Malwa?—I believe it was to meet the views of the native rulers, who said that they could not get their opium into the Calcutta market at the higher duty of 700 rupees per chest with a cost of manufacture of 425 rupees more.

160. And if the old transit duty had been maintained?—Yes; probably the trade would have died out; it could not possibly, I believe, have existed with the 700 rupee duty.

161. (Mr. Moubray.) I do not know whether we shall have any of the medical evidence of the medical missionaries which you quoted?—No, I did not quote any medical evidence. Dr. Huntley, I believe, will be called before your Commission in India. I did read, at your Chairman's request, an extract from Dr. Huntley. He has lived in the Rajpootana for a long time, and there is another medical man who has lived in Rajpootana.

162 to 165. Could you tell me when the manufacture by the Indian Government began what was the origin of the manufacture?—I cannot speak as to the date, but I believe it was a manufacture which was carried on under the old East India Company, and was inherited by the British Government when they took possession of India, and the Company was dispersed. I believe it is almost from time immemorial.

The witness withdrew.

Rev. JAMES LUGG, Oxford, called in and examined.

165. (Chairman.) You are professor of the Chinese language and literature at Oxford, are you not?—Yes.

166. You resided many years in China?—Yes; I resided in China, or rather I would say among the Chinese people, because I never resided out of Her Majesty's dominions. Three years and a half I lived in Malacca, which is part of Great Britain, and then about 30 years I resided in Hong Kong.

167. In what capacity?—As a missionary, in connection with the London Missionary Society.

168. Long residence in those countries has of course enabled you to form an opinion with reference to the opium question?—It certainly did; and while resident in Hong Kong I visited many places in China, and latterly I visited Peking itself, and all the open ports and mission stations in the north.

169. So that you have had a wide observation of the people who are consumers of opium?—I have.

170. Will you tell us what is your view as to the effect of the smoking of opium on the part of the people of China?—Well, let me say that during my first residence in Malacca opium smoking was not so common as it subsequently became. I heard much of it, but I saw little. I had an example that impressed me very much with the tenacious hold that the habit keeps upon its victim. As soon as I began to be able to talk in the language, I went every day visiting among the people, and encountered a young man of more than usual gentlemanly manners and address. I found he was from a very respectable family in China, but because he had formed the opium habit they sent him out of the country in the hope that a visit to Malacca might wear him from the habit. I became interested in the man, invited him to take up his abode

B 3

Sir J.
Pease, M.P.
8 Sept. 1893.

Rev. J. Lugg.

Rev. J. Legge. with me in the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, which was then under my care. He came, and we had very friendly intercourse together; but all at once he disappeared. I had made it a condition with him that he should not smoke opium in the college. He disappeared; and never came back. On my asking about him among his friends, I found that he had died, or that he had disappeared altogether. He tried, I believe, earnestly to break off the habit, and thought through his acquaintance with me, that he had an opportunity of doing so, but it was all in vain. Then, when I went on to China, wherever I went I encountered opium smokers, and found that there was no evil so much deplored by the respectable classes of the people as this habit. I found that no respectable man could tell me of any good that opium had done, but every man had his own narrative of evils, deaths, suicides, misery, ruin, that it had produced. And my own observation, as I became familiar with the people, and I had a large circle of acquaintances among them, confirmed the reports that I got from those around me.

171. You have been speaking of the opinion entertained by what you call the respectable classes?—The respectable classes; but I never, even among opiumists themselves, heard a man who had a word to say by way of apology or excuse for his habit. You will find no one in China, I believe at the present day you would not find one, who, however devoted he might be to the habit, would say anything in its favour. I may just mention, as having been a missionary, and come very much into contact with the Chinese, and associating with one missionary society and another, that there is not, among all the thousands of churches that are growing up and making a profession of Christianity, there is not one which would receive a man into its communion who was in the least degree addicted to the smoking of opium. When converts in connection with myself began to increase in number, so as to form a community, I brought the subject frequently before them when all the principal members of our church were assembled together. I did so because I wished to train them into the way of feeling that the responsibility of receiving fresh additions to our numbers rested with themselves and could not and ought not to be devolved upon their missionary and pastor. On several occasions I acted the part of what we call the "devil's advocate." I would say to them, "Well, here is this man who makes application to be baptised and to be admitted as a member of our community; he is said to have a good character; but if any of you know it to be otherwise, you ought to come forward and declare it. I do not know that he is at all addicted to the habit of opium smoking; but if he be, you must make up your minds whether you will receive such opium smokers. And do you think it is worse to take a pipe of opium now and then than it is for the members of many, perhaps, of most in other churches, to take a glass of wine now and then?" And they would reply to me, "Why, there is no analogy between the two cases; you take your glass of wine and it does you no harm; you abstain from it, and you do not feel any great craving for it; but when a man once begins the habit of taking opium, it grows upon him, he cannot refrain from it; he is miserable until he gets his usual dose; we cannot receive into our communion one addicted to the least indulgence in opium smoking; if we did, the end would be our own disgrace and injury." Such is the universal feeling on the part of all Christian converts in China.

172. Is the practice of smoking opium one which prevails widely among the more well-to-do classes?—It prevails widely, and it has increased very greatly within my own experience; but without statistical information I am not prepared to say what percentage of Chinese may smoke opium. I do not think it is so large as some have asserted, and I do not think it is small.

173. Comparing the masses, is it with them rather than with the more well-to-do classes that the consumption of opium most widely prevails?—Well, that also is a difficult question to answer. There is no class that is free from it. It manifests its presence sooner among the poorer classes than among the richer, for when a man is wealthy and indulges his desire for the opium pipe, and yet is able to live comfortably otherwise, have sufficient nourishing food, good housing and clothing, the habit does not tell upon his physical condition, so soon as it does upon the poor man. I have often had a dozen men brought before me to see whether I could tell which was an opium smoker and which was not, and it was very seldom that I made

a mistake. The sallow countenance, general appearance, emaciation of the opium smoker for the most part revealed his character.

174. The Chinese stand high, do they not, as a race, for their powers of industry?—They are the most industrious people I ever became acquainted with.

175. And physically a powerful race?—Yes; they are not generally so tall, perhaps not so muscular as Englishmen are; but I have often come into contact with a Chinaman from whom I was glad very soon to get quit.

176. They are good workers?—They are good workers.

177. And I suppose many of those Chinamen who are good workers are to some extent consumers of opium?—Not many of the best workers; no. When an opium smoker comes under the power of his habit, he cannot work so well unless he refreshes himself every day with his pipe.

178. And are you under the impression that it is exceedingly difficult to indulge to a limited degree in his form of indulgence, and that most people who take any opium at all take too much?—That is my view.

179. Is there anything that you would like to say to us further with regard to the injury which is done to the Chinese people, physically, and mentally, and morally by the use of opium?—No; I might sum up what I have to say, that from all I have known and seen of the habit of smoking opium, I should say that the drug does evil, and nothing but evil, and that continually.

180. Have you anything to say to us with reference to the public feeling in China with reference to our policy in promoting a traffic between India and China in opium?—I have written down what I should say on such a question.

181. Will you read it?—I have often heard an indignant expression of complaint against England; but few of the Chinese are sufficiently acquainted with the geography and history of our Indian dominion to complain specially of our Indian policy, of which they are the victims. They know that the use of opium, except for medical purposes, is forbidden here at home among ourselves, and why should we, they have often asked me, try to force it on them? They have done so in the past, and still continue to do so. Their statesmen are better acquainted with our Indian policy; but their suggestion to Sir Rutherford Alcock for a modification of our Indian policy was not received generously, and did not meet with acceptance. In concluding what I have to say in reply to your question, I may be allowed to relate part of a conversation which I had with Kwo Sung-tao, the first Chinese ambassador who was appointed to this country. I called on him soon after his arrival in London, and he welcomed me to the Legation. Among other things which he asked me was this, "Whether I thought China or England was the better country." I told him at once that I thought England was the better country. He was disappointed, and said, "Well, I grant you that you have finer public buildings, finer offices than we have, more engineering skill, and that altogether England is a cleaner country than China. But that is not what I mean. I mean looking at the two countries from their moral standpoint;" and that moral standpoint, as he expounded it, was as to the appreciation of benevolence, righteousness, propriety, conscientiousness, and good faith. I told him that was a more difficult question to answer; but while I knew what high ideas of those virtues the Chinese had, I thought many of the English took higher views, and tried to carry them out more than the Chinese did; and, looking at the two countries or peoples from that standpoint, I still thought England was the better of the two. I never saw a man more disappointed; he anticipated quite a different reply. He took a couple of turns across his reception-room; then planting himself before me, he said, "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?"

182. At what date did this conversation take place?—Soon after his arrival; more than ten years ago; I think it might be in 1877.

183. This Chinese gentleman would hardly contend that at the present day the power of England would be used to force the trade in opium on the Chinese?—I hope no such ideas are springing up on the subject regarding England.

184. Certainly not?—But when I had that conversation with Kwo Sung-Tao I suppose there were 70,000 chests of opium going from India to China. I suppose that the Indian Government this year will send at least 80,000 chests.

185. It was immediately open to the Chinese Government to exclude the Indian opium from China; if they think fit they can levy a prohibitory duty?—The Chi-fu Convention had not taken place when I saw him then, but still the legalisation of the opium trade after the Tientsin Treaty had taken place.

186. The position at present is that the Indian Government does allow the export of opium to China to take place, subject to a very heavy export duty imposed in India. It leaves it to the Chinese Government, if they think fit, to exclude the importation of opium into their ports, either by an edict of prohibition or by levying prohibitory duties?—Well, I wish they would set about doing so. It is not easy for them; at least they do not seem to think it easy for them, because they have not done it.

187. The Chinese have not done it?—And the production of opium among themselves has been increasing more and more.

188-9. Have you anything to tell us as to the time when and the way in which the cultivation of the poppy and the use of opium were introduced into China?—So far as I have investigated the matter, and it is a matter that requires a good deal of research, I think they first became acquainted with opium and adopted the name of it in perhaps the eighth century, during the period of one of their greatest dynasties, the Tang dynasty, a powerful dynasty that attracted people to itself on visits of curiosity and of business from the west. Then the Arabs came into China. Mahomedanism, if it had risen, had not become at all vigorous, but the Arabs came into China, and the Chinese took the name and became acquainted with the flower, though not with opium, I think, at that early time. A-pluin is not the proper Arabic name, but it is a name for it there; and the Chinese call it ya-pien, and A-fu-yung, evidently in the imperfectness of their phonetic methods trying to reproduce the word. After the first introduction they were pleased with the flower as a matter of taste; they began to cultivate it; by-and-by they became acquainted with its use as a medicine, and their attention was specially taken by the capsule and its seeds, and they called then the poppy, the "jar-millet," comparing its hood, its top, the capsule to the form of a jar, and its seeds to millet or any other seed with which the jar might be filled. They became acquainted also with its medical use in dysentery and the power to produce sleep, and gradually they began to plant it; and soon after the fifteenth century it had taken root, not earlier, I think, than the fifteenth century, in Szech'wan, Kansuh, and the other provinces in the west of China, and gradually they began to appreciate the sensation which the partaking of the opium juice gave them. I have read a comparison stating that it was like what we call nectar, that it furnished a drink fit for Buddha himself. As time went on, the habit of eating opium, and of drinking an extract from the seeds, grew, but not yet the habit of opium smoking. Opium smoking was introduced from Manilla or from Java by the Spaniards or by the Portuguese.

190. In the early voyages, do you mean?—Yes, in their early voyages, and that was only discovered lately by a medical missionary in Peking, Dr. Dudgeon, in his readings of a topographical volume, in which literature China is richer than all the rest of the world together; and in an account of one of the small departments, half the size, perhaps, or the whole size, of one of our counties, he found an account of the introduction of this habit, which came in connection with tobacco. First, they became fond of smoking tobacco. Just about the same time that the habit was introduced into this country, and King James published his Counterblast against Tobacco, then the Chinese were forming the same habit, and adding to their tobacco some more or less of opium in order to make their smoking more tasty, more pleasant to themselves. The habit spread from the Island of Formosa, and it passed over into Amoy and other cities of Fu-kien; and, in 1729, the attention of the Government was directed to the habit, and an edict was published in that year, denouncing the habit and forbidding, under severe penalties, the smoking of opium and the opening of houses for opium-smoking, as shown in Dr. Eddin's historical note on opium. That was the beginning of the agitation in China

against smoking opium, and of course, from the publication of the edict in 1729 the introduction of opium became a smuggling trade; and the East India Company, from the time of its operation in China, was well acquainted with the Imperial edict against opium, well acquainted with the fact that to bring opium from India or elsewhere to China was an act of smuggling. It can be proved by various instances that the East India Company was acquainted with this, and forbade, in consequence, the sending opium to China in any of the Company's vessels, yet not interfering with the introduction of it elsewhere. Why, a good many years ago, when the question of opium smuggling to China came up in the House of Commons, a letter was read from a Mr. Fitzhugh to some gentleman connected with the direction of the East India Company, explaining its character, and expressing his great surprise that such a trade should be persevered in which was death to the smoker and absolute ruin; and his letter concluded with expressing his great regret that, if England adopted this practice, the character in which the East India Company was held would go down in China, and the whole of the Europeans in that country would be disgraced.

191. (Sir James Lyall.) What year was that?—We have quite sufficient evidence that the prohibition was well known to the Directors of the East India Company. Mr. Fitzhugh, in China, in 1782, when it was being discussed in Calcutta whether a new departure should not be taken by the Indian Government by sending to China opium in a greater and more open manner than had yet been done, replying to the inquiries addressed to him on the subject, said: "The importation of opium to China is forbidden on very severe penalties. The opium, on seizure, is burned, the vessel carrying it is confiscated, and the Chinese in whose possession it is found is punished with death. It might be concluded that, with a law so rigid, no foreigners would venture to import, nor any Chinese dare to purchase this article; yet opium has for a long course of time been annually carried to China, and often in large quantities, both by our country's vessels and those of the Portuguese. That this contraband trade has hitherto been carried on without incurring the penalties of the law is owing to the excess of corruption in the Executive part of the Chinese Government." His letter concludes with adverting to the high opinion of the East India Company entertained by the Chinese, and thus concludes: "How must this opinion change when your servants are to deviate from the plain road of an honourable trade to pursue the crooked path of 'smuggling!' This was written in 1782, 50 years before the occurrence of our first war in China, and for more than 50 years before that the smoking had been carried on with a knowledge of the position in which it was placed by the Chinese Government.

192. (Chairman.) You have given us an historical sketch going up to a very early period; and I suppose we may take it from you that the habit of smoking opium and the cultivation of the poppy in China did not originate through the intercourse with Englishmen, but it began long before there was any intercourse between England and China?—I do not believe myself, I have seen no evidence to make me think, that opium was ever produced in China, excepting as a medicine, until after the rise of this habit of opium smoking in Formosa soon after 1700. It was at Amoy, in the fields about Amoy, that opium first began to be grown.

193. Is it within your personal knowledge that there has been any considerable increase in the cultivation of the poppy in China of recent years?—Yes; at present that is my own view. Of course every year the increase has gone on with accelerated rapidity, and to a greater extent; but in 1873, as my departure from the country drew near, I went for a couple of months up to the north, visiting the different mission stations at Shanghai, Chi-fu, Tientsin, and went on to Peking itself. In returning ~~on~~ ^{on} my way for England, I went from Peking by mule cart to the province of Shan-tung, and visited the old cemetery to see the grave of Confucius; and all the way from Peking I saw opium fields.

194. What is the distance?—Well, it took us 15 days, perhaps 40 or 50 miles a day, and as we drew near to a village of Ch'ü-fou, where Confucius had lived, and which is very much peopled by his descendants at the present day, I saw a field of opium bloom, and near by were a number of grey-headed men—old men—seated on a dyke, talking together.

Rev. J. Legge.
8 Sept. 1898.

I went up to them with my companion, who was the Rev. Dr. Edkins, and we expressed to them our sorrow at seeing the field of opium, especially so near the grave of Confucius himself. One of the old men, with quivering voice, said, "Yes, you are sorry; but I am more sorry!" He said, "My relatives, my friends, my family, have long dwelt here; our young people have grown up in decent, industrious, respectable habits, but they will not do so much longer." I was affected almost to tears by the feeling of the old man,—his feeling the injury that was being done by the growth of opium, and that the injury would extend to his descendants.

195. Was this man that you are speaking of one of the descendants of Confucius, do you say; did he claim that?—I do not know, but soon after that I asked one of the descendants of Confucius, who was one of my barrow-men in travelling to the Grand Canal, and he said there were about 40,000 of the same surname.

196. It becomes a sort of clan or tribe?—Then I went to the palace of his descendant, the only duke in China, who has got landed property.

197. Did you make any other journeys—inland journeys—in China, which would enable you to form an opinion as to the extent of the growth of the poppy?—No; but all along that way, from Peking to Shanghai, there was the opium growing. By that time the Yellow River, the river of China's sorrow, had changed its course, and instead of falling into the sea where it had done for more than a century, it had turned its course north. After crossing it just on the borders of Shan-tung—crossing its new course—then we went on and came to a high bank, from which we saw its old channel, through which for some 500 miles it had run on to the sea. There was the hollow of the old channel filled with fields—not absolutely filled—but dotted here and there with fields of the poppy plant in bright bloom. That was my experience. But of late years, in the great provinces of the West, the growth of opium has increased, extended. I should think, now that the opium supplied from the native fields is perhaps five times as much as what they get from India.

198. (Sir James Lyall.) I would like to ask one question: Is any alcoholic liquor drunk in China?—Very little. In 34 years, and often in very large cities, from Canton of a million and a half down to cities with a population of 200,000 and 300,000 persons, in those 34 years I never saw but one Chinaman drunk, and he was not very drunk.

199. What do you think is the reason that they avoid liquor and smoke opium? Is there any idea that one is disgraceful and the other not, or anything of that sort?—Their temperance is owing to their having drunk tea for 2,000 years, to the abundance of tea, and owing to the teaching of their schools. There is a great deal of moral training and moral feeling in China, much more than we are prepared to give them credit for.

200. Then with the moral training and moral feeling why does not that tell against the smoking of opium?—It does tell against the smoking of opium.

201. Not so successfully as against the liquor?—Though people have been enslaved, become victims to the habit themselves, they all speak against it, and lecture each other about it. Largely even as it has increased, I believe that the percentage of opium smokers in China is not more than 20 per cent. of the population; but it is increasing very largely from year to year, and the ruin of China becomes more alarming, more threatening to be irrecoverable.

202. I was in Japan last year, and in Japan opium is prohibited.—Yes, it is prohibited.

203. It always has been, but liquor is drunk everywhere, is procurable everywhere, and the Government raises an enormous revenue out of it?—If we could have had our way the Japanese would have been customers for our opium as much as the Chinese. Fortunately, the day before Lord Elgin concluded his Treaty in Japan, the American representative, who had seduced him into the legalization-action, at the tariff negotiations after the Treaty of Tientsin, completed his. Mr. Reed had concluded his treaty the day before Lord Elgin. In that treaty opium was prohibited, and an engagement came to by the Americans that they would not introduce opium into Japan.

204. Do you know the Chinese labourers very well; do you think there is any danger that, if opium was

prohibited, the Chinese would follow the Japanese example, and drink a great deal of liquor instead?—I cannot tell; I do not think they would, so long as they could get plenty of tea.

205. You know the Chinese officials very well, you know their habits and their character; do you think here is any probability of the Chinese Government ever stopping the growth of opium in China? Do you think it is probable?—Well, who can tell about the future? I hope, and I fear. I may be allowed, my Lord, to just refer in connection with this to a kindred subject. The question has often been put to me whether I thought that the opium smuggling had made us accountable for our first opium war; and I would like to give my view about that. The war was occasioned by two factors; one was the intolerable insolence of the Chinese in refusing to have intercourse with the representatives of England on terms of equality, and the other was our habit of smuggling. England had this grievance against China, of its arrogant insolence; China had this grievance against England, of its persistent smuggling; and, as between the two, I say that the persistent smuggling of England was a greater crime against humanity and against God, than the abominable arrogance of the Chinese; and we had no right to call by violence upon our country to make the Chinese Government change its insolent ways—we had no right to do that, until we could stand before them and say that we had given up this persistent habit of smuggling. In reading Sir John Davis' "History of China," in his account of the troubles that broke out after the arrival of Lord Napier, to supersede the East India Company's official supercargoes in the superintendence of the trade, I find he says, "As soon as ever he (Lord Napier) arrived, the trade became free." The consequence was that nearly every—I do not say every—Englishman, but scores of Englishmen in that part of the world who could manage to master enough to purchase a boat of their own, went into the smuggling trade, carried on their business not merely in the waters outside the port, but went also into the interior waters, until even the Chinese merchants and the superintendent there (Captain Elliot) began to get alarmed, and, after consultation with the English generally, Captain Elliot issued an edict to all those little smuggling parties, ordering them out of the inner water within three days, and he communicated to the Governor that he had done so, and offered him his assistance to suppress that abominable system of smuggling that was everywhere going on. Sir John Davis says that this was the only occasion on which the Canton Governor dispensed with the absurd practice of requiring the English superintendent to address the Mandarins, through the intervention of the Hong Kong merchants. He granted terms of equality on that occasion, so conscious was he of the virtue of the English superintendent in the offer which he had made to them.

206. (Chairman.) 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; that I think is agreed?—I wish it were so, my Lord, that we all look back with shame and regret upon the past. I believe you have stated correctly, that the question which is before us now, is the present and is—is the opium a thing that is doing good or doing evil?

207. You have very clearly told us, as the result of your long experience, and in your judgment, that opium does nothing but harm in China?—Nothing but harm; and therefore it is that I hailed the new departure which the Anti-Opium Society took in directing its operations specially to India, and proposing that the production of opium in India should be confined to what was necessary for medical purposes. The veil seemed to fall from my eyes, and I said to myself, "Now we have hit upon the right method; we strike at the evil in its very head; cut off, stop up the fountain of production in India, and the influence that goes out from us upon China will be for good and nothing but good!" And I myself have such confidence in the arrangements of Providence in the conduct of human affairs that I believe we should recover anything that we should lose, ten times.

208. (Sir James Lyall.) Would not that apply to the production of spirit, of rum, and whisky, and all those things that are produced in Europe, and are sent out to all sorts of countries? How do you draw the distinction? They do tremendous harm in India; at the

present day great harm is done by the importation of spirits—great harm is done to the Indians. What is the distinction?—I think better of spirits than you do, apparently, though I cannot say that I have ever seen my way clear to become a teetotaler; but two things that are bad will not make a third thing, that is worse, good. I have no reply to say, but "success to the teetotalers."

209. (*Mr. Pease.*) You stated that your observation had been, that persons who became smokers gradually came more and more under the influence of the opium?—Yes.

210. If it is stated by other witnesses that men go on from 15 to 16 years consuming the same quantity and not coming more under the influence of opium, do you say that that is contrary to your experience?—I never knew such a case; I never knew a man go on so long without injury. I have said that if a man is well off, otherwise able to feed well, able to keep himself well clothed, he may indulge in opium much longer than a poor man, on whom it works its natural effects, and who cannot defend himself against them. But of course, there is a danger to every man who indulges at all in drinking, whether it be spirits, liquors, or even beer; the less he takes of them the better; but it does not follow that he will go to ruin as the poor opium smoker does in China.

211. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) In your travels in China, have you ever come to a community where opium smoking might be said to be generalised, that is to say, generalised in the same way that the drinking of alcoholic stimulants is in this country?—Well, no, not in my travels in China. Happily, I have not met with any community so thoroughly debauched as that. Some-

The witness withdrew.

Dr. Maxwell called in and examined.

214. (*Chairman.*) I believe you are a master of arts and a doctor of medicine of Edinburgh?—Yes, my Lord.

215. And what is your present position?—My present position is secretary to the Medical Missionary Association in London.

216. And in earlier life what was your career?—From 1863 to 1885, excepting a long period of illness between 1874 and 1883, I was a medical missionary in the island of Formosa in South-Eastern China.

217. That long residence in Formosa put you into a position in which you could form a judgment as to the effects of the opium habit. Will you kindly tell us the conclusions to which you were brought?—I may first just state, my Lord, the kind of experience which as a medical missionary I was forced to have. I should say that every missionary whether medical or otherwise in China is forced to take note of the opium question, not only because he meets with opium victims, but because the rigid law of the Christian church in China is that no opium smoker shall, under any condition, be admitted to the church. He must form a judgment for himself of the grounds of that and approve it or otherwise. So that every missionary is involved, but especially a medical missionary, the moment he opens a dispensary, as I myself did in the seaport village of Takow in the island of Formosa in the year 1865. In the first four months of my dispensary practice there, out of 649 patients I think I had 247 who were opium smokers, and 109 of these came expressly to be cured of opium smoking, that is to ask my help for the cure of opium smoking. I took note of that, and three years later, or rather in the beginning of 1869, when I was permitted to return to the capital of Formosa, the city of Taiwan-foo, a city of 150,000 or 200,000 inhabitants, and opened a hospital there, in the first five months of my work there, I had 350 opium patients, that is patients who came expressly seeking help to be delivered from the bondage of the opium habit. Now this is the experience of every medical missionary in China. In the north and in the west and in the south wherever a medical missionary is planted he is beset by great numbers of people, men especially, who are seeking to be cured of the opium habit, and I calculate that no less than 30,000 patients a year pass through the hands of the medical missionaries alone, seeking deliverance from the habit; that is altogether apart from those who go to missionaries who have opened opium refuges and who are able to help them by means of the opium refuge, shutting up the patients for a certain number of days, and altogether apart from the very large numbers who go to Chinese practitioners seeking help from them.

80970.

times the condition does very much change; the Chinese population of Hong Kong has approached that. For instance, in 1844, the very year after Hong Kong—or, two years after Hong Kong—was ceded to us, an ordinance was passed by the Legislative Council, making Hong Kong the opium house for all China; and I think it was 10 opium houses which were at once licensed for the preparation of opium, and, often in the morning I have gone down from my own house on the hill, and walked along about a quarter of a mile of the Queen's Road where those houses were situated, and the air reeked with the effluvia of the boiling opium, and the greatest scandal very soon arose in connection with the system then adopted by the Hong Kong Government.

212. You suggested erroneously that sometimes even 20 per cent. of the population of China were opium smokers; that would be of the adults, I presume?—It may be so now, because, I believe, that through the home production the quantity of opium produced in China is perhaps five times that which comes from India. The inspector, Sir Robert Hart, made a calculation of the amount of opium imported from India, and how many people it would serve to afford smoking to, and I think it was only 1 per cent.; that is several years ago. But 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.

213. Is there any evidence that there is any national degeneration of health in China?—No; but all our medical missions are well employed, and Dr. Dudgeon, at Peking, has made a register of applicants and opium victims with their trades and their various engagements, which enables him to determine the proportions of different pursuits that are suffering from the habit.

The witness withdrew.

Rev. J. Legge.
8 Sept. 1894

Dr. Maxwell

In almost every city in China, and in the large villages, there are shops where medicines are sold expressly for the cure of the opium habit, by the Chinese themselves. All that will show you how full is the experience, at least of the medical missionaries, in relation to the habit.

218. What is the class of people who seek medical help with reference to opium, and what are their motives for coming to seek for professional assistance?—The class of people is the working class; the small shopkeepers, coolies or labourers, ordinary artisans and the working class generally, the poorer class, not the wealthier class, these are the parties who come into our hands and it is upon them of course that the habit presses most severely, just by reason of their comparatively limited income.

219. Do you take it that the use of opium in a measurable per-centage is more prevalent among the poorer class than it is among the well-to-do class?—According to per-centage, I do not know. Of course, a vast number of the people in China belong to the comparatively poorer class, agriculturalists and working men, and it is amongst them that the missionaries have their chief labour. It is not amongst the wealthier class. But we know it as a fact that large numbers of the wealthier classes do take opium, but comparatively few of them come into our hands. You asked me a question which I have failed to answer, and that was as to the motives of those working people for seeking help. The motives were these: Some of them came because they had, in the first instance, begun to take opium for the pleasure which it gives. They had found that after a year or two years, the pleasure had entirely passed away, and that they were now under a condition in which they were without the pleasure of the habit, and were yet unable to give it up because of the difficulty, the pain of giving it up, and they came seeking help for that purpose. Others came who had been, in the first instance, recommended to take opium by Chinese doctors, or by their neighbours or friends for some complaints, such as dyspepsia or neuralgia, or something of that kind, and they found themselves, according to their own statement, worse off now that the habit was upon them than with the previous disease from which they had suffered. Others, again, came at the urgent solicitation of their parents or of their friends, who knew the tendency of the habit to grow worse and worse, and to land them, finally, into abject poverty or something like that. A few, I will say a few, came who were satisfied of the moral degradation

C

Dr. Maxwell.

8 Sept. 1893.

of the habit and who felt the moral degradation of it, and desired to be delivered from it on that account, and a very large number came because of the pressure of their financial condition. They found that the use of opium was absorbing so much of their daily wage that they were unable to sustain their families and themselves in anything like ordinary comfort. These were the general motives which brought those people to seek our help.

220. Can you, from your experience in Formosa, draw a contrast between the effects of the opium habit and the effects of tobacco smoking or of dram drinking?—In Formosa men and women alike smoke tobacco, and I think that that custom is pretty characteristic of the whole of the south of China. They all smoke tobacco, and during ten years' work in the island of Formosa I never had a patient who wanted to be rescued from the habit of tobacco smoking, nor did I ever hear it suggested that tobacco was a curse. Amongst ourselves there were, even amongst missionaries, some who used tobacco. It never crossed their minds for a moment that anything like church discipline should be exercised upon smokers of tobacco. On the other hand, the Chinese themselves have no hesitation in speaking of the opium habit as a curse and as a pest, and we, as missionaries, were not only for our own sakes compelled to take notice of Chinese opinion, but using our own judgment to recognise that it was practically a moral curse to many people in China. In that respect the gravity of opium smoking as compared with tobacco smoking is very manifest, not only in the judgment of the people, but also in its effects. I should say that the tobacco that is used in Formosa is a light tobacco, and when they would smoke they would not smoke so much at a time as we would, but they would smoke very frequently, though they never dream of anything like inability to give it up if they choose to give it up. They would not require to go to you for help to give it up, but the opium smoker is compelled to come to us for such help. Then with regard to the dram drinking, I think that the habit of spirit drinking is more common in South China than Professor Legge seemed to indicate, in what I heard him say a few moments ago. Certainly in Formosa there is a considerable amount of spirit made from the rice and that is used by the natives. I do not know that I have ever seen a drunken man on the streets. I have seen again and again men excited by liquor, and I am quite satisfied in connection with the use of opium and the opium habit the practice of liquor drinking is growing; that instead of its tending to diminish, it is tending to increase in China the habit of liquor drinking. At the same time, I never had a patient who came to me asking for help to be delivered from the curse of dram drinking, who felt it to be a curse, and amongst us, as missionaries, we never felt that we had any occasion to make that a matter of church discipline, as we had to do in the case of opium smokers. In these respects I think there is a very distinct comparison showing the superior gravity in the minds of the Chinese, as well as in the minds of those who go to work amongst them, of opium smoking, as compared with either tobacco smoking or dram drinking.

221. You have spoken of large numbers of persons coming to you for help to overcome the opium habit. Now were those seekers for help to any considerable extent persons who were only occasional consumers of the drug as distinct from habitual consumers?—They were all habitual consumers, and I think it is hardly right to speak of occasional consumers. We do not call a man an opium smoker who is not a habitual consumer, and except a number of merchants who know the danger of the drug and of becoming enslaved, and who, perhaps, in connection with their business will occasionally take a smoke with a customer knowing well the danger, but refusing to take it day by day, there are no parties whom you would speak of as occasional consumers. The ordinary use is habitual consumption, that is to say, daily consumption, once or twice or thrice a day. I am speaking of working men, and those who come to us are working men. They would be consuming day after day a mace, that is about 60 gr., or two mace, or even three mace. We reckon that between one and three mace a day was what would be called the minimum average of the habitual opium smoker, about say 70 gr. or 80 gr. in the course of the day. That would be a minimum average, for those who are under the habit of the drug.

222. What you call slaves to the drug?—Slaves to the drug quite as much as if they took an ounce

of the drug. If a man took the minimum average of the habitual opium smoker, I would say you could not distinguish the difference between him and the man who took an ounce of the drug. A mace or a mace and a half is quite sufficient to make a person come under the habit of the drug, so that he is a slave to the drug; and when I use the phrase "slave to the drug" the meaning is this, that if for any reason he desires to give it up as from financial considerations or from moral considerations, he finds himself face to face with a physical ordeal that is so severe that he cannot manage it.

223. Great suffering is involved?—Great suffering.

224. What is the nature of the suffering?—The nature of the suffering is this. If a man passes the time of his usual participation in the drug and does not receive it, does not get it, he begins as I have often seen in the case of Chinese teachers, to gape and yawn and to show a very large amount of lassitude, and if this is continued and he does not receive his regular dose, his eyes begin to run, his nose begins to run, he begins to have more or less of colicky pains in the bowels, his bones begin to ache, he is not able to pull himself together either physically or mentally, and he is unable to sleep, he is unable to do work, and he is thoroughly miserable, and if this is continued, as has happened again and again, both in India and China and in England, persons who are in the habit of using opium in that way and cannot get their usual supply have even killed themselves rather than endure the suffering. There was a case which occurred a few months ago in Birmingham where a man cut his throat. He was carried into the General Hospital in Birmingham, and when asked by the doctor there why it was that he had been so foolish as to commit suicide in this way, or at least to attempt suicide (he did ultimately die) his statement was that for three years he had been an opium-eater and had reached the length of something like 80 gr., that his funds had failed, and that his agony had become such, owing to the want of opium, that, rather than endure the continual suffering, he cut his throat. Now in India and in China we have not the least doubt that there are many such cases; but that is a general description of the kind of suffering through which they have to pass. Many have tried to cure themselves, but they have found themselves, as a rule at least, unable to do so, and they come to us for help in order to be liberated from this bondage.

225. Can you describe to us the physical evils which result from the use of opium?—I am speaking of what I myself have seen and of my own practice. Besides this imperious grip which is a very marked feature of the opium habit as contrasted with other habits, and which I think puts opium out of the ordinary category of luxuries, a grip which the partaker of it cannot overcome in his ordinary strength, I found in most of the patients who came to me seeking help that they were more or less emaciated. I will not call it extreme emaciation, but they were undoubtedly less in flesh than they ought to have been in the circumstances of their age and condition, and one of my rules with my opium patients was this (I had no wards in which I could secure them so that I could overlook the cure, and I was obliged to give them medicine, to take home with them to use; they had to pay for those medicines in order to be prevented from simply playing upon the doctor), I warned them that if in a fortnight or three weeks "you don't begin to put on flesh I know you are deceiving me, and I will refuse to give you any further medicine." I think we may take it that amongst the working men, in very large numbers at least, emaciation is one of the characteristics of the opium habit. It has been put down by some missionaries, notably Dr. Pritchard, of Peking, that the average degree of leanness caused by the habit amongst working men patients is something like 20 lbs., that is they were about 20 lbs. less than the ordinary weight of men of their age, owing to their connection with the habit. Then besides physical emaciation the opium patient suffers from a susceptibility to intercurrent diseases, such as ordinary patients are not equally liable to, at least. In tropical countries like South China we have fevers coming oftentimes epidemically as well as endemic fevers. We have dysentery and we have cholera, and our experience is that opium patients are susceptible to those diseases and fall under them; I mean succumb to them in a very extraordinary degree above the way in which other persons would succumb to them. Their vitality is very much lessened,

and we see the same feature of weakened vitality in the liability of many of these opium smokers to carbuncles of a very severe kind, and to ulcers and to other things of that kind indicating more or less weakened vitality, and we have also an opium diarrhoea to which they are subject. Of course I should say first that the ordinary opium smoker is liable to a degree of constipation which is very abnormal. He will not have his bowels moved perhaps once in five or six days, sometimes even as seldom as twice in a month. But along with that he is liable from time to time to attacks of severe diarrhoea, and many opium patients are cut off by diarrhoea. Of course when a patient is attacked by diarrhoea opium is our sheet anchor and often with dysentery also; but in our case of opium patients it is not of the slightest use. Opium patients are in that way excluded from any benefit that the ordinary patient suffering from diarrhoea or dysentery might derive from the drug. That is one of the ways in which a large number of our opium patients die, from diarrhoea or dysentery, and those are the physical evils which I think we see most manifest in them, many things betokening a weakened vitality. And if you ask whether opium patients die, I would admit that we do not see many opium patients dying directly from the use of opium unless from starvation. There are many that die from starvation in connection with opium. We see them in the streets in the great cities of China lying dying there, not able to work; and they are not able to get food, and they will put out their hands craving for opium, and if you go round next day, perhaps you will find the body lying dead in the street. Many die in that way, but most patients dying through opium die through their liability to diseases coming upon them in their weakened vital condition, and so carrying them off.

226. Then as to the moral evil?—As to the moral evils of the opium smoker, I should explain that many of the young men are tempted to begin to smoke opium because of their knowledge, communicated to them by others, of the way in which it ministers to sensuality. There is no question of that fact, that it does minister to sensuality; and they begin very largely in order to have what they think will be very much sensual enjoyment. That is a moral degradation. Then we find that with the habitual opium smoker there is in some way or other a tendency to falsehood. I do not know how to explain it, but it is the case; with habitual drunkards the same thing is the case, the distinction between truth and falsehood becomes very much weakened, and we find it also with the habitual opium smoker, and the tendency to deceit is more marked in them. Then the habit of indolence is one of the features which we should speak of as one of the moral evils. An opium smoker, if he consumes a mace of opium of the prepared extract, must spend at least an hour over it, and if he is consuming, say, at three smokes in the day, at least three mace of opium in the day, he will spend an hour in the morning, an hour in the middle of the day, and an hour in the evening over this habit. There is thus a large amount of time consumed. And it is not simply the time that is consumed then, but before he settles down to his opium he has already come under the lassitude of the want of his opium, and he is not as fit for working for some time proceeding his getting his dose as he would be if he were not an opium smoker. Then perhaps the worst evil, taking the community all round, is the terrible selfishness which a habit having such a grip upon the patient induces upon him. He must have his craving satisfied, and the result is (and we must sympathise with it, he cannot help it, it is the result of the physical craving) because of the intensity of this physical craving he sets at naught his family claims, his wife's claims upon him, his children's claims upon him, claims of respectability; all those have to go to the wall before the imperious craving under which he has given way. We have no hesitation as missionaries in looking upon the opium habit, in the simplest forms, as one which we dare not trifle with. The native Christian Church would not suffer us to admit the opium smokers if we ourselves were inclined to admit them. They would say, "We as heathens looked upon it as immoral," and surely as Christians could not do less.

227. What have you to say to us as to the social evils?—I have mentioned already the social evil in connection with the selfishness, but there is another feature of it. Only this week I had a letter from one of my colleagues in Tai-wan-foo—he has been there for 14 years—in which he speaks of a conversation which he had held with a chemist in the city of Tai-wan-foo, a chemist who

20 years ago was my own assistant in hospital. I should say he himself had been an opium smoker, knew what opium smoking was, and was saved from the opium vice by the help I was able to render him. He later on had set up as a chemist, and had a very large amount of commerce as a chemist in the city, and knew pretty intimately the people of the city, both the well-to-do and others; and in this conversation this Chinaman expressed to Mr. Barclay, my colleague, his concern at the large number of wealthy families who had, since he himself had set up in business, gone to the wall, and he had no hesitation in putting it down to the abuse of opium. When other Chinese, who were referred to in connection with this conversation, were asked their opinion on the subject, why it was that so many of the wealthy families in Tai-wan-foo had gone down, they also said it was from opium. That is one manifestation of the social effect upon them. I have seen the same described by Archdeacon Wolfe, of Foochow; I have seen mention made by him of villages where the opium habit was peculiarly prevalent, and the description of which, for dirt and, for poverty, exceeded the description of any ordinary village, in relation to these things, in China. And I remember one of the missionaries in Manchuria, describing the city, Hai-chung, I think it was, not very far from Meekden, in which the general opinion expressed by the people was that their city had rapidly gone down through the large amount of opium consumed by them.

228. It has been contended that opium is a very necessary remedy in countries which are much subjected to malaria. Now, what is your view on that?—I have a very decided view on that, my Lord. Formosa is perhaps the most malarious district in South China, all my patients were more or less under the influence of malarious disease. As missionaries it is the chief ailment under which we ourselves come, some form of malarious disease, and we look upon all the Chinese there as being more or less saturated with malarious poison. I could not treat diseases of the kidneys, and oftenness of the eyes, with any hope of success until I had put the patient under the influence of quinine, so that other remedies might be able to work; the remedies would not take effect until I had got these patients under the influence of quinine. I mention that to show how prevalent malaria is in Formosa. Well, during 10 years in Formosa I never once heard it mentioned by a Chinaman or suggested by a Chinaman that opium was ever taken as a prophylactic for fever. They would say they had taken it for malarial pains; to soothe their lassitude, or the pains produced by malaria, but they never, and I am certain I should have heard of it from someone or other, said that it was reckoned by them to be a prophylactic for fever. Then, again, among my patients I had a very large number of opium-smoking patients, who were suffering from fever, and whom I had to treat with quinine just as I treated other patients, and who recovered from their fever under the influence of quinine. Some patients died in the hospital. I remember one especially who came to me in the last stage of fever, I saw he was dying when he came into the hospital, but upon that poor fellow, even though he was in the act of death, the craving for opium came to such an extent that I was obliged to break my usual rule of forbidding opium in the hospital and procure an opium pipe for him and opium in order to soothe his last moments. I came to the conclusion, therefore, that there was nothing like a prophylactic in the use of opium, so far as fever is concerned, in malarial disease. Then all my brethren in China, the medical missionaries, would have no hesitation in confirming what I say when I aver that in Shen-si and in Shan-si, two of the provinces of China which are on a very high altitude, something like 3,000 or 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, and where malaria is not to be found at all, they have a much greater prevalence of the opium habit than in the malarial provinces of South China. This is well known to all who are labouring in China, and we never dream in China of attaching any thought to opium as a prophylactic for fever. And while speaking of that I think it should be kept in mind by the members of the Commission that in Burmah, in the valley of the Irrawaddy, a notoriously malarious region, Akyab, one of the chief cities of Arakan, is a notoriously malarious town. Yet it was at Akyab that the respectable members of the community entreated Sir Charles Aitchison to take away opium, saying that they would pay an increased tax if only he would take away opium. If they had felt that opium was of any value to them in saving them from

Dr. Maclell.

8 Sept. 1892.

Marcell.
Sept. 1893.

fever, and there is a great deal of fever and dysentery in that region, they would scarcely, I think, have done that, and I cannot see how our Government could be at liberty to take away from a people that which is likely to serve as a great prophylactic for fever, simply to please the people in the matter, as if it were a thing of no importance. I think we may take it for granted that there is nothing to be said for opium as a prophylactic for fever.

229. Then with reference to the consumption of Indian opium in China, what do you say about that?—In Formosa no opium is grown; the opium which is there is Indian opium; the opium used by the coolies is Indian opium; whether used by wealthy people or the poorer people it was all Indian opium. When I was in difficulties myself for opium to use for medicine, if my own stock of Smyrna opium was run out—opium I got from this country—I would purchase a quantity of Indian opium, and found it quite as effectual for my purpose as the Smyrna opium, at least it served my purpose either for pill-making or any other opium use that I desired. I think it is unfair, historically, to speak of Indian opium in China as being, when compared with other opium, what champagne is to other wines, for this reason that at no very far back date, about 1863 say or 1864, Indian opium was the only opium in the market in China. I hold in my hand an extract from the China Yellow Book of 1887. The China Yellow Book is the book issued by Sir Robert Hart, as the Commissioner of Imperial Customs. And in the issue of 1887 he draws a comparison between 1863 and 1887 to show the rapid spread of native opium over China. For example, we read with regard to New-chwang, which is the port of Manchuria, in the extreme north of China. In 1863 the record of the Commissioner of Customs was: "No native opium in use at this port during the year 1863." In 1887: "Native opium is both grown and consumed in this province. Of smokers who indulge in the vice in their own houses 90 per cent. smoke the native drug." Again: "Opium is very extensively grown in this province" (Manchuria). And again: "The present annual production of the three Eastern provinces is estimated at 8,000 piculs," a picul being 133 lbs. So that between 1863 and 1887 you have a very marked comparison between the use of native opium and the use of Indian opium. In 1863 it was all Indian opium.

230. (*Sir James Lyall.*) That is in the South?—In the extreme south of Manchuria.

231. You do not mean to say that there was no opium in the interior of China in 1863?—I am speaking just now of one province, Manchuria.

232. The sea coast?—The sea coast, and leading up to Kirin as far north as Kirin. In 1864, according to the Commissioner of Customs' report, "native opium in Tientsin is not widely used." But in 1887 "Production of native opium in North China is very large, and for every chest of foreign opium imported, at least nine chests of native opium are consumed." I draw attention to this to show that the rapid growth of opium in China belongs to the last 30 years, that though known in the interior of China before that, between 1840 and 1860 when the Tientsin Treaty was formed, the native opium was not widely used. There had been a very decided increase in such provinces as Szechuen and Yun-nan and Kwei-chow, but still the growth was comparatively limited. The great increase begins from the date about 1863, until now it is so large. Che-foo in 1864; "the consumption of native opium at this port during the past year has been so small that it may be returned at nil. It is brought here from Shen-si, Shan-si, and Yun-nan." "Native opium is known at Che-foo in 1887. It is extensively produced in this province," that is the province of Shan-tung. And again: "In seven years the annual importation of foreign opium has fallen off by 3,468 piculs." "The boys, when they learn to smoke use the native opium. Opium smoking is not decreasing; it is increasing. For each picul of foreign opium which is consumed in the Che-foo supplied districts there are about 10 piculs of native consumed." And so over Hankow, Kiu-kiang, Chin-kiang, Shanghai, and Ning-po, all leading places. What I want to draw attention to is this, that the Indian opium has been excluded, not because of its price so much, or that it was of a fine quality, but because native opium has only come to the front in these last 30 years, and it is the rapid growth of native opium that has diminished the consumption of Indian opium so very much in various parts in China.

233. (*Chairman.*) Would you draw the inference that that tendency is likely to continue?—I do think so.

234. That the Indian supply will become less and less important?—That the Indian supply is likely to become less and less as the native opium is more and more cultivated.

235. India, so far as it seeks a market in China, is likely to find less and less a good market, I mean to say that the consumption will be met by local supplies?—I do believe so, that it will be met by local supplies. In any case, I think it is hardly a fair comparison, historically, to speak of Indian opium as being like champagne amongst other wines, because that leads the public generally to think that native opium has been existing for a very lengthened period of time, and that Indian opium has always taken this position as being a sort of superior opium; whereas the history of the traffic is that Indian opium is being driven out by the rapid growth of the native opium.

236. What is the view held by opium smokers and by non-opium smokers in China as to the morale of the opium habit?—With regard to opium smokers themselves, there are very few who will not acknowledge it to be a vice of which they are heartily sorry, and which they grieve over themselves. That does not imply that they will face the giving of it up, but I am quite satisfied that if you were to appeal in any part of China to an habitual opium smoker, he would say "I am under the power of a vicious habit." And for non-opium smokers there is no question at all as to their opinion. It is looked upon as a vice and nothing but a vice, and those who take to it are considered to be on the high road to ruin. To give you just one most recent instance, I had in my house, about three months ago, a heathen China woman.

237. (*Mr. Pease.*) In London?—In London. She was from Formosa, that was the reason I saw her at my house, and I asked her the question, "Do any of your relatives smoke opium?" She said, "No," most emphatically. "Does your stepson not smoke opium?" (I knew she had a stepson). She said "No. I knew that once or twice he had been tempted by friends to take it for pleasure, (thit-thó, as we say) and I told him at once" (he was a married man, living in her house), "that if he put his mouth to an opium pipe, he would march out of my house immediately." This was a poor woman, yet showing what the view of the non-opium smoker is with regard to the habit coming upon relatives.

238. (*Chairman.*) In what respect does the Indian opium traffic tend to hinder the work of the Christian missionary in China?—In two ways. First, because it has raised up against us a great wall of prejudice amongst the educated community. It is unquestionably clear to all who have lived long in China that the educated portion of the community, who know what our relations to Indian opium and the object of the Chinese wars were, look upon us as the destroyers of their country, and openly say so. That is one very great reason why we send so few goods to them and that we have not sent so varied and large an amount of goods as we ought to have. But then there is the other reason. Suppose that there are no fewer than 20,000,000 or 25,000,000 of opium smokers in China, we look upon every opium smoker as being further away from susceptibility, if I may use the word, to listen to an appeal to conscience or to listen to the appeals of the Gospel, as compared with any other people in China.

239. (*Mr. Pease.*) Do you limit the number in China to the number you mentioned?—25,000,000. Then we feel that looking upon it as an immoral habit we are put in a very gravely false position, that our Government in India should be seeking year by year to increase the number of opium smokers as it does by this trade, not directly so far as the Government is concerned, but by the trade itself the action of the Indian Government is to multiply opium smokers, whilst we are compelled as missionaries to occupy the position of excluding everyone who comes under the power of that habit from the Christian church. You will recognise what I mean and the difficult position in which we are placed as missionaries.

240. Well now then, turning to the opinion of the medical profession as to the habitual use of opium, what would your view be of the state of opinion in this country?—If I were to appeal as I appealed to-day on my way to the Commission, to a medical practitioner

whom I happened to meet, if I were to appeal to any medical practitioner in this country, whether he would look upon it with an easy mind, if any relative of his were to take to the practice of laudanum drinking or of morphia injecting I think I would get the answer which I got from him. "Certainly not." We medical practitioners should regard it with very deep concern indeed, I am quite satisfied that, if any relative or friend, or patient were coming under what we call the opium habit in the way of taking to the immoderate use of laudanum or to the habit of injecting morphia under the skin. To show just what we think of it as medical men in this country, would you allow me to read one sentence from our pharmacological text book, perhaps the leading one in this country, the one by Dr. Lauder Brunton. "When opium is first taken its action is to stimulate and afterwards depress. To remove this depression the individual takes another dose; the habit of taking the drug thus becomes established, the nervous system suffers, the mental powers become enfeebled, the moral faculties perverted, and there is inability to distinguish between truth and falsehood." This is what we have in our leading text-book on pharmacology in this country. Then we have had at least two pronouncements in this country—they are very distinct pronouncements—on the subject of the habitual use of opium in any form. The first of these is the testimony of the late Sir Benjamin Brodie and of 24 distinguished medical practitioners of London. It was given in the year 1843 when Lord Ashley brought forward his first motion against the opium monopoly. His motion was that the opium monopoly should cease and active steps should be taken to bring the growth of the poppy in India to an end, so far at least as went beyond medical purposes. This is what Sir Benjamin Brodie testified to: "How- ever valuable opium may be when employed as an article of medicine, it is impossible for anyone who is acquainted with the subject to doubt that the habitual use of it is productive of the most pernicious consequences, destroying the healthy action of the digestive organs, weakening the powers of the mind as well as the body, and rendering the individual who indulges himself in it a worse than useless member of society. I cannot but regard those who promote the use of opium as an article of luxury as inflicting a most serious injury on the human race." This was signed by Sir Benjamin Brodie and by 24 of the most distinguished members of the Faculty in London, such as Dr. R. Bright, F.R.S.; Dr. P. Latham; Dr. Chambers, F.R.S.; Mr. B. Liston, F.R.S.; Dr. Ferguson, F.R.S.; Sir C. Locock, Bart.; Sir J. Forbes, F.R.S.; Dr. McLeod; Dr. Glendinning, F.R.S.; Mr. J. C. Moore; Dr. Gregory; Dr. Paris, F.R.S.; Sir H. Halford, Bart., F.R.S.; Dr. R. T. Thomson; Dr. Hodgkin, F.R.S.; Mr. F. Tyrrell; Mr. Caesar Hawkins, F.R.S.; Dr. B. Travers, F.R.S.; Sir H. Holland, Bart., F.R.S.; Dr. J. T. Watson, F.R.S.; Mr. Ashton Key; Mr. Antony White; Dr. James Johnston; Dr. J. C. B. Williams, F.R.S. That is one of the testimonies from this country. Then here is another, my Lord, which I had a hand in securing myself, a declaration of opinion by over 5,000 medical men of Great Britain and Ireland, in answer to an appeal to the profession which was issued in December 1891. There are over 5,000 signatures to this of members of the profession in Great Britain and Ireland, and amongst these 5,000 there are 10 Fellows of the Royal Society; 14 teachers of materia medica; the three representatives of the profession in England who sit on the General Medical Council; the president of the Royal College of Physicians of Scotland; 23 members of the profession who have practised in India, four of whom have been professors in medical colleges in India, and one a late reporter on economic products to the Government of India; 12 members of the profession who have practised in China; 21 heads of asylums; four natives of India. These I have picked out of the midst of them, and I do not know that in the history of the profession on any question of social or moral interest there ever has been a paper which has been signed by such a vast number of my professional brethren as this paper against the opium traffic. What they declare in this declaration of opinion is as follows:—"We, the undersigned members of the medical profession, are of opinion:—First: That the habit of opium smoking or of opium eating is morally and physically debasing; Second: That the unrestrained sale of such a drug as opium is immediately associated with many and grave dangers to the well being of the people of India; Third: That the drug, opium, ought in India, as in England, to be classed

and sold as a poison, and be purchasable from chemists only; Fourth: That the Government of India should prohibit the growth of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium, except as required for medical purposes."

Dr. Maxwell,
8 Sept. 1898.

241. Then as to the opinion of the medical profession in India?—I have with me here a petition 'to the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled. The petition of the undermentioned members of the medical profession in the Bombay Presidency, India,' going over what I have stated to you myself as some of the characteristics affecting opium smokers and opium eaters, and signed by 49 members of the profession, all natives, living apparently in the city of Bombay. Some of them have taken their degrees in this country, some of them are graduates of the Grant Medical College of Bombay, and others are licentiates of medicine and surgery, and one or two are licentiates of medicine only; but these are all medical men and native medical men in that one city, and I think if so many native practitioners in a single city would put their names to a petition of this kind it shows a very large amount of feeling in India itself in regard to this subject.

242. (Sir W. Roberts.) Is that petition the same as the other one?—No, sir.

243. (Chairman.) Have you anything to say as to medical opinion in China?—Attached to the other one signed by over 5,000 of the profession in this country, you will find on the second last page the opinion of four men who represent fields of labour in North, South, and Central China. I have taken these and put them separately, my Lord, because it is the only way in which I could bring before you the opinions of the medical profession in China. There are now in China about 110 medical men, including perhaps about 20 medical women, all of them fully qualified, practising as medical missionaries in China.

244. (Mr. Pease.) Europeans?—Europeans and Americans. All of these are of one mind, I have not the slightest hesitation in saying, with the four who happened to be in this country at the time and to whom I sent the appeal as was sent to the other medical practitioners in this country. I sent round the appeal to all the members of the profession in this country. They write as follows: "We, the undersigned medical missionaries, about to return to our fields of labour in different parts of China, cordially agree with the declaration of opinion as above." That is with regard to the four points that I have read. "Further, we believe that we express the unanimous opinion of the medical missionaries labouring in China, now numbering about 110, when we add that it is difficult to speak too strongly of the physical and moral evil, and of the social misery which is being wrought in China by the wide spread and increasing indulgence in the use of opium." One of these gentlemen belongs to the province of Canton, another hails from the Che-Kiang province, and another comes from the most northern part, Kirin in Manchuria. This is the testimony of the medical profession which comes closest to the Chinese in the way of seeing them in their daily life, speaking the language and having continual intercourse with them.

245. (Sir W. Roberts.) The signatories of the petition from Bombay are almost entirely natives?—Natives.

246. (Chairman.) There is one more point on which you wish to make a statement, and perhaps you could make it briefly and in answer to one question; what is the view that you wish to present to us with reference to the freedom of China for taking action to exclude opium under treaties?—I want to say very definitely, my Lord, that I hold that China is not free, and that I think such statements as those of Sir James Ferguson and also of the late Under-Secretary for India, Mr. Curson, 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.

247. Those gentlemen of whom we speak were the official representatives of the Foreign Office speaking in their official position and on their official responsibility in the House of Commons?—Well, I speak from the point of view of China. I quite admit with Sir James Ferguson that anything like a direct war on the ground of opium would, in the present feeling in

Maxwell.
pt. 1893.

this country, be impossible; but that does not mean that China is free. China is free, if you like, to do what Russia did in the matter of the Black Sea, to denounce the Treaty and take the risks; but that is very different from saying that China is free, and China is not Russia.

248. These are matters all outside of the purview of the Commission, purely inquiring into the opium question. I mean, we cannot help allowing our minds to engage themselves in some speculation as to the political position, but after all, it is a matter of speculation. But I suppose that you would agree with me that a declaration of war on our part against China, if China took the step of denouncing these treaties, would be received with great resentment by public feeling in this country?—I quite agree.

249. (*Sir James Lyall.*) It would not be necessary to denounce the treaty at all, I understand?—China is bound to us just now.

250. I understand all the authorities said it is not at all necessary to denounce the treaty?—But we have the treaty.

251. Under the Che-foo Convention they can simply give notice?—I have the terms of the Che-foo Convention in my pocket, sir.

252 and 253. (*Chairman.*) Will you make your statement of your view shortly to the Commission. I, as chairman, will take care that the matter is referred to the Foreign Office?—As I understand, at present China is bound to us by the Che-foo Agreement of 1855 or 1856; and according to the Che-foo Agreement, as I read it here, "in the event of the termination of the present additional article, the arrangement with regard to opium now in force under the regulations attached to the treaty of Tien-tsin shall revive." So far from China being free, if she choose, by giving notice, to withdraw from the Che-foo Convention, all that she could do would be to come under the power of the Tientsin Treaty, which is a very much worse position for her than the present position under which she is under the terms of the Che-foo article; and I do not think any one can read the history of the negotiations which ended in 1855, in the signing of the Che-foo article, without recognizing that China did not get what she expected to get, and what she claimed in the first instance when that Convention was entered upon by Sir Thomas Wade with her in the year 1876. According to the original design, what Sir Thomas Wade agreed to move his Government to secure for China was that all opium coming into China should pass into bond, and that the import duty should not be paid until a purchaser should be found, and that then the Likin duty, or the local taxation, should be paid at the same time. This was what Sir Thomas Wade said he would move our Government to give to China in return for what she did for us in the way of commercial concessions when the Che-foo Convention was entered upon. If she had got that, which I think was a fair claim, we would say at least it would have been fair, the right to have opium brought into bond and to have the local taxation paid by the purchaser when it was taken out of bond, it would have been all right. The Indian Government refused to agree to those terms because as it was alleged the Chinese Government could at once raise the local taxation to what would be a prohibitory point upon Indian opium. The local taxation was in its own hand and if it could secure by the putting of opium into bond that there should be no smuggling, and there could not be any smuggling after that, then it would be possible by raising the local taxation to exclude Indian opium, and the Chinese made no secret that that was within their view. The Indian Government refused to enter upon any such arrangement, and the negotiations went on from 1877 till 1885 before any settlement could be reached, and the final settlement that was reached was the commutation of the local taxation making it equal all over the country, but making it payable at the time when the import duty, and amounting to 80 additional taels. But that was not what the Chinese first proposed themselves. When negotiations were first entered upon the Viceroy Tso asked for 120 taels; and when that was refused by Great Britain it was on the ground that that would make it prohibitory to Indian opium, and the Viceroy said, "Yes, and that is what we should like to have it in our power to do." Finally Li Hung Chang, the present Viceroy of Chili-li, came down to 80 taels. But it took years before our Government agreed to the 80 taels. China did not get her full demand. She

got what she demanded when she put her foot down and said, "We will not go lower." She got that. But we cannot look upon that as reaching the full claim of China. China is not free to take action unless England takes action with her.

254. (*Sir James Lyall.*) That is quite contrary to what has been said in Parliament?—Quite contrary. I admit that it is quite contrary. But I am quite satisfied of my position.

255. Then you think nobody in the House knew it?—I think that I can only state what I believe to be correct.

256. All you can ask the Commission to do is to make an inquiry at the Foreign Office?—Most surely.

257. (*Sir William Roberts.*) I was very much struck with your statement that no special organic disease is found after death in the opium smoker—anything like cirrhosis after spirit drinking or the numerous other things?—You should remember that we have no means in China of pathological examinations; and my own conviction is that when the time comes that we shall have that, it will be found that we have more organic disease than is yet known.

258 and 259. Did you form any opinion of the proportion of opium smokers—I mean systematic opium smokers—to the rest of the population in Formosa?—In the city of Tai-wan-foo we considered that at least one-third of the adult male population were opium smokers.

260. Had any change taken place during your experience in the smoking of opium—I mean had it decreased much or increased much?—I should say it had steadily increased and is increasing still.

261. Was there any possibility of getting facts as to the state of the public health in Formosa?—Only by such inquiries as we ourselves could make through Chinese Christians and others; there are no statistics that would give us any such results.

262. Have you drawn a distinction in your mind between opium smoking and opium eating?—I have. I incline to think that so far as the evil goes that opium eating will be found in the long run—I know that I am on a little difficult ground—but I believe that opium eating is more difficult to cure than even opium smoking.

263. Have you formed any opinion as to whether the effect of opium—the total effect, in every way, physical and moral, varies much with the race?—I do believe that the Chinese, as a race, bear opium better than the Burmese. But it is a comparative quantity. I have no hesitation in agreeing with Dr. Legge that in China opium is an evil, and only an evil.

264. (*Sir James Lyall.*) You mentioned the effect in hindering—there was some effect in hindering—the spread of Christianity, owing to the prejudice against the English from the action of India with the opium trade in China. Well, are you aware that practically the Government of India's action as to the export of opium from India amounts practically to this—that it arranges that no opium shall go out of India unless it has paid in the first place a very heavy duty?—I am quite aware of it.

265. So that it immensely raises the price before it can get out of India, is the general result of its action?—Yes.

266. For instance, with regard to the English export trade of spirits, it goes out absolutely free of all duty?—But I remember also that in India the opium trade is a Government monopoly, and that all the money goes into the Indian Treasury.

267. The duty does?—The duty does. The Government is the merchant.

268. But its action is not to allow it to go out until it has paid a very oppressive duty?—That I know.

269. Whereas spirits, for instance, from England go out to Africa, to India, to other places, as I understand, free of duty, that is they are in bond; they pass out in bond; there is no duty on them at all. Why is it and where is it fair that the one thing should be supposed to create such a prejudice as to hinder the spread of Christianity, while the other thing has not that effect at all?—The prejudice is caused by the war.

270. The war themselves?—You see there were two wars.

271. I think we all agree in deploring the war?—Well, but the prejudice has arisen from that—the prejudice against us.

272. At present it would not be fair—at least judging from that comparison—to look with prejudice upon opium, and not to look with prejudice upon the much worse case, from my point of view, of spirits?—If you ask my personal opinion, I would say there may be a difference. I do not look upon opium as I look upon spirits. Opium and spirits are two different things.

273. You think that in Formosa the injury done to the men who smoke is much worse than the injury done to those who drink spirits?—In this sense, that it is far more deeply seated; and there is no moderation. We here in this country would never dream of allowing our children to take opium as they take beer. We should not for a moment think of such a thing.

274. Do they in Formosa allow the children to take opium?—They do not allow them. But many children learn pretty young; the thing is all round them, and they can easily get at it. There is one point I must not forget, and that is the immensity of suicides in China. That is one of the great evils associated with the traffic, and I think it has hardly been dealt with in India as it should have been. There has not been sufficient inquiry made into it. Only one medical man has written regarding his experience of the number of opium suicides in a single district in India.—Dr. MacReddie, of Hardoi. Out of 198 suicides in three years with which he had to deal no fewer than 98 were from opium, and he says it was because the people could put their hand on it so easily, and excitable people not having the restraints of Christian civilization upon them, they could swallow it at once.

275. You drew a distinction; and you said, "Yes, it is the Government of India which derives that revenue, that duty, you know?"—Yes.

276. You know a good deal of evil is said to be produced by the exportation of spirits from England to countries in Africa, India, and other places, would you yourself think the Government did any harm if it imposed a duty upon that export? You hold the Indian Government as it were, guilty, because it takes a duty on opium, a very heavy duty, a crushing duty, you say, on the opium that goes out to China. Therefore, I suppose you would disapprove of the Government of

England putting a duty, whereas it puts no duty, upon the spirit which is exported to other countries?—Not at all; I should say the English Government, in dealing with the West Coast of Africa, ought to stop it altogether. I have no hesitation in saying so.

277. I mean you argue as if the Indian Government's putting a duty on it, and taking it for revenue, was a bad thing?—No, I did not mean it in that sense.

278. So far it is a good thing?—So far it is a good thing.

279. (Chairman.) It is so far a check?—Yes, so far. The Indian Government being in itself a monopolist, is the head of the concern; and we think of the Indian Government in connection with it, and say it is responsible.

280. (Sir James Lyall.) It is a monopolist in the way of manufacturing no doubt, but in the other part of India, in the Punjab, it is entirely the imposor of another duty, which is oppressive, on native, Malwa, opium, that is on native state opium it has only imposed a duty?—I have not touched on India at all.

281. (Mr Pease.) You alluded to your own use of Smyrna opium in Formosa; why is the Smyrna opium not used by the natives instead of the Indian opium?—There is a little Persian opium exported and brought into China.

282. Is it the cost of production or the duty that makes it too expensive?—It belongs to its history rather.

283. Is it more expensive than Smyrna opium?—I do not know that it would be; I could not say.

284. You hardly know why it is not used in preference to the Indian opium?—It has never been; there has been no special attempt to export it to China, to bring it into the market there; only some 4,000 or 5,000 piculs of Persian opium yearly are now brought into China.

285. The price is very much the same?—Very much the same.

286. (Sir James Lyall.) Rather cheaper?—Rather cheaper, yes.

(The witness withdrew.)

Adjourned till to-morrow at 11 a.m.

At the House of Lords, Westminster, S.W.

SECOND DAY.

Saturday, 9th September 1893.

PRESENT:

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B. (CHAIRMAN, PRESIDING).

SIR JAMES B. LYALL, G.C.I.E.
SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D.
MR. R. G. C. MOWBRAY, M.P.

MR. ARTHUR PEASE.

SIR CHARLES E. BERNARD, K.C.S.I.,
Acting Secretary.

The Reverend JOSEPH SAMUEL ADAMS, Kihwa, China, called in and examined.

287. (Chairman.) I believe that you belong to the American Baptist Mission?—I do, my Lord. I belong to an American Mission, but I am an Englishman by birth and education.

288. And in what part of China has your field of labour been situated?—For 13 years I have been labouring in the Valley of the River Yangtse, and the last 10 years of the 13 in the province of Cheh-kiang, and the city of Kihwa.

289. You are now home on leave?—Yes, for a short holiday.

290. Well, upon what points are you prepared to give evidence?—On two main points. The first is the condition of Upper Burmah, before the annexation; and also the broad facts of the injury inflicted upon the Chinese, and the condition of public opinion among

them. I may say that for four years before going to China I was living in the Upper Burmah, from 1874 to 1879.

291-2. Perhaps you might at this stage inform us what was the date when you originally went out to the East?—I went out to the East in 1875, as a missionary to the Chinese in Western Yun-nan, and our object in going to Burmah was to cross the Kachyin Hills into China from the westward; but after four years' waiting, and learning the Chinese language, the Government of India prohibited our passing across the frontiers; therefore I went round by sea to China, where I have been for the last 13 years.

293. Can you give us any observations formed during that residence in Upper Burmah, with reference to the question which has been entrusted to the consideration

Dr. Maxwell.

8 Sept. 1893.

Rev.

J. S. Adams.

9 Sept. 1893.

Rev.
S. Adams.
Sept. 1898.

of this Commission?—From personal observation I can testify, my Lord, that the Burmese authorities were opposed to the use of opium among their own people; the prohibition was very strongly enforced both as regards opium and liquor.

294. Can you give us the reasons which, in your judgment, actuated the Burmese authorities and led to their decision to prohibit the use of opium?—From conversations that I had repeatedly with Burmese elders, with the Governor of Bhamo, and with the Buddhist Archbishop, I learned that the principal reason was that the people themselves were so weak in the face of such temptations as those offered by opium and liquor, and also that the Buddhist law prohibited the use of intoxicants to the people of the Buddhist faith; and there were also ancient laws of the Kingdom of Ava which forbade the same thing.

295. Can you give us your impressions as to the effect of the use of opium upon the people with whom you were brought into contact in Burmah, whether Chinese or the Burmese?—Of the four races, I found in Upper Burmah Kachyins, Shans, Burmans, and Chinese. The Burmese were the more decidedly susceptible to the influence of the drug undoubtedly. The Chinese seemed to resist the influence of it more than even the Hill men, but in all cases where the habit was once formed the emaciation of the consumer and the deterioration of his moral character alike ensued.

296. Did you come to the conclusion that when once the habit of taking opium, in however small a quantity, had been contracted, there was an irresistible tendency to increase the indulgence until it reached a point at which it was necessarily pernicious?—Yes; I have found this from a very lengthened observation of the use of opium among natives in the East, that when once a native contracted the habit he very rarely gave it up of his own will; that the use of opium seemed to deprive a man of will power; and we have statistics published of the use of opium by Chinese in China which show that 95 per cent of the persons dismissed from our mission hospitals and dispensaries as cured return to the use of the drug within a very few weeks.

297. And would you say that, so far as your observation carried you, you would be inclined to tell us that the limited and moderate use of opium is hardly ever seen?—I think that the term "moderation" can hardly be applied to the use of opium, because whether a man takes a large quantity or a small quantity it has to be taken at ever-recurring intervals, and in process of time has to be increased; that a man, if he takes a very small quantity, has to continue taking it. The habit may be formed within a couple of months, but anything under a couple of months, if you would call that moderation. There is a moderate use of opium, for instance a man might take it for a fortnight for any disease, such as diarrhoea or dysentery, and then giving it up would feel no ill-effects from it; but my experience with Chinese and Burmese in Lower Burmah, and in China itself, has been that when the illness has passed away the habit remains; they like it and keep on using it, and are passed the danger line before they are conscious of it in many cases.

298. Do you recognise the use of opium as having a value in certain climates and for a population exposed to malarial influences?—I think it has a value in removing the pains of rheumatic fever and in giving rest in cases where patients are deprived of sleep, and also in dysentery, cholera, and diarrhoea; but I do not consider that opium is any protection against fever. For instance, Bhamo, at the beginning of my residence there, was one of the most feverish districts in the whole of the Upper Province, and we had very many cases of fever, but I never heard of the natives using opium as a cure for it. They had their own native drugs which they used; and we found in China that in the most feverish districts the opium smokers are the men who are the first to suffer, whereas the healthier coolies who are not addicted to the habit can stand all day planting rice in the blazing sun with their feet in water and mud and not suffer from ague.

299. Is there anything further that you would like to say at this point with reference to the general question of the effects of opium?—From my observations in China, more especially, I find that there is always a tendency among the men who have given up opium smoking to resume the habit, even after the lapse of long years. I have in my mind a man who after giving up his opium smoking, rose to a position of considerable influence and wealth in Shanghai, who after 20

years relapsed into the habit. I have in my mind also two Christian men from Ningpo brought home to England to assist in the translation of the Ningpo New Testament, one man went back, smoked opium, and died a miserable beggar. The other man kept away from opium, and still continues a honoured and useful pastor in China, and such instances could be multiplied.

300. What proportion of the population amongst whom you laboured in China were opium smokers?—It varied very much in different towns and different localities. In the country comparatively little was used; in the towns it was very largely used. Among officials, there are the underlings of the official residences, the Yamen, as they are called, and probably 80 per cent. smoke opium. When you come to the commercial classes, perhaps there are 40 per cent. When you come lower down still to the labouring classes, men such as chair-bearers, coolies, and the men who earn their living in daily toil, almost invariably they are opium smokers; so much so, that when I have sent to the office for chair-bearers and coolies, and have asked for men who have not smoked opium, I have been laughed at for asking such a question, because they said that if they did not smoke opium, they would not be doing the work of beasts.

301. Do you suppose that among these classes, who were "invariably" smokers, their physical powers were impaired by the use of opium?—Extremely so; in fact some of the most miserable specimens you see are men who are doing the very hardest work, and they do it while under the influence of opium. Messenger coolies will travel 30 miles a day, and carry over 100 pounds burden, but they have to stop four or five times a day, and take fresh quantities of opium. I have had men lay down their burdens on the roadside, and refuse to move an inch until they have had more opium.

302. Was there not a considerable portion of the class of men engaged in these laborious occupations who were not consumers of opium?—Not many chair-bearers and coolies. Among the agriculturalists was a very large proportion who are not consumers.

303. Do you know from what source the opium that is consumed by the population amongst whom you lived was obtained? Was it a native produce or was it an importation from India?—You are referring now to Upper Burmah.

304-5. I was referring to China?—The opium that they have in our part of China, the province of Cheb-kiang, is very largely grown in the Wen-chow district, which produces opium often disguised and sold as Indian opium. It is of such superior quality that the Chinese themselves sell it at the same price as the Malwa and the Bengal opium. The greater part of it came from the native cultivation, but that which is used by the higher classes, by the officials, or by wealthy merchants was almost invariably Indian opium. But I would like to say that when I first went to Kin-hwa I would ride for a whole day's journey and never see a poppy field, but now you can hardly go an hour's walk without seeing the poppies in cultivation during the season, so much has it increased during the past ten years in that province.

306. With reference to the effects of opium upon those who use it, we have been led off from Burmah into your Chinese experience; but now returning to Burmah, and to the regulations imposed by the Burmese authorities, and the rules and prohibitions which were in force, can you tell us whether, in your opinion, the edicts of prohibition were effectual in Burmah?—They were effectual upon the people for whom they were issued—they were effectual among the Burmese. We had very special facilities, I think, for getting at the information.

307. Will you tell us what those were?—We had a mission dispensary, which was the only one of the kind there. In fact, before we went there, there were no missionaries in Upper Burmah, with the exception of one at Mandalay. We found among the numbers of people coming every day (sometimes 30, 50, or 100) there were a great many applications from Chinese travellers, from Shans, and Kachyins for medicine to cure opium smoking. An application of the kind was never received from a Burman—we took special notice of the fact. Then we were frequently called out to suicide cases, invariably they were Chinese or Shans who had committed suicide with opium. We found, in the cases where the Burmese committed

suicide, that it was most frequently caused by swallowing gold, or hanging, or by some other means, such as drowning. We have had prisoners sent to us for treatment from the Yamen, or police office, and we had only one case where a man was punished for being intoxicated, and he had got drunk with brandy on an English steamer. The man was sent to us, having been beaten as a punishment, and he died from the effects of it. We can say that the priests themselves in China use opium, but we never saw a Buddhist priest who used opium in Burmah.

308. Can you describe to us the system adopted by the Burmese for preventing the sale of opium—for enforcing obedience to their regulations?—They had the Custom Houses. There was a combination of the priests and politics which I did not admire, but it was very practical and effectual in Burmah, and was that the Buddhist priests themselves always acted as spies upon the civil powers, and reported directly to the King. The Buddhist Archbishop of the day (1876) showed me despatches in cipher which he was then sending to the Court at Mandalay, addressed personally to the King, detailing cases which had taken place, and various crimes committed and the punishments inflicted by the civil authorities. They always acted as spies upon the doings of the people, and anything contrary to Buddhist law, apart from the national law, was at once reported, and the priests themselves accused people to the civil authorities. Apart from that, I do not know of any special regulations which the Burmese established. They searched the baggage of passengers arriving at the various little towns, and there were always a number of loungers about, belonging to the official residences, who seem to make it their business to spy out other people's faults, and make their living upon it. This was during the reign of King Mindoon, and later during the reign of King Theebaw.

309. Then would you say that the policy of the Government in enforcing the prohibition of opium was supported by the general opinion of the country?—I think the strength of the Government policy lay just in that fact, that they had the conscience of the people as a whole behind them, and that the people approved of the measures, knowing that they were for their good.

310. If public opinion had been in the contrary sense, would you say that the task of the Government in proposing an absolute prohibition would have been almost impossible?—The difficulties would have been very largely increased, and special measures would have had to be taken. I do not know how far it would be right to apply the word "impossible;" the experiment has not been tried.

311. But evidently it would have been much more difficult?—Much more difficult.

312. You have explained to us the action of the Burmese authorities with reference to the Burmese population; what was their attitude in regard to this opium question in relation to the foreigners resident among them, taking first the Kachyins, about whom I think you wish to speak to us?—The Kachyins. They are people living between Bhamo and China, in the mountainous districts. They have never been really controlled either by China or Burmah. Opium is used among them to a large extent, especially on the Chinese borders. Many of them come into Bhamo, and bring opium with them, and in many cases there have been disputes between the Burmese authorities and the Kachyins, through the former trying to take possession of the opium, so that the question was at last settled by the Kachyins being shut out at night from the city of Bhamo, and being allowed to sleep in special places set apart for them, and there they smoked and quarrelled to their heart's content. The reason the Burmese give for it was that they were opium smokers, and great thieves, and that consequently they would rob and steal if they were not kept out of the city.

313. Then as to the Shans?—The Shans came from the Chinese States, and I think that many of them smoked opium to a greater extent than the Kachyins. They lived in the city in a grove of trees set apart for them and used their opium. The Burmese seemed to take no notice of them, simply tolerated their presence. They only came over during the d. d. j. season, and went back again; they came over to the annual fairs and then returned to China; they did not stay as residents in the place. The only opium these people

used came from China; there was none grown in that district.

314. Was there a large number of Chinese living in Bhamo at the time you were there?—The residents would be about 100 in number. They had no Chinese families or Chinese wives; we only saw one Chinese woman all the time we were there, during the four years; and she was such a curiosity that the whole city ran after her to look at her. But they all had Burmese wives, and many of those families were entirely exempt from opium smoking, the influence of the Burmese women being so decidedly against it. Undoubtedly, however, the Chinese residents themselves got opium from Yun-nan, and used it quietly in their own houses; but there were no opium dens. I only saw one opium den in Upper Burmah at the time I was there, and it was on the occasion of taking a tour to the Jade stone district of Mogoung, about 100 miles above Bhamo to the north-west, and there, in a very out-of-the-way place, we came across a small den with six lamps, frequented entirely by Chinese. That was the only den of the kind that I knew of in Upper Burmah at the time.

315. Were there many Chinese travellers in Bhamo during your residence there?—We had in those days a monthly steamer from Mandalay, and the Chinese immigrants coming over from Yun-nan, especially at the time of the suppression of the Taiping rebellion, collected in large numbers in Bhamo until the arrival of the steamer. There would be sometimes 400 or 500 travellers waiting to go down to Mandalay. They would be living in the Chinese quarter, in the Buddhist temples or wherever they could get lodgings, and most of these men brought with them their opium pipes and smoked.

316. Did the Burmese Government attempt to check that habit?—Not to my knowledge; they simply seemed to look upon those people as being best let alone, and if any cases of disorder or trouble arose among them the Burmese authorities usually called upon the Chinese head man in Bhamo to settle it by the customs of the Chinese community.

317. You have been speaking thus far of the regulations which were established by the native Government of Burmah with reference to the suppression of the opium habit. When the country passed under the rule of the Government of India what was the policy then adopted with reference to opium?—The Government of India made a very important proclamation in English, Burmese, and Chinese, to the effect that Her Majesty the Queen-Empress would not receive a revenue from the sale of opium in Upper Burmah, and a law was put upon the Statute Book making it penal to sell opium or any of its preparations to men of the Burmese race. At the same time the possession of opium or liquor by Burmans was not an offence, but it has been made so during the last year, I believe.

318. Well, now, do you think that the law which was established in Upper Burmah, and which permitted the use of opium to the non-Burman population only, was successful in its objects?—My opinion is that it has not been successful.

319. Will you tell us why?—Probably because the strangers in Burmah (the natives of India, the Chinese, Shans, and Kachyins) are allowed to purchase and use certain quantities of opium. Any Burman wishing to get opium or liquor from any of the licensed shops could do so by getting a native of India, or a Chinaman, to purchase it for him. From my correspondence with missionaries in Bhamo, and other parts of the country, I find that my fears are only too well grounded.—Dr. Soltau, of Bhamo (he is now in India), said that while in my day there was not an opium den in the town of Bhamo, now there are many, and among the frequenters are Burmans, and that it is a common thing to see an opium lamp in a Burman house.

320. Where one portion of the population is allowed to smoke opium, and another part is prohibited, the only mode, I presume, of preventing the consumption of opium by the classes under prohibition would be by an independent system of surprise and domiciliary visits, which would be very difficult to carry out?—It would be undoubtedly difficult to carry out prohibition in Upper Burmah, and still more so in Lower Burmah, where the habit of opium smoking has got so strong a hold; but at the same time I think we may safely say that the conscience of the people being with us, we should be very much helped in any attempt to prohibit;

Rev.
J. S. Adams
9 Sept. 1895.

Rev
S. Adams.
Sept. 1893.

in fact from the evidence which the Commission has already before it, in the shape of the Blue Book, on the consumption of opium in India (which is also confirmed by my correspondents in Lower Burmah and Upper Burmah to), there seems to be little doubt that total prohibition is the only remedy to save Burmah from opium smoking to excess.

321. And do you think that that policy would be sustained by the public opinion of the Burmese?—We are informed that in many places the Burmese have offered to substitute other taxation for the revenue derived from opium if it can be removed from their midst, and several of the officials in Lower Burmah report in a way which reflects the very highest credit upon them, and shows that their desire is for the welfare of the people; that they feel that prohibition is the thing necessary, and that Burmese public opinion would support them in any such measure.

322. (Sir J. Lyall.) You mean absolute prohibition for all classes?—Yes, for all classes.

323. Including Chinese and everybody else?—So I understand it.

324. (Chairman.) Perhaps I might ask you on that question: How do you think such a policy of prohibition would be received by the Chinese who reside in Burmah?—I think that by the respectable class of Chinese it would be received gladly. From conversations that I have had in Rangoon, and Mandalay and Bhamo itself, with respectable Chinese merchants, they feel very keenly the danger to which their acquaintances and friends are exposed from the sale of opium—there are many of them who will not employ an opium smoker in their office if they can prevent it. But by the lower classes, of course, there would be a great outcry from the opium users themselves.

325. You mean the labouring classes?—I mean the opium consumers themselves.

326. Are there a great number of Chinamen in the district with which you are acquainted in Burmah who are employed in manual labour?—Not employed in manual labour, the number is not very large. I think, in Upper and Lower Burmah, altogether there are about 42,000 Chinese; very few of the Chinese would be employed in manual labour.

327. Are they chiefly engaged in mercantile transactions?—Yes, as regards Upper Burmah. With a population of 3,900,000, the Excise Report places the foreign population of the upper province including the natives of India, at about 55,000; and if 50 per cent. of them are opium smokers, you have the centres of temptation placed in the midst of about four millions of people for the sake of 25,000 opium smokers, from whom you get a large number of the criminal classes.

328. Will you kindly tell us, in a general way, what is the opinion of the missionaries labouring in connexion with your society, and what is the opinion of the native Christians of Burmah on the general question of opium consumption?—I do not know whether I may put this letter in evidence.

329. If you will read it, please?—It is written by Dr. A. T. Ross, an American missionary, on July 8th, 1892. He says: "You must not write our mission indifferent to the opium question; it has been connected with it from the days of Judson and Wade. Thirty years ago I was appointed to write a report on the introduction, increase, and effects of opium in Burmah by the 'British Burmah Missionary Convention.' The elder Hough, Wade, Bennett, and Kincaid were then living and on the field. They all affirmed that there was no opium in Burmah before the English came. We laboured with Sir Arthur Phayre, who professed to believe that the Government must introduce opium in order to control and regulate it, otherwise the country would be flooded with it. As a revenue measure, the introduction of opium is an enormous blunder, for it blasts the vital sources of revenue, it converts honest labourers into idle thieves and vagabonds. If all the cultivators in Burmah were to take to growing opium, in five years there would not be a basket of rice. I have never known a Burman or Karen to use it who did not go to the bad sharp."

330. Would you say that that letter represents the general opinion entertained by the missionaries of your society?—I think so, and by the many thousands of native Christians in Burmah. I may perhaps say that as regards opium and liquor the feeling is the same

in Burmah as in China. All these Burmese Christians are teetotalers and abstainers from opium.

331. And abstainers from alcohol also?—Abstainers from alcohol also.

332. Do they distinguish between alcohol and opium; do they consider that the one is more grave and objectionable than the other?—I do not know that they make comparisons between the two habits, but unfortunately when a Burman does take to drinking, he does not drink in moderation. We in this country recognise a moderate use of liquor, but, with the Burman, he usually goes in for it strongly, and it is a matter of offence against Church government and against their Christian faith to use liquor. Possibly that is so, because nearly all the American missionaries are teetotalers, and they have made the temperance work a strong point.

333. Is the tendency to the abuse of liquor a prevalent vice among that population?—More so among the Burmese than among the Chinese.

334. I suppose the nature of the climate is such that alcohol, regarded medicinally, is not a necessary article of consumption?—I should not think so, for a Burman or a foreigner.

335. Are you cognisant of any special injury inflicted upon the native Churches by the spread of the opium habit, and can you tell us by what means the spread of that habit among them has been induced?—Dr. Banker, of the Karen Mission in Toungoo, reports to his Missionary Board that a great number of his Karen Christians have fallen under the influence of the opium habit, and that as a consequence schools have been closed; self-supporting churches have been shut up; that in cases, churches of some hundreds of Christians have been dismissed and disbanded entirely; that some of the oldest native pastors have been expelled from the Church and have become vagabonds and rogues; and his despair is very great as seeing the evil that is worked among them. He states that the cause was that many of these outlying districts of the Hills near Toungoo have been visited by Chinese from Toungoo, who have settled among them and given away small packets of opium to the young men until the habit has been induced; then they have charged a small price for it, and gradually a trade has sprung up. Other missionaries, in different parts, in Mandalay, Thayetmyo, Promé, Hentheada, Bassein, and especially in Rangoon, tell us very much the same story of honoured and trusted Christians falling victims to the habit.

336. Can you sum up in a few words your impressions of the whole case as it relates to Burmah?—My personal observation extends only to the first four years, but the remainder of the time I have knowledge from evidence received from my friends there, with whom I have kept up a constant correspondence. I feel sure that the consumption of opium is increasing, both in Upper and Lower Burmah, that its use is attended by the most disastrous consequences to those who come under its influence, that measures which have been adopted in Upper Burmah have been attended with but qualified success, if not with absolute failure; that in Lower Burmah we look forward with very grave apprehension to the measure lately introduced by the Government, involving, as it does, permission for the Chinese and others to use opium. It seems to us that you cannot isolate a sin of this kind, any more than you can isolate cholera. If we were to pass an edict in England that only the Scotchmen were to use whisky and that no one else was to touch it, it would be simply a failure; and while we recognise with gratitude and very deep thankfulness the attitude of most of the officials in Burmah towards the opium traffic, we feel sure that until it is entirely abolished they will never be able to suppress the smuggling and the illicit trade that there is in opium. They suppressed ganja in Burmah, which is a weed growing by the roadside. The product, for smoking or eating, is easily made, and the use of it has almost entirely passed away among the Burmans since it was suppressed, and I do not see any reason why opium could not be treated in the same way. At any rate, the attitude of the Government in opposing it would confirm the good feelings and the right impressions of the Burmese people, and they would support the Government loyally in doing so. As it is, we are on the wrong side as regards the legalization of opium, which the Burman conscience condemns. Of course they do not understand, as we understand, the reasons for the high license.

Rev.
J. S. Adam
9 Sept. 1891

337. Then you do not think that the resistance which would be offered by the Chinese residents in Burmah to a policy of total prohibition would present an insurmountable difficulty to the Government?—I do not think that the opium-using inhabitants of Burmah are of sufficient value to the country to be consulted in the matter, because I think it is very likely, if they found that they could not get opium there, they would go to some other country where they could get it, and it would be all the better for Burmah if they did so.

338. Now, to return to China; how long were you in China, and with what provinces were you acquainted?—I am acquainted with the provinces of Hupeh, Kiangsi, Kiangsu, Shantung, and Chehkiang. These are all provinces, one in the north, and the others in the middle of China, and I have lived in those provinces for 13 years.

339. What was the attitude of the native population of those districts (which were remote from the Treaty ports) towards you and your brethren in the Mission?—As a general thing, very friendly. We met isolated cases where men seemed to think that when they saw a foreigner it was a fair thing to throw a brick at him, but as a general thing the Chinese always treated us with extreme courtesy.

340. You were exposed to no personal danger in travelling about?—For the last ten years I have lived 250 miles from any other Mission station. My wife and children have been left alone in that Chinese city, taken their daily walks, received visitors, and have never received a single insult.

341. With your large experience of China, how far do you agree with the evidence given yesterday by Dr. Maxwell?—I agree entirely with Dr. Maxwell in everything that he said. There are some points that I should like to emphasize very much.

342. What are those points?—First, his view that opium is a hindrance to the spread of the Gospel, and also his statement of the attitude of the Christian Church towards it. No man is recognised as a Christian who buys or sells, or uses opium in any shape or form.

343. Recognised by the Chinese Christians you mean?—By the Protestants or Catholics of China. I agree, too, with Dr. Maxwell in his view that there is no power on the part of China to increase the amount of import duty on opium.

344. I think we will not go into that. I shall address an inquiry to the Foreign Office on that subject?—Very good, my Lord. I will put this in as a parenthesis, that I have come up armed with some opinions and impressions on the subject.

345. Well, if you can give them to us briefly we will consider them?—The fact of the amount of duty fixed upon opium by the Treaties being a fixed quantity, which the Chinese cannot increase without breaking through the Treaties, I think sufficiently indicates that they are not free in the matter; but Dr. J. M. Dudgeon, in his paper read on May 12th, 1890, before the Shanghai Missionary Conference, states that in his opinion China was not free to increase the amount of duty on opium, or to make any motion towards putting down her own cultivation until she was able to shut out the import of foreign opium; and that view was confirmed by all the missionaries present, and they stated that, "When the favourable moment arrives, and China is no longer trammelled with the foreign import, I believe the Government is strong enough to have it will carried out." (That is for the suppression of opium). "The great body of the people will hail with satisfaction, under these circumstances, such action on the part of the Emperor." And again: "That from a full and careful study of the whole question, from the history of the nine years' negotiations which led up to the late opium agreement, this conference is clearly of the opinion that China is *not free* to act as she could and would act in the matter, either of increased taxation on the foreign opium, or in the total suppression of the growth of the poppy, and the consumption of the drug within her own territories."

346. (Sir J. Lyall.) What date is that?—1890, May 12th.

347. (Chairman.) You recognise that this statement of Mr. Dudgeon's does not harmonise with the authoritative statement which was made by Sir James Ferguson in the House of Commons?—It was made six months before that statement in the House of Commons.

I confirm Dr. Maxwell very strongly in his comparison between opium and drink. I think opium seizes on a man more quickly than drink, so that a man may be a moderate consumer of alcohol, but in my estimation there is no such thing as a moderate consumer of opium, except in the sense in which I defined previously. The grip which it has upon a man is very much more strong than that of drink. I may say that I have been in charge of a Mission hospital containing 100 beds for opium smokers, and we have had again and again to dismiss men as practically incurable, either from emaciation or from some disease which seems to spring up as a result of the weakness of the system; as soon as the opium is removed from them they become victims to some disease or other, and also because the will power is absolutely gone. The only cases that we look upon with any satisfaction are men who have been converted through the influence of the Holy Spirit and become real Christians, because it gives them a new will power and a new life, and they are able to resist the temptation; but I have not any confidence in the cure of opium smokers apart from the Divine Spirit's influence. We have known of many such men who have been rescued, but only through the influence of Christian faith.

348. Then, in your opinion, presuming that the importation from India were stopped, would the Chinese Government endeavour seriously to reduce the area under cultivation in China with a view to the entire suppression of the use of opium?—I have, my Lord, a very strong opinion that the Chinese would do so. It was only in 1890 that the Emperor finally revoked all the edicts prohibiting the cultivation of the poppy. Previous to that time the cultivation was entirely unofficial and unrecognised. I have seen myself, again and again, in the city of Kin-hwa the Governor of that city going out with soldiers and searching in different districts for the poppy under cultivation, destroying all the crops and beating the farmers for growing it. The fact is that during the past 30 years in China opium has been grown whenever a pro-opium official has been in power; when the three years of the pro-opium authority have passed away, and an anti-opium official has been put in power, the poppy has gone out of cultivation as if it had been struck by a blight. I believe there is an increasing conscience on the part of the people of China against opium; although the cultivation is so rapidly increasing, it seems as if the people were taking sides much more definitely for and against. As far as the Chinese officials are concerned, there is no doubt that the revenue question becomes a great difficulty. China is not a rich country, and the question of the import duty, I imagine, would very much weaken the hands of any Chinese official who tried to abolish it.

349. Is there a wide divergence of view among the official class upon the opium question, some being entirely opposed to the use of opium, and others regarding the habit more leniently?—I am happy to be able to say, on the authority of Dr. Dudgeon, who is a medical man occasionally attending the Court in Peking, that of the 16 Viceroy's in China, only one is under suspicion of being an opium smoker, and that most of the very high officials are opposed to it. The Emperor himself is opposed to the use of opium, principally because his father, the eighth prince, when he died, was a victim of opium; he took opium in his last illness, and became addicted to it, and his precept to the Emperor was, "Have nothing whatever to do with it." But there are among the lower class of officials large numbers of men who are very poor—they get their offices through using borrowed money, and through giving bribes. They find in the gifts of the opium merchants a very ready means of replenishing their exchequers, and they permit things to go on which otherwise they would not do. I believe among the higher class of officials there is a very strong opinion against opium. I may say that I have a personal friend, General Siao, who fought against Russia, and also against the French, who is at present in command of the garrisons of the Prefecture, and he gave me a dinner before leaving China—a sort of farewell dinner—and in the presence of all the officers he said, "If you English people would only let us have liberty to do as we like in our own country, we would soon put an end to the opium trade." More easily said than done, your Excellency," said I; "how would you accomplish it?" "We would open opium refuges in every city, employ foreign and native doctors, and compel the people to go and buy anti-

Rea
J. S. Adams,
9 Sept. 1893.

" opium medicine, and use all means to stop the trade " in opium; and if there were any so degraded as to " refuse to listen to the voice of reason, we would " employ force with them." With that he drew his sword as he spoke, probably meaning that he would cut off their heads. I cannot say that I would recommend such extreme measures, but it indicates that in his mind any measures ought to be taken in order to prevent the spread of opium smoking in China. I ought to say this—I feel it of very great importance—that I think many merchants and officials in China do not see the inner life of the Chinese as we do; there are comparatively few among the merchants who can speak Chinese. Our English Consuls, as a rule, speak Chinese thoroughly well, but they do not mix much with the people. We have constantly gone in and out among the Chinese, and we find, from the evidence given us by the wives and the children of often wealthy officials who have lost money, that opium is causing an immense amount of misery, not only among the working classes, but also among the higher, that is to say, among the lower classes of the mandarins. The wife of the official governing our own city lamented to us that her son had become an opium smoker; and that for years he had been losing, by opium smoking and the things which come with it (the gambling, and the consorting with bad characters, and so forth), more money than his father was making in his office every year. We have people outside our East Gate, living in the beggars' quarter, who ten years ago, when I first went to Kin-hwa, were living in the west end of the city, in some of the finest houses in the place, and these families have come down entirely through opium. I am convinced that the more closely we study the question, and look into the facts among the people, the more deeply we shall feel the greatness of the evil.

350. Have you any comments that you would like to offer in conclusion with reference to the evidence taken from previous witnesses?—I have already trespassed so much upon your time that I hardly venture to say that I think our political influence in China suffers through the opium traffic, and also that legitimate trade is hindered very much by it. I think other evidence will be offered to the Commission, or that there is no need for me to go into that question. I would merely like to indicate that at the time when telegraphs were discussed in China we had in Pekin representatives of English firms, American, French, German, and others; but, to the surprise of everyone, this great telegraph system in China has been committed to the Scandinavians. Every provincial city in China, with the exception of Hunan, is now connected with Pekin by telegraph, and Scandinavians have done the whole work. Of course I do not say that that has been the result of our opium trade, but it is quite possible that it does prejudice us in the eyes of Chinese officials—it does in the eyes of Chinese merchants, I know.

351. It makes England, you mean, generally unpopular?—I think so. Then, in preaching, we have often had the Chinese throw it in our faces that we are Englishmen; they sometimes will do it in our chapels, for we have everyday preaching in our own chapels; and the common objection—the stock objection—is: "Oh, you are the people who bring us the opium; you are the English people who deal with us in opium, and yet you come here to teach us morality! We do not believe in any such morality." And again and again, in preaching in the open air in large towns, where I have been for the first time, directly the people have heard that I am an Englishman, opium smokers have got up, shown their rage and emaciated forms, and denounced us as the people who have caused all their misery. The result has been that we missionaries have had no hold upon the people—the people have been disgusted with us. Then, your Lordship asked Sir Joseph Pease a question about the public meetings that have been held in various parts of the country.

352-3. In Great Britain and Ireland?—I believe at the present time there is a very deep interest all over the country in this question.

354. Have you attended any meetings yourself?—I have. I came home for a holiday, but I have turned my holiday into a year's campaign on this subject, at considerable inconvenience and loss to myself; but I am convinced of this, that, especially among the Midlands, and in the North, and in certain parts of Ireland, there is a deepening interest in this question. The membership of the various Anti-Opium Societies

is about 12,000 persons, and they are all earnestly seeking to spread information on this subject. The political aspect has been steadily kept out of view; it is not in any sense a party question, but it is one in which most Christian people feel a deep interest.

355. The anti-opium movement in Great Britain and Ireland, I presume, is as much an object of general support as is the movement to prevent the use of alcohol?—Well, the support is very general, and people do recognise that it is a kindred subject, and they have given us very good help and encouragement.

356. (Sir J. Lyall.) Do you think that the Burmese native Government was really able to prohibit opium smoking among the Burmese before the annexation—I mean before we took Upper Burmah?—During the four years I was there I never saw a Burman smoke opium. That was during the reign of King Mindoon and the first year of the reign of King Theebaw.

357. But with other opium-smoking people all round them, and with the great opium-producing districts of Western China near them, do you think it is possible that it could have been absolutely prohibited?—I think that if the conscience of the Burman nation had not been at the back of that prohibition, they probably could not have prevented it, with their broken-down machinery.

358. As a matter of fact you think none of the Burmese smoked opium?—As a matter of fact, I think that none of the Burmese, to my knowledge, smoked opium.

359. The description you give of the effects of opium smoking is a very terrible one. I suppose you know that there are other people who have lived in China, and other countries in the East, who hold a different opinion?—Yes.

360. A much more moderate opinion?—I know that, for instance, the merchants at the ports would perhaps have an opium-smoking comrade, and they produce him to you, and they say: "There, that man smokes opium, and he is as bright a man in business as I am; he is always up to his work, and he has smoked opium for a certain number of years." But that man has probably been primed with opium before he comes to his work, and when he goes to his luncheon he is again filled up—wound up, like a musical box, to go for a certain time until he is run down, and unless he takes his three daily doses he cannot do his work. Such a view as that is very misleading.

361. Is it not a fact that in a great part of China, particularly the part which Europeans see most of, opium smoking is just about as common among the men (except perhaps among the very poor who cannot afford it) as tobacco smoking is among Englishmen—very little less common. I have heard it frequently asserted; do you think it is true or not?—In some cases it may be true, but China is a very large country, and the practice differs very much. In those places that I am acquainted with it is not so common as tobacco smoking. During my absence from England I notice that tobacco smoking has increased very greatly in England.

362. I was on board a ship, now, the other day, with a great number of Chinese going from China to California. As far as I could see, every Chinaman of the lot smoked opium?—Very probably.

363. They spent the day, or part of the day, in smoking opium?—They do in some places—they do so on the River Yangtze.

364. In California and Australia the Chinamen are such good labourers, such good workers that, as you know, savage assaults have been made upon them by English working-men, and excessive jealousy has been aroused because they have really cut out the English working-man. Is it possible, if opium smoking is such a dreadful vice, I do not mean to say it is not a vice and a bad habit, but if the consequences of opium are anything like what you have described, is it possible that these people (who nearly all smoke opium) could work, and make money, and succeed, as the Chinese do in Australia and California?—I think that on close examination we should find that the great majority of opium smokers are not the people who do the work, and that they are really parasites among the common crowd of Chinese workers. In cases where a man is an opium smoker, during the time that he is under the influence of the drug, he can do his work as well as anybody, and probably, owing to the extra stimulation, a little better than most Chinese. But the system is

affected in this way: it is an intense stimulation and an intense depression, and when the man is under the influence of the depression he is absolutely worthless. It is only while he is under the influence of the stimulant that he is of value, and a great deal of their hard work is performed under the influence of the stimulating effect of the drug, and therefore people say that opium has no evil effects because they see the man at his best and not at his worst. That is my view of the question, and I may perhaps say that the evil effects of opium are sometimes long in developing themselves. In many cases that I have known, opium smokers have taken the drug for 8 or 10 years, and have shown very little emaciation, but the mischief has been going on, and directly hard times have come, and they have not been able to get good food and stimulants (wine and so forth), then they have gone rapidly to the bad.

365. The great bulk of moderate opium smokers live as long as anybody else, do they not?—So far as opium smokers are concerned they may live as long as anybody else, but I find this, Sir James, that in the famine times, and when epidemics of fever take place, the first to die are the opium smokers; they are predisposed to disease, and their bodies seem to invite the attack of any wandering disease that comes along.

366. These Kachyins and Shans—you mentioned those tribes that are on the borders of Burmah—they are confirmed opium smokers, are they not?—Many of them are.

367. Well, they are people of very strong physique, and very energetic, are they not—compared to the Burmese rather remarkably so?—Yes; I think that, as a rule, the Hill men are strong in comparison with the dwellers in the plains. We have the same thing in other countries, but I have come across many Kachyins and Shans who have suffered severely from the effects of opium smoking.

368. The Burmese Government, on religious grounds, through the influence of the Buddhist priesthood, prohibited the use of opium, and our Government, finding it prohibited, carried on the prohibition?—Yes.

369. Was spirit drinking also forbidden by the Burmese Government?—The canon of the Buddhist law is, "Thou shalt not touch anything that intoxicates"; therefore spirit drinking was also forbidden.

370. When you were in Upper Burmah did you ever see the Burmese drinking spirits?—Not in Upper Burmah. The difference is very marked between Upper and Lower Burmah, coming down across the frontiers; in fact, as I remarked in my evidence in chief, I only saw one case of a man being punished for drinking spirits; he had a thousand blows with a small rattan.

371. The Mahomedan religion also prohibits, or at least strongly condemns, the use of spirits, and there are a great many Mahomedans in India, particularly in some parts, where they are in fact the great majority of the population. I suppose you would think that we ought to prohibit the use of spirits too?—I think, if the use of spirits is doing as much harm as the use of opium is, that it would be a very pertinent duty for us to prohibit the use of spirits. I notice in the Report of the Excise Department in Burmah for 1891-92, in certain places the Deputy Commissioner notices the good effect produced by the spread of the Mahomedan religion in putting down intoxication among the natives.

372. Now the question is, should these things be enforced by Government or should they be left to religious influences?—I hardly know whether I am prepared to define the duties of Government. It seems to me that it is the duty of the Government to protect its people from anything that is injuring them if possible. The tendency in the past has not always been to protect the people, but rather, I fear, to push the trade.

373. (Mr. Pease.) I just wish to ask whether the consumption of opium in Burmah is confined to smoking, or whether it is partly consumed by eating, partly by smoking?—In Burmah, I believe, they smoke very largely; in China it is smoked, and then the ashes of

the opium are taken and mixed with fresh opium and again smoked; and very frequently the third burning of ashes is smoked. In some cases, with working men who have not time to spend over smoking (which is a very tedious business, taking about an hour to satisfy an ordinary craving), they take it in the shape of laudanum dissolved in spirits, or take it simply as a pill, washing it down with a cup of tea.

374. Is it your experience that the Chinese look upon the smoking of opium as an indulgence of which they have no cause to be ashamed?—I have never yet met a Chinaman who defended opium smoking or eating. They all look upon it as a thing to be ashamed of; in fact, on several occasions when I first went to China I nearly got into trouble by asking the question, "Are you an opium smoker," and to this day, if you wanted to insult a Chinaman, you would have no need to say anything, but simply put the finger and thumb to the mouth, and waggle the hand, and it means, "You are a confirmed opium smoker," and it is taken as an insult. The boys often insult their parents in that way.

375. (Mr. Mowbray.) I have only one question to ask, arising out of what you told Sir James Lyall. You said I think, that the Burmese Government had succeeded in restricting the consumption of opium, not to the Burmese, but to the other inhabitants of Upper Burmah?—No, they let these resident Chinese smoke opium. Strictly speaking, it was not recognised as a public thing. In cases where Chinese travellers brought down opium in any quantity it was always seized, and the travellers themselves were punished for smoking it; but they did not seem to care so much to enforce the prohibition upon people of other races as they did upon their own people.

376. In fact, I rather gathered that they had succeeded in drawing the distinction which you seemed to think the English Government would not be able to draw, between consumption by the Burmese and consumption by other races in Upper Burmah?—The number of strangers in Upper Burmah at that time was very limited indeed. As I have said, 500 or 600 travellers came through in the course of a month; so that really there was very little opium smoking seen except when the Shans came over in the dry season to sell their iron ware and then go back again. Those people the Burmese authorities were really afraid to meddle with.

377. Then is it the increase of what you call foreigners in Upper Burmah which leads you to think that the English Government could not do that which the Burmese Government did in their time?—I think the English Government could suppress the use of opium among all classes of people in Upper Burmah, and I think that is the only remedy at their disposal.

378. I quite understood you to say that; but I wanted to know what was your reason for thinking it impossible that they could prevent the Burmese consuming it and at the same time allow others?—Simply because of our experience and the statements in the Report of the Excise Department in Burmah. The law itself is altogether inoperative. If you will allow me I will read two extracts from the Report of the Excise Department in Upper Burmah, page 21. "The consumption of liquors and opium is theoretically confined to the above-mentioned population, but there can be no doubt that a considerable amount of both finds its way into the hands of Burmese." And again on page 22, "The licenses for the sale of opium and liquor are intended for the convenience of the non-Burman population of Upper Burmah, and sale of either liquor or opium to Burmans is prohibited by law. But there can be no doubt that the prohibition is, in practice, inoperative."

379. I understand from what you have just said that you think the increasing difficulty of restricting the use of opium to foreigners in Upper Burmah arises very much from the increased number of foreigners now in Upper Burmah as compared with the difficulty under the late Burmese Government?—From that increase and also from the fact that our licensed shops are there.

The witness withdrew.

The Reverend HUDSON TAYLOR called in and examined.

380. (Chairman.) To what communion do you belong, Mr. Taylor?—Personally I am a Baptist; (but the mission I represent is interdenominational, its missionaries being members of all sections of the Christian Church).

381. And are you also a member of the Royal College of Surgeons?—Yes.

382. I believe that you are the founder and general director of the China Inland Mission?—That is so, my Lord.

Rev.
J. S. Adam.
9 Sept. 1892

Rev.
H. Taylor

Head.
T. Taylor.
Sept. 1893.

383. Can you give us very shortly what is the scope of the work undertaken by that Mission?—We have at the present time about 530 missionary workers of both sexes in 14 of the 18 provinces of China, and also a station at Bhamo in Upper Burmah.

384. You yourself have had personal experience in China?—I went out in 1853, 40 years ago, and have been a missionary ever since.

385. How many years were you out in China?—I could not now tell how many I have been in China, as I have been backwards and forwards a good deal latterly; but my connexion with the work has been of 40 years, standing.

386. In what districts have you laboured in China?—Personally I have lived in a number of towns for several years. I may say, Shanghai from 1854 to 1856, and the intervals of time not mentioned below when in China; in Swatow in 1856; in Ningpo, 1857 to 1860; in Hang-chow, 1866 to 1868; in Yang-chau, 1868 and 1869; in Chin-kiang, two years, 1870 and 1871; in Chefoo, 1879 to 1882; and I have made visits of several months' duration to other towns.

387. The Commission may infer from what you have told us that you have had wide opportunities of forming an opinion as to the questions which were referred to us?—I thought it might be helpful, my Lord, if I marked by a red line on a map the districts that I personally visited, and am acquainted with, either from visitation or residence. [Mr. Taylor here handed the map to the Chairman.] I have not been further west than Hanchung (Shen-si province), as you will see. These provinces I visited. [Mr. Taylor here pointed out on the map the provinces he had visited, viz., Shen-si, Shan-ai, Chih-li, Shan-tung, Kiang-su, Gau-huwy, Hu-peh, Kiang-si, Cheh-kiang, Kuang-tung.] I spent a great deal of time in Cheh-kiang and Kiang-si, and more or less in Kiang-si.

388. Can you give us, in a general statement, what is your experience as to the effects of opium, and especially Indian opium, on Chinese consumers, whether regarded morally or physically?—I do not know that I am able to discriminate much between the effects of Indian and Chinese opium, because in the many cases of Chinese opium smokers with whom I have had to do, one has not attempted to trace which opium they were using. I might say that probably in my earlier experiences Indian opium was the drug used, and latterly Chinese opium has been more largely used by those I have had to do with. As to the effects of opium, on the Chinese I should like to speak definitely.

389. The Commission would wish you to give a pretty full description of your views on this question?—The effects on the Chinese, I, physically, are (a) to interfere with the nutritive system. A man who smokes opium has a lessened appetite. If he be in a good position, able to stimulate the stomach by nutritious food and stimulating dishes, he might continue using a moderate quantity, sometimes for a considerable period, without showing that emaciation which is one of the most marked features where those advantages are not possessed. When a man is unable from any circumstances to get the highly-spiced dishes and nutritious food that are necessary for him as an opium smoker, he becomes very thin and spare and runs down in physical strength very steadily as a rule. Then (b) opium affects very seriously the nervous system. Of course you know the delightful sedative effect of opium; and this is a very delicious effect to the Chinese—it is a sort of Elysium to them; but it is followed by nervous irritability and sleeplessness when without opium. It is a proverb among the Chinese, and it is well known, that the opium-smoker turns night into day and day into night: he is sleepless at night, and unless under the influence of considerable doses he does not get his proper rest; but he is sleepy during the day, and that effect is one that can only be kept under by increasing the dose; and hence the tremendous temptation for men who want to work during the day to increase the amount of opium taken. Then (c) it has a very serious effect, bearing upon national welfare, in its effect on the generative system. In the first instance it is a stimulant, and it very frequently leads to immorality. One of the greatest difficulties, often met with, when a Chinaman wants to break off the use of opium is spermatorrhœa, which comes on, and is a very troublesome symptom. I have had a great number of opium smokers under my care at one time or another, and this is a very frequent symptom, just as diarrhœa comes on in the absence of opium, so spermatorrhœa will also come

on; and this is a serious effect. If the opium smoking is continued, and the system allowed to run down, impotence and sterility are the consequence. Where both husband and wife are opium smokers you find the children are very feeble, of low vitality, and are easily carried off by infantile diseases. If the opium smoking is carried by both parents to excess, there usually are no children. Then (d) the general effect of it is to lower the vitality of men who, perhaps, may seem to be fairly well, and get along under ordinary circumstances, but in fever or any epidemic they seem to have such lessened power of resistance on the one hand, or of recuperation on the other hand, that many lives are lost. I do not think that opium smokers, as a rule—there are exceptions—live as long as the rest of the population. Of course you find cases of men who have smoked opium for many years and do reach to old age; but they are exceptional, according to my experience. Then, I, as to the mental system. The first effect of opium is stimulative. An opium smoker will oftentimes do his best work when under the influence of the drug; and that is a great temptation to young and middle-aged students who have to go in for prolonged examinations. They often do better work through the use of the drug than perhaps they would do without it. But there follows a depressing effect, and there surely ensues a dulled, ultimately a very dulled, mental state; and unless the stimulant is kept up men get sleepy and neglect their work and go down. But, I, the most terrible effect is on the moral system. Opium smokers have always a dulled conscience. I do not think that there is any exception. They have dulled moral perceptions; and if they smoke to excess, as the system goes down, generally the moral system in particular goes down, and there is nothing that an opium smoker will not do to get the drug; his natural affection seems as a rule to be first loosened and then to disappear; and in very, very many cases, where poverty comes on—which is a very natural result of opium smoking—the children are disposed of; the wife may be sold, or, still worse, kept for immoral purposes; and it is one of the greatest difficulties to rouse the conscience of an opium smoker, and when it is roused the poor fellow's will-power is so entirely gone that he is very frequently unable to resist temptation. I think that these are the principal points.

390. Would you say that the opium habit was very generally prevalent among the Chinese?—When I first reached China it was comparatively rare; but it has spread very rapidly during the last 20 years, still more rapidly during the last 10; it is frightfully prevalent now.

391. The Chinese have had a good reputation, have they not, as workers?—They are most industrious people as a race, but the opium smoker is as noted for laziness as the other Chinaman is for industry.

392. Is it not the case that a great number of the Chinamen who emigrate, and whose services are found to be of great value in carrying on the industries of the place where they are temporarily employed, are opium smokers more or less?—I have no means of judging what proportion of the emigrants from China are opium smokers. I have met Chinese in Australia and in America; those whom I happen to have come across were not opium smokers; and the Chinese whom I have met, especially the better classes of them, in Australia, are bitterly opposed to opium being allowed to be introduced among them. Now, surely they ought to know their own race, and the effect upon their own people. If it were beneficial, why should the moral and better men among them be unanimously and bitterly opposed to it?

393.—Will you tell us how you find that the assumed connexion of the British Government with the opium traffic constitutes a hindrance to the acceptance of Christianity by the Chinese?—It makes us very unpopular. I would give anything many times to conceal my nationality, if one could legitimately do it, because I know inevitably the use that will be made of it. As I have mentioned, I have travelled extensively in China. I have never been in a province in which the question of the action of the British Government with regard to opium has not been brought up as an argument against the truth of the beneficial result of Christianity.

394. Do you consider that the unpopularity which you believe attaches to the British Government for its connexion with the opium traffic impedes the work of other Christian missionaries, such as those coming from

the United States, or from France, or from other countries?—One of the most common remarks to be met with is one which affects them as much as us. "If Christianity is worth anything, why do you not go home and preach to your own Government." If Christianity is worth nothing, of course it does not matter whether an American or a German missionary is propagating it, if it be a powerless religion. Whatever is the real state of the case, there is no question that amongst the officials, amongst the literary classes, and amongst the common people, we are believed to be the authors of their national ruin and curse, through opium.

395. Are there any other matters bearing on this question that you would like to bring before us; you have given us very clearly your general view of the case, resting on your long experience?—Is it not a very serious thing that we have by this opium trade alienated the sympathies and the friendship, not of the worst classes of China but of the best? I cannot conceive a Chinaman to be a patriot, and not hate England; and as an Englishman it is very painful and very humiliating to feel this—that the best Chinese are those who dislike us most, and not the worst Chinese—that the best feel that we have inflicted upon them an irreparable injury. Then, again, the poor victims. We have in our own Mission—other missionaries do the same thing—a large number of small hospitals for the reclamation of opium smokers, and a very large number of Chinese come under our care in this way. Men, when I had charge of a hospital, came as far as 200 miles, in order to be cured. Their feelings are very strong; and when we appeal to these refugees to them as evidence that Christianity has no sympathy with evil-living and evil-doing, they say, "Ah! but you cure by tens and you poison by tens of thousands;" and our efforts to bring about a better state of feeling are neutralised by the fact that our nation is believed by the Chinese unquestionably, whether rightly or wrongly, to be the cause of their national ruin and degradation in this respect.

396. So far as you know among the Chinese, generally, it is not understood that an entire change has come over the public opinion of this country with reference to the opium question, that we should certainly, not as a nation, be prepared by forcible means to compel the Chinese to receive importations of opium from India; that is not sufficiently recognised among them?—It is not generally known, my Lord, and I think some of us would feel very much afraid of assuring the Chinese, that if they were to exclude opium there would be no warlike measures taken. I dare not tell the Chinamen so. I am not at all satisfied that it would be so. I am quite sure there would be no war nominally on the ground of opium. But I am not at all satisfied.

397. You are aware, are you not, that a statement was authoritatively made in that sense in the House of Commons, by Sir James Fergusson, as representing Her Majesty's Government?—We have heard of that statement; but many things take place in the House that are not very much confirmed.

398. There was no dissentient voice in the House of Commons when Sir James Fergusson gave that assurance?—I think it would not be easy to convince the Chinese, unless they had an authoritative declaration from our Government, that we were likely to reverse our whole policy since the first war with China.

399. The statement in the House of Commons is, as you know, an authoritative declaration on the part of the British Government; there is no more effectual way of making an authoritative statement on behalf of the British Government than to make a statement officially in the House of Commons?—Would it not be well if this were conveyed to the Chinese officially?

400. They have a legation in London, whose duty it would be to take cognizance of a statement of that kind in the House of Commons?—I think it would be very difficult to convince the Chinese, unless definite measures were taken, that we had reversed our whole policy.

401. Well, what kind of "definite measures" would you suggest?—Communication to the Chinese Government would be a definite measure; and I think it would be very widely published in China. Of course, every missionary would be only too thankful to do all he could in spreading it for his own sake, and for the sake of the work with which he is connected; and I may say we have made very widely known the fact

that there is an Anti-Opium Society, and a large anti-opium feeling in the country; but the Chinese say to us, "Well, you have talked a great deal; why do you not do more; why do you not act?"

402. I think the Chinese Government have every means of knowing from the statements, which have been made upon authority in the House of Commons, that it is open to them to adopt any policy which they may think fit with reference to the importation of opium from outside sources?—They would scarcely be prepared at present to deal with our Treaty. I imagine, as the Americans have dealt with their Treaty in the matter of the Geary Act.

403. Do you not think that the Chinese Government are restrained from taking any action on the lines that you would wish rather by considerations of revenue than by any apprehension, if they prohibited the importation, that we should take warlike measures to resist that?—To what extent, at the present time, the Chinese Government may be influenced by questions of revenue, I have no means of judging. We are well aware that they have in times gone by refused to make revenue from this source.

404. (Sir W. Roberts.) I should like to ask, Mr. Taylor, as a medical man, do you consider that you can distinguish in the case of opium smokers and opium eaters, as we do with regard to the users of fermented drinks—between an opium sot and a moderate user, as we distinguish between a drunkard and a moderate drinker?—The term a "moderate user of opium" is a little indefinite, and it is very difficult to know exactly what one or another may mean by that. If you mean by a "moderate user" one who has it within his power to desist from the use, or to give it up, the number of those, I should say, was very small indeed, after the first few months of taking it. If you mean by opium-sots those who are living in a condition of the utmost degradation, well, then, one could not really give any statistics as to the proportions.

405. You have told us that you have known of opium smokers who have reached an old age?—Oh, yes.

406. I presume you would say that only those who use opium moderately could reach old age?—I do not remember anyone over 70 or 80 who has taken very large quantities.

407. Seventy or 80?—Yes.

408. Well, that is a pretty good span, is it not?—It is; and, as I say, such persons are very rare.

409. We have been told that in cities chair bearers and coolies are nearly all opium smokers?—I am afraid that it is so now.

410. Then how is it that they are able to do their work?—In the first place, their work is not necessarily continuous and exhaustive. A chair bearer for instance, in a city, will very seldom be on duty consecutively for a couple of hours, and under the influence of the stimulant he can do pretty hard work for that time. There is another class of chair bearers who are employed on long journeys, and it has been my misfortune to have sometimes in a gang of bearers some opium smokers. They are a terrible trouble to one. When the stimulating effect of the opium ceases they are absolutely unable to go on, and your progress will be interrupted from one to two hours however inconvenient it may be. These men are never very old; they break down and die very early.

411. I was going to ask you with regard to that recurrence. You say they do their work well under the influence of the stimulant; how do you distinguish between the drowsy effect of a stimulant and the drowsy effect of a meal; we are obliged to take our meals periodically?—The rest of our bearers who are not opium smokers take their meals at the same time.

412. Does the opium smoker take his smoke with his meals or after?—He will usually take it with his meal or after it, or sometimes instead of it, when the poor wretch has not anything else to take.

413. Would a dose of opium enable him to go on with his work without eating?—For the time being. But it is like borrowed money—when you borrow money, you have got to repay with interest.

414. Of course you know, as a medical man, that we do everything—all our functions are performed—under the effect of a stimulant of some sort or other?—A proper, normal, vital stimulant, of course, is one thing, and a poison is another.

Rev.
H. Taylor
9 Sept. 18

Rev.
H. Taylor.
Sept. 1898.

415. You know the paradox is here—we hear on the one hand that these Chinese are extremely strong, perform their work well, and nevertheless take opium; and yet we are told these terrible tales of the effect of opium on the system. Have you not distinguished between the sot and the moderate user of opium?—One has distinguished constantly between those who are already going down under it, and those who are well nourished and sustained.

416. I presume you could not give the Commission any idea of the rate of mortality—the death rate?—I am afraid not.

417. I suppose no statistics exist?—None exist; and it would be sheer guesswork. But amongst these labouring classes you very rarely meet with men, who have taken opium and run down, living for many years. They do not, of course, die of the opium, that is as a rule, but of diarrhoea, or dysentery, or fever, which they have no power to rally from. I may say that in one part of the journeys that I frequently have had to take I used to come in contact in earlier years with a large number of coolies who were engaged in conveying vegetable tallow over the hills of Cheh-kiang. These men used to carry about 330 lbs. avoirdupois over those high hills. Now, I have never seen an opium-smoking coolie who could carry above 100 lbs. That will give you some idea of the difference in strength.

418. And the other will carry 360 lbs?—330 lbs. avoirdupois—tremendous burdens.

419. Do you think that your experience in that respect would be verified by others?—Oh, there is no doubt about it.

420. I presume these effects that you have enumerated, arising in opium smokers, are not enunciated in all cases—they are not inevitable, but you see them, more or less, occasionally, amongst opium smokers—I mean the degeneration of the conscience, and the effect on the nervous system, on the sexual system: I presume that that is not true with regard to the bulk of opium smokers?—I should say that in the case of nine out of ten persons who take opium in what may be called moderation—if you may use the term for those who only take a drachm or two, say daily—that in nine cases out of ten you will find a deadening of the conscience, you will find inability to sleep without the opium, and very frequently inability to sleep for a good part of the night with it, and more or less impairment of a full fair day's work.

421. That is in about 90 per cent. of the opium smokers?—I should think so, as far as I can recall.

422. So that it is only about 10 per cent. of opium smokers that can be said to be in fair health?—In whom the evil effect is not apparent. There may be a good deal of undermining which is not apparent, may there not? And of course some constitutions, I need not tell you, resist adverse influences longer and more strongly than others. Constitutions are not alike, at home or abroad.

423. Then in your view, Mr. Taylor, it cannot be said, even speaking very broadly, that the opium habit is at all on "all fours" with the alcoholic habit—with the use of alcoholic beverages?—I think it is far worse.

424. (Sir James Lyall.) You mentioned the taunts which the Chinese are apt to use in speaking to the missionaries and which are said to be a serious impediment in the way of Christianising efforts. In the pro-opium literature on the subject, I have seen it stated, on the other hand, that the Chinese are a very conceited people, very proud of their own civilisation and of their own philosophy, and all that sort of thing; that they resent strongly—the patriotic sort of Chinamen—the attempts to alter their habits and customs and their religion; that their conceit is very much injured by missionaries addressing them and trying to impress upon them that their religion, that their ideas, were all wrong and that they must take a new religion and that these assertions of theirs about opium is a Chinese way, and a very characteristic way, of showing their resentment and of meeting the missionary; that it is not a thing really felt and believed in by the Chinese generally, but that it is a mere argument used by them. Do you think there is any truth in that?—I do not think there is much truth in it. I have, during my long residence in China, had the personal friendship of a large number

of Chinese—some officials; a larger number of non-officials; some of the literati, a larger number of the middle and lower classes—and I am quite satisfied that there is an honest conscientious belief in the minds of these people generally that we are the enemies of their country.

425. On the ground of opium, are the enemies of their country; or generally because we have forced ourselves upon them?—Largely on the ground of opium; but also because we have forced ourselves upon them, undoubtedly. I had a friend—I may really call him a friend—who was an official, and in friendly intercourse with him I said to him, "I am surprised that you do not discriminate more between the friendly attitude of the Protestant missionary and the assumption (which at that time was very common) amongst the Roman Catholic missionaries of official rank, and their endeavour to force things with a high hand." He said to me, "Well, now, you know, it does very well to talk to the common people about these things, but it will not do to talk to educated people in this way; and we cannot believe that Britain is the friend of our country." "Now," I said, "how do you account for our intercourse with you; what is your own honest view of it; tell me as a friend what is the commonly received view among the officials?" "Well," he said "of course we know the history of your absorption of India, and we know how you first came to India—very quietly, and you have gradually absorbed the country. We believe you have come to China and found it to be a still more desirable country"—(of course they think their own country is perfection)—"and you see that contrary to the state of India we are a united homogeneous people. You demoralise our people with your opium, and get up a large class all over our country who care for no moral principle whatever. You also win over your religious adherents in every part of the country and prepare the way for the absorption of China." I give this as a very natural idea that is very widely prevalent.

426. But is not this a mixed idea with the Chinese? If you could remove that—all the ground that there is in the opium cry—would you not, still leave us as far as possible, I should imagine, obnoxious to the Chinese; would they not still be as opposed as ever to our forcing ourselves upon them, or breaking up their own civilisation and their own customs?—It is much easier to raise a prejudice than to remove it, I need not say; and it would not be the work of a day to remove the prejudice that our stimulus and encouragement and cultivation of the opium traffic through all these years has caused, making it is reasonable for them to suppose that we are not their friends.

427. (Chairman.) Does the past history of our relations with China and the wars we have fought, the battles that we have won, and the treaties that we have imposed upon them; do these considerations, apart from the opium question, explain to some extent that kind of feeling which you say is entertained by the Chinese in regard to their relations with Great Britain?—They might; but when, in the native mind, as any rate, whether rightly or wrongly, there is added to that that the wars have been fought to introduce opium, and that the opium has been the thing of all our manufactures and imports that we have been most eager to protect and push—when you add to what would otherwise still remain, the idea that this was at the bottom and behind it all—of course there is a very serious difficulty. If we could wash our hands of the whole thing, it is not yet beyond the limits of possibility that China might be able to suppress the home cultivation of opium to a very large extent, if not absolutely; and it is a very sad thing if we do not give them every opportunity of trying to do it.

428. (Sir James Lyall.) Do you think that if the Indian Government stopped the export of opium from India to China, the Chinese Government would stop the import of Persian opium. There would be a great demand, you know, then?—I really have nothing beyond what would be a mere opinion to say with regard to that.

429. Your opinion is that they would, or have you no opinion?—I should rather think that they would try to stop the introduction of all foreign opium, and to lessen the home cultivation of opium, and

gradually to stamp it out; but opinions, I need not say, are not always correct. I have not a doubt in my mind that if a few years ago we had removed all pressure, the Chinese would never have allowed the culti-

vation to have reached the point it has, and would have stopped it; whether they can do it now or not, I would not venture to say. We ought to give them a chance to try.

The witness withdrew.

Rev.
H. Taylor
9 Sept. 1898.

The Rev. CHRISTOPHER FENN, M.A., called in and examined.

Rev. C. Fenn
M.A.

430. (Chairman.) You are, I understand, one of the secretaries of the Church Missionary Society and have been for many years past in charge of the correspondence with the Society's missionaries in China?—Yes, my Lord, I have been secretary since 1864, and have had charge of the China correspondence for the last 12 years.

431. How many missionaries are now at work in connexion with your society in China, and in what provinces do they labour?—We have at the present time 66 European missionaries (29 clergymen, 6 medical men, 5 other laymen, and 26 unmarried ladies) besides the wives of missionaries. Of these, 28 have been connected with the Mission five years, and more. Of these 28 missionaries, 3 are in the Kwan-tung province, 9 in the Fuh-kien province, 14 in the Cheh-kiang province, 1 at Shanghai, and 1 in the interior province of Sz-chuen.

432. Can you give us the opinions of some of your most experienced missionaries as to the effects of opium consumption upon the people of China, physically, mentally, and morally?—Archdeacon Moule, who has been a missionary in China for 32 years, wrote in 1891 as follows:—"I doubt whether you would find a single father or mother in China who would regard their children's addiction to opium-smoking, even in a moderate degree, as anything but a cause for shame and most grave apprehension. Listen to a heathen Chinaman's dying command to his children: 'Touch not opium. If you smoke the drug, you may worship me after my death, you may tend and beautify my tomb, you may perform all funeral and ancestral rites; but I shall take no pleasure in what you do, and calamity will overtake yourself and your family. If, on the other hand, you abhor and renounce opium, I can well overlook and pardon negligence as to my tomb, the sacrifices and offerings.'" At a meeting in Exeter Hall, in 1882, the same missionary said:—"In the opinion of every respectable and moral person in China whose opinion is worth having it is a vice, and nothing but a vice, to touch the opium pipe at all, whether in moderation or excess. In the case of alcohol, intoxication is the exception. In the case of opium-smoking, it is the rule and the object." At the same meeting, the Rev. W. H. Collins, who had been a Church Missionary Society's missionary in China for many years, and who, before ordination, had been a medical man, said:—"Nothing can possibly be harder to abandon than the habit of opium-smoking. [In this respect] the habit of drinking cannot compare with it." Bishop Moule, who went out to China in 1857, and is there now, wrote in 1891:—"Opium smoking and swallowing is very prevalent indeed among all classes down to the lowest. [But yet] a shopman, a clerk in all the middle and lower walks of trade, has a black mark set against his name [by his countrymen] if he takes his pipe. Any movement against the use of strong drink originates with the European missionary. But it is his Chinese flock and assistant preachers who warn him that it is not safe to receive an inquirer if there is any suspicion of his smoking opium." Archdeacon Wolfe, of Fuh-kien, referring to villages where opium-smoking is much practised, wrote in 1883:—"The pernicious results of this soul and body destroying vice are apparent all round. Cadaverous-looking faces meet one on every side, and the slovenly habits and filthy appearance of the people generally testify too plainly to the evil it is working on this once industrious and energetic population. Almost the entire population in some places is abandoned to the use of this poisonous drug. The effects are witnessed in the extreme poverty of the people, in the broken-down and dilapidated dwellings all through the villages, and in the gross immorality which prevails among the inhabitants." Lastly, Dr. Duncan Main, the very able head of the Mission Hospital at Hang-Chow, has remarked quite recently:—"Opium-smoking is admitted by all to be a vice; nothing can be said in its favour. It destroys the health and

shortens life, for an opium-smoker falls an easy prey to disease; and it leads to crime and ruin. When anyone says the Chinese can smoke opium with impunity, he talks pure and undiluted nonsense." I have inquired of several of our missionaries, and they assure me that the above opinions are held by them all unanimously. As regards the physical effect of opium-smoking, it does not so much generate any particular disease, but, if not checked, it utterly ruins the bodily constitution.

433. Have you ever been in China yourself?—No, I have not.

434-5. What do your missionaries tell you is their experience with reference to the action of the British Government with the opium trade. Do they consider that it operates as a barrier to the reception of Christianity by the Chinese?—I wrote these remarks at home yesterday; at first sight they may seem to differ from what has been said this morning, but I do not think they do really so much. My answer is this:—Yes, very distinctly; but not so much in the way that is commonly supposed. It may be doubted whether the net result is to prejudice the Chinese against the missionary personally. The prejudice against him as an Englishman is often more than counterbalanced by the satisfaction which they feel on seeing that in this respect he protests against the conduct of his own Government. Archdeacon Wolfe on one occasion gained a friendly reception in a previously hostile town simply through having, accidentally, as it were, shown his strong feeling on the subject. But it is a barrier, nevertheless. The success of the Christian missionary depends on his being able to appeal to the conscience of his hearers; and it is exactly this moral sense which is destroyed by opium smoking. "Humanly speaking," remarks Archdeacon Wolfe, "opium smokers are beyond the reach of conversion, as the vice unfits them for the perception of any moral or spiritual truth." Of course there is a large part of the population untouched as yet by this vice; and as a matter of fact Fuh-kien, where the Archdeacon labours, is one of the most successful of our Missions. Our missionaries long and sigh and cry for the suppression of opium smoking, not because they are propagandists, but because they are philanthropists, and because they see the misery caused by it.

436. You have, I believe, recently endeavoured to ascertain whether the Chinese authorities would be induced to make use of the right conferred on them by the "Additional Article" of 1885 to increase the duty on Indian opium to a prohibitive point, steps being taken at the same time to suppress or limit the growth of opium in China. Will you state the results of this effort?—I was led to ask one or two of our missionaries whether the Chinese could not be stirred up to make representations to their own Government on the subject. One of them, the Rev. J. S. Collins of Nangwa, in North-west Fuh-kien, replied on the 30th March last as follows:—"I lost no time in consulting those most likely to know the usual mode of obtaining such an expression of popular opinion as would correspond to a petition to the Throne with us at home. Having learned that the proper course would be for the mandarin governing the district to issue a proclamation desiring the local gentry assembled in their local council to send him an expression of opinion which he might forward to his superiors, I took an opportunity yesterday to lay the matter before one of the Kien-ning (or Kyong-ning) city mandarins. There was no mistaking his interest in the cause. We explained carefully what you suggested, namely, raising the tax on imported opium, but he smiled and said, that no matter how high the tax was, if people wanted it, some way would be found of smuggling opium into China. No one who knows the [state of things here] can doubt this. He said most emphatically, 'England must move first,' 'England must move first,' and then he added with a meaning smile, 'but your Queen would not be willing to allow so profitable a trade to be stopped'";

Rev. C. Fenn,
M.A.
9 Sept. 1898.

"neither would he believe a word in contradiction of that idea. The fact is that until the opium traffic with India is stopped, the natives will not believe a word we say as to England not being willing to force opium on China by another opium war. The mandarin in question neither smokes opium himself nor allows anyone among his retinue to smoke it." I would only remark on the above that, while we in England feel sure that England will never attempt by war, or threat of war, to force the admission of opium into China, the Chinese are well aware that almost every British official in China would do his utmost to prevent its exclusion, and that the exclusion could not be effected without giving offence to these officials. On the other hand, when once the British Government has forbidden the export of Indian opium, every such official will promptly become an anti-opium man, because he will desire to push, in opposition to the use of opium, the use of other articles imported from British India and the British Isles. There seems no doubt, therefore, that such a change of policy would immensely promote the suppression of opium-smoking in China.

437. Does it at all occur to you that your missionaries might do a good deal to counteract this, as I think, erroneous impression which exists in China with reference to the attitude which would now be taken by the British Government on this opium question. Could they not do a great deal by making public such an authoritative statement as has recently been made in the House of Commons by Sir James Fergusson on the subject. You are aware, of course, that I am alluding to—Oh, perfectly aware; I should hope that they might be able to do something in that way, but still you see here the attempt was *bona fide* made. Mr. Collins is a missionary there; he can speak the Chinese language well; he is on friendly terms with this mandarin; he did his utmost to persuade him, but he totally failed; and I am afraid that if an intelligent mandarin could not be convinced by a missionary who was almost closeted with him, or at least close to him, it would be very difficult indeed for missionaries generally to persuade the Chinese public.

438. Well, we know that new ideas permeate but slowly through public opinion, even in such a country as our own. And we must recognise that the Chinese, looking back to past history, may be sensible that we have taken warlike measures in times past to force the opium trade upon China, and it may be a work of time to establish a contrary view; but still do you not think that the Government of this country has gone a long way in instructing Sir James Fergusson to make the declaration, which he did make, that "never again would a shot be fired by England to force the opium upon China"—I think that is so. One might hope that as years passed away continued effort might produce some result in the desired direction; but that would be a very slow process which would be immensely accelerated by the measure of stopping the export of opium from India to China; and as every year now is hurrying its millions away into moral and physical ruin, it seems a thing to be extremely lamented and deplored, that we should not take steps which would accelerate its suppression.

439. It is the case, is it not, that in so far as the Indian Government takes any action whatever with reference to the trade in opium between India and China it is rather in the direction of restriction, by imposing a very heavy export duty?—It is a Government monopoly.

440. Yes; but I mean the action of the Government in relation to the trade is that of imposing a heavy export duty on the exportation of opium from India to China?—Well, I have not gone into that part of the question so much, but I have certainly read in past years, (and I do not think there is any marked change of policy), that the financial authorities in British India supposed that the best plan financially was to push the production of opium as much as possible, and thus get more exported into China, and thus increase the aggregate return to the revenue. I have no doubt that of late years in consequence of the growing feeling in the House of Commons that would be different.

441. (Sir J. Lyall.) No, it has never been that, I think; it has always been to keep the price up?—Well, I remember reading a remark by Sir John Strachey to the effect that I have just mentioned.

442. (Chairman.) As a practical man, you are compelled to recognise that a considerable change of fiscal policy under such a Government as that of India, must necessarily be gradually adopted. It would not be possible, or it would be extremely difficult, to make a sudden reversal of policy; and therefore, even though you might be hopeful, that at some future time this trade might be further restrained, and perhaps altogether cease, yet an interval must elapse before an entire reversal of policy can take place. In the meantime, does it not occur to you as obvious that something effective might be done by the missionary body, in insisting, perhaps more than they have hitherto done, upon that declaration made by the Government through Sir James Fergusson, to which I have already called your attention?—That was the very point I wrote about urging them to do so. I may say that Mr. Collins was one who has taken it up; but his letter which I have quoted certainly conveyed to my mind the impression that he almost thought it would be useless, that the step he had taken showed it would not be of much good; and Bishop Monle wrote at once and said that he thought that nothing could be done. I think that something could be done but I think the difference is this, that if the British Government in India were to take the step of directing that, Indian opium should be no longer exported to China, it would be an immense help, and would immensely accelerate a process which under any circumstances, would be extremely difficult.

443. We were told last night in the House of Lords by eminent politicians on both sides, that in their view the only thing to be done was to keep pegging away?—Yes.

444. If that is the case with this country, with all its enlightenment and knowledge of political matters, and the wide circulation of an active Press on both sides, I think we must recognise, and the missionaries should recognise, that they must not expect to convey a new view to Chinese minds with reference to the attitude of England on the opium question at once; that there must be a good deal of pegging away on their part, and insistence upon such statements as Sir James Fergusson made, before they can gradually establish in the Chinese mind the true view of the altered attitude of our Government in relation to this question?—I quite agree with your lordship. What I would still say is this,—that under any circumstances, it is immensely difficult; even if at the present moment the export from India to China was stopped, the task would be Herculean, but without that it would be a hundred times more difficult; I quite think that they ought to make every effort in that direction.

445. (Sir J. Lyall.) I quite admit, of course, that nothing would be so effective in convincing the natives of China of the change of policy as an order—prohibiting the export of opium from India to China. Do you recognise that that would cost about 5,000,000. or 6,000,000. sterling a year?—Is it not between 3,000,000. and 4,000,000. £—the net revenue I think is under 4,000,000. now.

446. More than that?—

447. (Chairman.) It is a serious sum for the Indian Government?—It is a serious sum.

448. (Sir J. Lyall.) For producing an effect upon people's minds that is a very expensive measure?—But I consider that the export of opium from India to China, knowing as we do the immense evils which result from it, is wrong.

449. That is another point?—That is a moral question to which material considerations must give way. As I put it in addressing a meeting at the Exeter Hall the other day, a man says: "I believe that this opium traffic is doing immense injury to China, but I object to its being stopped because it might lead to the necessity, say, of a subvention of 4,000,000. a year," the extreme need from England to India. Now that 4,000,000. a year would be more than made up by twopence added to the income tax—twopence in the pound—a man who says: "I believe it is a great moral injury, I believe it is a crime, but I object to giving it up because it may mean that I shall lose twopence in the pound—a one-hundred-and-twentieth part of my income"—such a man—such a man I cannot understand. I think it is perfectly plain that if we English wish to govern India, and believe that the Indians cannot pay for it, we should pay for it ourselves, not certainly try to make the Chinese pay it by a mode which does them far more harm than if we required them to give us the 4,000,000. a year in cash.

The witness withdrew.

The Rev. GEORGE PIERCY called in and examined.

450. (*Chairman.*) You are, I believe, the founder of the Wesleyan Mission in China?—Yes.

451. Have you spent any considerable portion of time in China yourself?—I was 32 years connected with the mission, from its foundation until the year 1852. Since that time I have been in London looking after the Chinese who come here, so that I have been connected with the Chinese every month of every year since 1850.

452. In what parts of China did you reside?—At Canton and Hong Kong, in the south of China.

453. We shall be glad to hear what your personal impressions are with reference to the evils resulting from the use of opium among the better class of the Chinese?—I may say, my Lord, that I have heard the evidence that has been given here, yesterday and this morning, the whole of it. Now, I have two points that I should like to lay before the Commission which have not been touched upon, I think, at all. I wish to be as brief as possible, and yet wish to give emphasis to those two special points. The first is a short account of a body of merchants in China, in Canton, who existed under the old *regime* as a very important body of men. There was a time, as all know, when Canton was the only port open to Western commerce in China. During that time there was a body of merchants in Canton upon whom the Chinese Government devolved responsibility as to the conduct of all the trade, giving them the monopoly of importation and exportation. These were termed in those days and the name by which they still go is the Hong merchants. The number was from 12—varying no doubt at different times—from 12 to 18 or 20. In China, as all know, the rulers, the official class, is the highest, and then comes the scholarly class of the Chinese; but in Canton we had what I do not think has ever existed since in any of the ports of China, and what I think cannot exist again—it was before my time I may say—there was a body of merchants who conducted the whole of that trade between all outside nations and China. I wish to say respecting that body of merchants that they were princely men; the wealthiest of the commercial class in China. They were in numbers, I should say, nearer 20 houses than 10; they were men who, according to Chinese customs, had large families. Polygamy is an institution in China, and they were men with large families. Now, the families of this Cohong, as I term them, being the wealthiest, though not the highest in position in China, would be recognised by us Englishmen as being in the category, on account of their wealth, and on account of conducting this monopoly of the trade, of men in eminent position; and their families as the largest, and of course, in some aspects the most respectable and most influential class that existed. What I have to state about them is this: that there were many of the sons of these men—I need not give their names, because those names are rather difficult to English ears; but I may mention two families, as of those two one of them survives to the present time. Those two families were called respectively Puntingkwa and Howkwa. The other merchants had somewhat similar names, their family names, or names of their firms. What I wish to bring before the Commission is this: that of these large families, consisting, some 50 years ago, of many sons and of a host of grandsons—all those families, with the exception of one, are all but extinct; that they are reduced to extreme poverty and distress. The hoards of wealth which their fathers gathered when they held that monopoly, and the property they acquired, and the gardens of pleasure and the palatial residences, all those have gone to wreck and ruin, and there is only the one family of Howkwa left in Canton of those 18 or 19 Cohong merchants. That name may be remembered and known somewhat in England by a certain brand of tea in the old time that was called "Howkwa's mixture." That I have no doubt the ladies appreciated. Now here is a case in point in which there was great wealth, high respectability, position in society, and in which that wealth was bequeathed to sons and to grandchildren; and it has almost entirely disappeared, and disappeared because the sons and the grandsons took opium,—in large quantities,—beginning, of course, with small doses when smoking it, and going on to larger doses, until in some of those families a man was kept to prepare the opium for smoking—to bring it from its raw condition by repeated processes into the state of prepared opium for smoking purposes;

a man was kept on purpose to supply six or eight sons, not merely young men, but middle-aged men, who had the confirmed habit of opium smoking, and this went on until at last these families have been entirely ruined. That seems to me, so far as I have known and so far as I have learned also of the results of the mischief that opium has done in China, to be the most prominent example of the evils wrought among a body of people who were exceedingly well-to-do, and who were also mentally trained and scholarly to a certain degree, at all events.

454. And the example which you quote includes a very considerable number of individuals?—Yes, my Lord, more than a hundred. A great many more than a hundred.

455. And among that total number you would only name one who has been able to resist this course of degradation?—Only one family. The other house that I named Puntingkwa's. That house owned large and extensive pleasure gardens in the western suburbs of Canton, and for many many years during my residence in China those gardens were visited by foreigners, by missionary families, and by many wealthy Chinese as beautiful pleasure grounds. Within the last 20 years those gardens have all been destroyed; they have been sold, the buildings have been pulled down, and in connexion with other extensive house property in the western suburbs of Canton all has been scattered to the wind. I know myself of no case in China in which there was so significant a proof of the mischief wrought by opium smoking.

456. And you connect all this which has happened with the loss of energy and with the loss of ability arising out of the consumption in excess of opium?—Yes, my Lord; and there are numbers of other gentlemen, some who are in this country and some who are in China, who would speak to the very letter as to the truth of that to which I have referred—that the sons of these families, with the rare exception of perhaps one or two, were all useless and became more or less abandoned, owing to this evil habit, and their property was entirely scattered as the years rolled by.

457. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) Whenever a commercial monopoly like that for a time gives a certain number of families an enormous advantage over the rest of the public, and raises them to great wealth and then is suddenly broken up as this monopoly was, I believe that the state of those families is apt to decay and to fall into that sort of condition that you describe, although, no doubt, opium was also a very great cause. But I have seen exactly the same thing in other parts of the world, where a family had for some certain reasons possessed a monopoly for a certain time and became through that monopoly very wealthy, and when suddenly that monopoly, for some reason or other, was broken down, they proved unable to support themselves or to carry on industry in an open market?—I can quite readily believe that; in fact, I have some knowledge of great riches, especially when suddenly acquired, almost as suddenly disappearing; but the statements which came to our ears from time to time, and the results which we sometimes actually saw ourselves were such relative to the enormous consumption of opium in those families—not merely by the sons and grandsons but by the servants—as to show that they were given up entirely to the consumption of opium.

458. (*Chairman.*) While you recognise the possible operation of those other influences and the change of circumstances to which Sir James Lyall has alluded, you remain of opinion that in the case of those families to whom you were referring the personal degradation and the personal incapacity of those concerned arising out of the opium habit was the principal cause of their destruction?—That is my own full conviction; and it was also the conviction of all the intelligent friends that I had for many years in Canton.

459. Now what have you known of the use of opium and of its effects among the masses in China?—Most of my life was spent in the city of Canton, but the last two years that I was in China I was resident in a large town, a city you might probably call it, 12 miles from Canton of the name of Fatsan. In China we only give the name "city" to walled cities; this is an unwalled town, but with 400,000 inhabitants. It was an immense place, and we were residing in the outskirts of it. Now in speaking with some of my Christian friends there about opium, I said to one of the most intelligent

Rev.
G. Piercy.
9 Sept. 1852

*Rev.
G. Piercy.*
9 Sept. 1893.

among them: "You ought to give us more information about opium than you do;" and he said, "but you hardly dare to examine into the great evils it is doing in China, and doing in this place." I said, "I think we dare do it. What is there that we do not know yet that you can make known to us?" "Well," he said, "I can take you to a place in the heart of this great town where you would see opium and the mischief it is working, and especially the stimulus that it is giving to other vices." I replied: "I am ready to be taken there, whenever you will take me." And as soon as I expressed my willingness to go with him, then he seemed desirous to back out of it, and began to say that it would be very dangerous, in fact that it would be perhaps at the risk of some broken limb, or even of our lives if we visited the place. I said to him: "But you have said that we don't know, and are afraid to examine into the full extent of this evil. Now, for one, I am not afraid, and if you will take me, I will go." So he took me. He informed me as we set out, and on our way, that it was a series of buildings surrounding an open square, and that on the one side were opium houses—large places—and on another side that there were gambling houses, and that it was especially from the gambling houses that he feared difficulties. Then at another side of the square there were brothels, and he said: "I am taking you at a time when in all probability there will be less danger than at any other time—certainly much less danger than in the evening or at night. Where I am taking you, you will see the extent of these gambling houses, and some of the people that are in them, but many more will be there at night, and you will see the exterior of the other places." We looked through a series of buildings where there was every arrangement for opium smoking, and where I have no doubt that 300 or 400 persons could be accommodated day after day, and night after night, to take opium. The other buildings of course I did not go into. Into one it would have been improper for me to have gone, and into the other it would not have been worth risking it. I had seen numbers both of small gambling places and innumerable houses in Fatsun where opium is smoked, but this was on a larger scale. We came away, and he was exceedingly glad when we got away without any danger whatever. But that incident impressed me more fully than almost everything that I had seen in China as to the evil working of opium. Congregated in that place there would be from 200 to 400 or 500 men assembled—smoking opium. From this place they went to the other places. I don't say that no other persons went to the other places, but I say that this was a focus of evil; and as we recognise in this country that the public-house and the intoxicating glass is a provocative, and is the source of many evils and leads to a great deal of work

in the police-courts and goals, and honours of correction, so I found there on a scale that I had not seen in any other place what seemed to me to be the strongest proof that I have had of the mischief that opium smoking was doing among the lower class of the population. That is all I need say on that point. I will add one word, if you will permit me, my Lord: it is this, that whereas occasional speakers against opium and anti-opium agitators, as they have been called, have been spoken of as exaggerating, as immensely exaggerating, the evils of the trade and the evils of smoking, in China; just allow me, my Lord, to say that I believe that it is entirely impossible to exaggerate these evils. I believe it is possible to make great mistakes when we come to figures. When we come to state numbers I think we can be wide of the mark, but as to the total amount of evil done to the opium smoker himself, and the evils which flow from his wrong-doing, to his family, to his relatives, to his friends, I think, a Commission sitting in all the leading cities of China would fail in summing up the total of all the mischief and ruin and death that is wrought by opium in China. I believe, from that point of view that there can be no exaggeration whatever. It is beyond the powers of one, or of one hundred people to gather together, to tabulate, and to estimate the evils that are wrought in China by opium.

460. You have summed up the results of all that experience in China in that concise and powerful statement which of course will have very great weight with the Commission, and I do not know that I can press you to go into details. You have given us, in a comprehensive view, your impression. The Commission is much obliged to you.

461. (*Mr. Pease.*) You have said that you have listened to all the evidence that has been given, and you wished rather to enforce one or two statements; may we understand that you generally approve of the evidence that has been given?—Yes, but I have studiously avoided taking up points which have been brought up before.

462. (*Chairman.*) We are very much obliged to you for your consideration of the necessity of moving forward?—I wish, however, to be permitted to state that almost entirely I agree with the evidence which was given yesterday and this morning also. In many points, if necessary (which it is not), I could corroborate and strengthen that evidence, but I do not consider, myself, that it is necessary to do so. Those two particular points have been raised in my mind since I have been before the Commission, and I challenge any man to overturn the evidence now given as to the entire ruin of the Hong merchants in Canton, during the last 50 years—and in regard to the other point also.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. JOSEPH G. ALEXANDER, LL.B., called in and examined.

*Mr. J. G.
Alexander,
LL.B.*

463. (*Chairman.*) I believe you are a graduate of the University of London?—A Bachelor of Laws, yes.

464. And a barrister of Lincoln's Inn?—Yes.

465. And you hold the office of secretary to the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade?—Yes, I have been secretary for the last four years. I had previously, for about six years, been a member of the executive committee of the society, and had taken a great interest in its work.

466. I believe that you are in the witness' chair this morning chiefly for the purpose of putting in the publications of the society, which shows the various practical proposals which your society has made from time to time, and which it has put forward for dealing with the opium question?—Yes, my Lord, partly arising out of a question or two put by Sir James Lyall yesterday. I thought it might be convenient for the Commission, before it separates, to have before it our Society's views on one or two points which have been opened up, particularly as to the distinction between the Bengal and the Malwa systems.

467. Will you put those papers before us, or will you give us a list of them?—I will just mention them one by one, and mention briefly, too, the points.

468. And you will, no doubt, take care to supply to the members of the Commission (each of them) a copy of those documents?—Yes, my Lord, I have arranged that, and a copy for each member of the Commission

will be forwarded. The first is a book which was connected with the foundation of the society, and was written by my predecessor, the first secretary of the society, the Rev. Storrs Turner. I may mention that it is a very great matter of regret to me that he is unable to give evidence before the Commission; he is only recovering from a very serious illness, otherwise I am sure he would have been most glad to come and speak to some points with which he is much better qualified to deal than I could be. This was an essay written by him in response to an advertisement that was issued by the late Mr. Edward Pease (Sir Joseph and Mr. Arthur Pease's brother) for an Essay on the question of the Opium Trade, in connexion, I think, with its effect on missions in the East. Mr. Turner was one of the prize essayists. He had been a missionary in China for a number of years. His essay led to the formation of the society in the autumn of 1874. There had previously been some committees—a committee in London of which the late General Alexander was honorary secretary,—but they had fallen through. Our society was founded in the autumn of 1874; and Mr. Turner, was appointed the first secretary. He held that position until 1895, shortly after the signing of the Additional Article which I will refer to later. The chapter to which I want specially to refer here is the eighth chapter of his book—the closing chapter—in which, after dealing with the history up to that time, he puts forward propositions for an amended opium policy. I should, perhaps, say that the

society never had any definite constitution. I think one may say that those who united to form it rather were in search of a definite policy which they could suggest, than actually proposed anything upon which they were agreed. In fact, there were those who supported three different measures. There were those who supported the total and immediate suppression of opium except for medicinal use. There were those who were in favour of a gradual suppression, as being what they thought the only practical means of putting it down, and, if possible, with the co-operation of China; and there were also those who favoured the suggestion (which I think was thrown out by Sir James Lyall yesterday) of assimilating the Indian Government's system in Bengal to that which exists already in Bombay, in order that the Indian Government might no longer be a monopolist in the position of actually carrying on the trade, but in the position of regulating the trade and imposing duties, and therefore that such action as they took should be in the nature of repression.

469. (Sir J. Lyall.) I did not, as a matter of fact, make any suggestion of that kind.

470. (Chairman.) That is a suggestion which has been made.

471. (Sir J. Lyall.) Yes, it has been made, but I did not make it.

472. (Chairman.) It is a suggestion which has been made?—Sir James hinted at it rather than made it as his own.

473. (Sir J. Lyall.) You may have deduced it from some remarks of mine, but I am not conscious of having made such a suggestion.

474. (Chairman.) We are conscious of other people having made it?—In this book Mr. Turner did not go for total prohibition. There is a passage at page 205 in which, after referring to the proposal of Sir William Muir, he says:—"Does Sir William Muir's proposition entirely satisfy the demands of justice? We think not. Are we then shut up to Sir R. Temple's *reductio ad absurdum* of total prohibition? Again we think not. Justice and morality demand that the Government should withdraw altogether from encouragement to the opium manufacture; and, if it takes revenue at all, take only that amount which accrues from taxation honestly meant to have a restrictive force." That modified view was the view that was put forward in this prize essay.

475. What date was that?—In 1874. Sir William Muir's proposal had been made in 1868, and I will just lay on the table, if you will allow me, a publication of the society entitled "Sir William Muir's Minute" and other Extracts from Papers published by the "Calcutta Government." Sir William Muir's proposition was the adoption of the Bombay system of imposing a tax in Bengal in lieu of the monopoly, and I should like to call attention to the principal reply to that proposal of Sir William Muir's. It is at page 13 of this tract. It is a short Minute signed with the initials "H.S.M." Of course that is the late Sir Henry Maine. He says:—"The true moral wrong, if wrong there be, consists in selling opium to the Chinese, and the only way to abate it would be absolutely to prohibit the cultivation of the poppy in British India, and to prevent the exportation of opium from the native States. The British Government is sufficiently despotic to effect this, and for moral purposes there is no distinction between what a despotic Government does itself, and what it permits its subjects to do. I am satisfied that Sir W. Muir's policy would greatly add to the supposed moral wrong by largely increasing the quantity of opium introduced into China, while the revenue of India would be seriously diminished. I would not, therefore, base any action on his Minute." I think I had better not attempt to argue the question now, but simply put this in as narrative. I do not wish to commit myself to agreeing entirely with the statement that there is no distinction whatever; but I will only say that the society has since repudiated Sir William Muir's plan as an unsatisfactory one.

476. (Sir J. Lyall.) You used the word "encouragement." You can hardly say that the word "encouragement" applies to the Bombay system?—Well, not of late years.

477. I mean to say the system itself, which is a system of levying a heavy duty, is not encouragement surely; not interfering in other ways except levying a heavy duty?—The system itself is not, I quite grant. I believe,

however, that in the very early days the system was so worked as practically to amount to an encouragement.

478. The Malwa system?—The Malwa system.

479. How?—I am speaking of 50 or 60 years ago, when the Government desired to promote the use of opium, provided it did not go so far as to injure its Bengal monopoly. That was of course rather a delicate operation, but that appears to have been the desire at that time. Then the next document I will put in is an address to Mr. Gladstone when he was Prime Minister, which was referred to by Sir Joseph Pease. It will be observed that the great object urged upon the Government in that memorial is the ratification of the Chefoo Convention, and that really became the main subject of the society's efforts for a number of years. Dr. Maxwell, I think, mentioned yesterday that there were nine years of negotiation on the Chefoo Convention before it was finally ratified under the Additional Article of 1885. During those nine years the society was constantly agitating for ratification, and there was a very strong feeling as to the injustice that was being done to China by not allowing her to have her own way, and by not ratifying the Opium Clause of the Chefoo Convention. It was towards the close of that period that an important meeting was held at the Mansion House in connexion with our society, and that that memorial, signed by a great many influential men, was presented.

480-81. (Chairman.) This is under what date—this letter to Mr. Gladstone?—The date is 1882.

482. I may take it that this communication to Mr. Gladstone was an embodiment of the view entertained by your association at that time on the subject?—Yes, my Lord.

483. And that the signatures (which are numerous and highly influential) to this document are a sort of gauge of the movement of public opinion on this subject at the time?—Yes.

484. I think it is a very important document, and I think it would be well that it should be printed as part of the Appendix to our Report?—Yes.

485. So that it might go forward among other papers to the Indian Government for consideration?—We have copies. Perhaps I ought to point out that that really dealt with a point which is now passed over. At that time the negotiations with China, which issued in the Additional Article of 1885, were still pending.

486. Yes, but I think it still is of living importance. Would that not be your view—that this still has importance as showing the growth of public opinion in regard to this question in Great Britain?—Well, my Lord, I am anxious not to attach too high an importance to it—because it was dealing with a phase which has passed away, and probably some of those who signed under the conditions that then existed would not afterwards have signed such a memorial when they considered that China had her own terms and had been satisfied.

487. I will not further press the suggestion that it should be printed as part of our Blue Book?—I am anxious in that respect not to overstate our case. Well, then, it was no doubt under the strong pressure of public opinion that Mr. Gladstone's Government (Lord Granville being Foreign Secretary) finally accepted the terms proposed by the Chinese Government—terms, as Dr. Maxwell said yesterday, which were modified as compared with those that they had originally put forward, but they were the ultimate terms of the Chinese Government, which Lord Granville in principle accepted; and Lord Salisbury, then coming into office, carried out that which had been decided in principle by Lord Granville before. And that caused something like a crisis in our society. There were those who had attached very great importance to the question of not putting pressure upon China, and thought that that phase of the question had passed away, and who were not disposed to continue the agitation, and in consequence a conference of the members of the society was held, at which I was present, and that conference ultimately adopted a new programme, which is the next document which I will put before the Commission, viz., a "Statement of Facts and Principles." In that document the society took the view (although there were dissentients from that view) that a portion of our case as regards the forcing of China must very much be dropped, but that the Bengal monopoly was absolutely indefensible (that will be found in the closing paragraphs); that the

Mr. J. G. Alexander,
L.L.B.

9 Sept. 1898.

Mr. J. G.
Alexander,
LL.B.

9 Sept. 1893.

society should thenceforth direct its efforts to the stoppage of the growth and manufacture in Bengal, leaving the Malwa question in a somewhat undecided state, concentrating attention on the question of the suppression of the Bengal monopoly. And we have worked on those lines ever since. Then the next document I put in is not actually a publication of the society. I hand it to the Commissioners as being by far the best and clearest statement of the general history of the opium trade, and it is rather interesting as having been a prize essay which was written (as the writer says in his preface) by one who approached the subject with a prejudice against the anti-opium movement, but whose study of the facts, and of the history of the case entirely convinced him. So that really, although written entirely independently of our society, it is a very able statement of our case. The book is entitled "The Indo-Chinese Opium Trade"; by Mr. J. Spencer Hill.

488. Shall we be supplied with copies of that?—I will send them round to each of the Commissioners. In addition to a very clear statement of the history, and a discussion of the morality, of the question, it contains rather a specially valuable chapter on the effect of the opium trade on British commerce with China in general.

489. Would you say that your society, as a body, would adopt and subscribe to the views which are contained in this publication of Mr. Hill's?—Yes, my Lord, certainly.

490. You would like the Commission to consider that that is part of the evidence which you have to offer in support of your case, for the consideration of the Commissioners?—I should be very glad to do so, my Lord.

491. We will take care to make ourselves acquainted with that book, and to consider it. It will be present in our minds in the consideration of our Report?—Then, to turn to a somewhat different point, the question of opium in India. Up to that time our society had almost exclusively turned its attention to the evils of opium in China, and the very name of our organ, the "Friend of China," shows that that has always been our prominent view. We have, however, had our attention turned to the question of opium in Burmah, and I will present one of our tracts dealing with that special subject. It is rather an old one, and the latter part of it is simply excerpts from Sir Charles Aitchison's memorandum, which you already have before you, but it contains, in the earlier pages, some introductory matter, taken mainly from the evidence before the House of Commons' Committee on Indian Finance, which may be useful as an introduction to Sir Charles Aitchison's memorandum. It was shortly after I became secretary, four years ago, that our attention was called to the reports of Mr. Cairne, M.P., and others of what they had seen of the evils of opium in India itself, and we thought that the reports were such that we ought to call the attention of the Indian Government to the matter. We embodied the evidence which we

had received, together with facts collected from the Indian Government's own Blue Books, in an Address to Lord Cross. That memorial to Lord Cross will be found at the close of this Blue Book, on the "Con-
"sumption of Opium in India," which is in fact a reply to it. Sir Joseph Pease has put in the letter that he wrote to Lord Cross commenting on those despatches, and I now present another memorial to Lord Cross which is the official reply of the society to the despatches of the Indian Government.

492. This paper to which you have referred is in the Blue Book, I suppose. Of course, in drawing up our Report, we shall be called upon to consider ourselves in possession of any information which has been already presented to Parliament in previous Blue Books—it will be our duty to take that into consideration as part of the case?—No. The original memorial to Lord Cross is in the Blue Book, as I have said, but this reply has never been published in any Blue Book. And then, my Lord, after the last general election, we presented another memorial to Lord Kimberley, in which we stated our case fully. We had reason to hope, from the votes given by members of the Government during the last Parliament, and from a speech made by Mr. Gladstone during the General Election, that the present Government very much shared our views; and therefore we put our case before Lord Kimberley, putting before him definitely and clearly our proposals, on the different questions arising out of the trade. Therefore that may be treated as the latest official exposition of the society's views on the whole question.

493. And that, perhaps, it would be well to print in our Minutes?—I think so, my Lord.

494-5. Has it been sent to the Government of India?—It was addressed to Lord Cross as Secretary of State for India, and no doubt he has sent it to India.

496. (Chairman.) I think this letter which you addressed to Lord Kimberley should be printed with our proceedings; it would cover the whole ground, would it not, up to the present time?—Yes, my Lord, I think so. It is perhaps hardly worth while to publish the reply to Lord Cross, but the last memorial to Lord Kimberley does express our present views.

497. It is the position you take to-day?—It is. And then the only other paper is a pamphlet of my own, on the revenue question "Substitutes for the Opium Revenue." I may say that I put that in with great diffidence, feeling that I have not Sir Joseph Pease's qualifications for discussing financial affairs. I think it will be found that there are no suggestions in the pamphlet with regard to Indian revenue which have not been adopted from more or less authoritative sources, that is to say, from the writings of men who are eminent in connexion with Indian affairs. Perhaps I may reserve my evidence on other points. I merely wished this morning to put in these documents at this stage.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned till Wednesday next at 11 a.m.

At the House of Lords, Westminster, S.W.

THIRD DAY.

Wednesday, 13th September 1893.

PRESENT:

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B. (CHAIRMAN, PRESIDING).

SIR JAMES B. LYALL, G.C.I.E.
SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D.

MR. R. G. C. MOWBRAY, M.P.
MR. ARTHUR PEASE.

SIR CHARLES E. BERKARD, K.C.S.I.,
Acting Secretary.

Mr. B.
Broomhall,
8 Sept. 1893.

Mr. BENJAMIN BROOMHALL, General Secretary of the China Inland Mission, called in and examined.

498. (Chairman.) Mr. Broomhall, you are, I believe, the General Secretary of the China Inland Mission?—I am.

499. Will you tell us in what parts of China the work of the China Inland Mission is carried on?—It is carried on in the provinces of Yun-nan, Kwei-chau, Si-

cbuen, Kan-suh, Shea-si, Shan-si, Chih-li, Shan-tung, Gau-hwuy, Ho-nan, Hu-peh, Cheh-kiang, Kiabg-si and Kiang-su. It may be helpful possibly to members of the Commission if they have a map—the red names on which indicate the stations of the Mission, showing that they are scattered all over China.

500. Have you resided yourself in China?—No.

501. Will you tell us in what way the effects of opium smoking have been brought before you?—By communications from missionaries in China, and by personal statements from missionaries who have been home on furlough.

502. Will you give us your impressions generally, as formed from these communications, with reference to the effects of opium smoking?—The information that I have from time to time received and obtained has left upon my mind the profound conviction that opium smoking in its effects—physically, morally, and socially—is one of the most awful vices that ever afflicted the world. Second: that our encouragement of the opium trade has been in its results—commercially, politically, and morally—one of the greatest blunders, and one of the greatest crimes ever committed by any nation. Third: that the rapid extension in China during recent years of the growth of the poppy, and of the habit of opium smoking, threatens the very existence of the Empire. Fourth: that there is absolutely no hope for any effective check to the rapid increase of opium smoking in China, while the export of our Indian opium is continued; and Fifth: that the habit of opium smoking is one of the greatest, if not the greatest hindrance to the work of Christian Missionaries in China.

503. Well, now you have given us your general view and the impressions that you have formed from the correspondence that you have received as a whole; have you any further evidence to give distinguishing the reports according to the provinces from which they are received?—I propose to put before your Lordship and the Commission, testimonies received from the various provinces of China, to some extent selecting only portions which bear upon several points already alluded to. I may say these are extracts from a very voluminous amount of correspondence and testimony.

From Yun-nan, Mr. Curnow writes:—"The ravages of opium in this remote quarter are very great. I suppose little or no Indian opium finds its way here. The Hunanese come here in large numbers and take away the native-grown opium to be mixed with the imported opium, further east. *Nearly every house keeps it as a common requisite.* A most horrible development of the evil is the constancy with which the opium pipe is offered you in the homes of the people as a matter of courtesy. Under the garb of a social "whiff," it is spreading and *stripping the whole superstructure of Society.* No class is exempt. Poor shrivelled wretches by the score may be seen on the streets getting a coin where they can to purchase opium. *China is being whirled to its ruin by a means more subtle and ferocious than any hitherto recorded in the annals or ruins of ancient Empires.* Nothing but the Spirit of the Almighty can stay the plague. I do not believe China is able to save herself. The evil has now grown to such a terrible form that the Government is powerless to arrest it, be it ever so desirous."

From Ta-li-fu, Mr. George William Clarke says that he has had experience both in Yun-nan-fu and Ta-li-fu, an important city, and he says, that in Yun-nan-fu 90 per cent. is the proportion of the adult male population who smoke; in Ta-li-fu about the same. Among the coolies in the provinces 80 per cent. He thinks that in these towns about 15 to 20 per cent. of the women smoke, and the people begin to smoke from the age of 12 to 23. He has seen boys 10 or 12 years of age smoking. Mr. Anderson, writing from Yun-nan, says:—"I have nearly crossed this kingdom at its centre and have had good opportunities of watching this people, on long overland journeys, or protracted boat journeys, resting at native inns, visiting opium dens, visiting the people in their own houses, talking with them in towns and villages, mission halls, hospitals, dispensaries, and opium refuges, and there can be no doubt of the awful injury caused by the opium vice."

504. Have you any other provinces?—From the adjoining province of Kwei-chau Mr. Brompton

writes:—"Opium is grown very largely in this province (Kwei-chau); though in the immediate neighbourhood of this city there is but little cultivated. Opium is the largest source of revenue to Kwei-chau. Kwei-chau opium finds its way to Kwang-si, Kwang-tung, and Hu-nan, in great quantities. Kwei-chau indeed exports little else worth speaking of." And he further says, in answer to the question, "What, in your opinion, is the percentage of the adult male population who smoke?" "Natives of this city (Kwei-yang) whom I have asked the above question, answer '50 to 70 per cent. of the adult males smoke.' From my own observations I should judge the latter to be nearer the truth, i.e., 70 per cent."

From the province of Si-chuen, the largest province by far in China, Mr. Faers says:—"Opium smoking as it exists to-day in this prefecture"—he is writing from Sui-fu, in the south-western part of the province—"is one of the greatest foes we, as missionaries, have to contend with. Idolatry is as nothing compared to it. It demoralises all who either smoke or swallow it, to such an extent that they cannot be trusted, neither can their word be relied upon. The evils resulting from this habit are too numerous to mention, and almost every day cases of one description and another come before our notice of its appalling destruction. Amongst the poorer classes its power is far more dreadful than amongst the monied people, as the latter are able to counteract largely the baneful influences of the drug by other things, so that those who only move among the upper classes in China are unable to give a proper estimate of the destruction which the opium causes among the larger proportion of the nation; hence the conflicting reports from time to time we see published." Mr. Frank Trench, writing from Ch'ung-king, the important port of Si-chuen, says:—"My conviction is that opium smoking is an unmitigated evil, and has proved a terrible curse to this land. It has enormously added to the sin and misery of the country, and appears to me to be one of Satan's most powerful methods for the destruction of soul and body of this people. The Chinese, I consider, are perfectly untrustworthy in word, but the effect of smoking opium increases the apparentness of this and every sin many fold. It weakens every physical power before long, and makes a wreck of the man or woman eventually, for certain. When once the craving is excited, they are, so far as I am aware, its complete slaves, and, so far as I know, any method of setting them free is unknown to the natives. They are doomed for life unless foreigners assist them. I do not know whether the Central Government could succeed now in crushing the further growth of the poppy. I fancy that but very very little of the revenue collected as 'li kin' from the native-grown drug ever reaches the Imperial Treasury; it is probably almost entirely engrossed by the provincial officials." He refers to a statement which has appeared in some publications that opium smoking prevailed in Yun-nan for 200 years. He says: "I have visited all the cities but three in that part of Yun-nan lying east of its capital, and, as the result of many inquiries made from the oldest men I sought information from in many villages of the south-east part, the overwhelming and *invariable* statement made to me was, that previous to some 40 years ago, opium smoking, as we now speak of it, was *unknown*, in that part of the province at least. When asked how long it had been smoked, the constant reply was about 40 years. When I asked if it had been smoked previous to that date, I was told that here and there it was smoked, but by a *very few*, that then it was thought disgraceful to smoke it, but it is not thought so now; that when the custom of smoking began to spread, the opium used came from abroad in part. Poppy is now grown to an enormous extent in that part of Yun-nan. The opening of refuges for opium smokers by missionaries in every part of the country would certainly be a very philanthropic action, and would, I have no doubt, be much appreciated by the Chinese; though until Christianity takes a firmer hold on the country, they would probably misunderstand the object of those who established such refuges, and think that they had been sufficiently rewarded by the secret merit which they had been successful in obtaining for themselves. In the absence of decisive action and direction from Peking, I do not think the people or officials are capable of taking measures themselves to open such refuges, or otherwise assist themselves in the matter. I think that refugees

Mr. B.
Brompton.

13 Sept. 1893.

Mr. B.
Broomhall.
13 Sept. 1893.

"made here might be almost, if not altogether, self-supporting, the rent of the building excluded. One of our most reliable native Christians here thinks that in 80 per cent. of the houses in this city opium is smoked. This exclusive of opium dens." This statement of Mr. Frank Trench's was made 10 years ago.

505. You have now been referring to the province of Si-chuen, have you not?—Yes.

506. That is a province in the extreme west of China?—Yes.

507. And I gathered from what you read to us that the supply of opium for that province is drawn from local sources?—Chiefly grown in the province itself. The population is variously estimated at from 40,000,000 to about 67,000,000; the Statesman's Year Book gives it at 67,000,000.

508. Now you go to the province of Kan-suh?—From Kan-suh, Mr. George Parker writes: "The most respectable families are brought to abject poverty, and degradation by opium smoking. The poor are kept continually in rage through it. Children go naked and starve because the parents smoke opium. Wives sit on the bed-place crying with the cold because their husbands have pawned their clothes to get opium. In cases of sickness remedies fail because of the counteracting influence of opium. British officials and merchants only come in contact with their well-to-do compradors, servants, and tradesmen, who, by faring sumptuously, show less of the evil effects in their bodies and minds, than their less fortunate countrymen. It is the poor who suffer the pain; the indigestion; who feel melancholy; who hate their very lives. The commonest acts of Christian charity are frustrated in their purpose because opium must be had, and the pawnshop is near." Mr. Parker farther says: "Opium smoking is a hindrance to the evangelist and pastor equally. It produces lethargy and inertness of mind; the requisite attention cannot be secured. The liar, thief, and fornicator, no less given up to the work of the flesh, are mentally on the alert, but the mental torpor and indifference induced by opium become doubly a blind to the mind." He says: "The population of East Kan-suh was almost exterminated in the Mohomedan rebellion. Kingiang-fu had 400 families within its walls when I visited it. The subordinate Cheo and Hien cities had each less than 100 families within their walls, and no suburbs. In answer to my inquiries as to the opium smoking, it was stated how many families had kept out the opium. In each subordinate city the nonindicted families were counted on the fingers of one hand. The girls in the fields were pointed to as smokers. It was in this district I received the expressive answer that 'Eleven out of ten smoked opium.' Kingiang-fu was the capital of the ancient Cheo dynasty, and until the rebellion had been the chief granary of Kan-suh. Now the poppy is its only glory." Mr. J. C. Hall, writing from another city of the same province, the city of Si-ning, says:—"I do think England must surely be lying under a curse for her part in the introduction and forcing of opium upon the Chinese. Even here you get it cast in your teeth. 'It comes from England.' The latter end of next month we up in this province (Kan-suh) look forward to with terror, I might almost say, for then the opium is ingathered, and the opium-poisoning cases are almost innumerable in the country just outside the North Gate. We here in China cannot do much more than present plain facts to our friends in England, who with these facts, and the prayers of earnest Christians, and the blessing of God, may rouse up sluggard England to the heinousness of her sins." Mr. Laughton writes from the same province but from the city of Liang-chan: "This is a dreadful place for producing and smoking it. It is worse than either Lan-chau or Si-ning. When we came here first, I did not meet with a man for about three weeks after our arrival who did not take it; and about nine-tenths of the women smoke, and even children."

509. One of the missionaries whose communications you have read to us refers to the season of the ingathering of the opium crop as a period to which he looks forward with great dread?—Yes.

510. I infer from that that the poppy is largely grown in this province?—Very largely grown indeed. I understand that two crops a year are secured in some parts.

511. And being an inland province you would be of the opinion, no doubt, that the main sources of supply are local?—Oh, yes; it is the North-Western province of China, and I should presume that scarcely any opium whatever, except native-grown opium, ever reaches that province. But I may be permitted to add one more testimony from Kan-suh, from Mr. Hunt, who writes from Ts'in-chau: "As a missionary labouring a great distance from any of the Treaty ports, and doing a good deal of medical work amongst the people, I would like, in as few words as possible, to give my testimony as to the *woful effects of the drug*, and the *hindrance* it undoubtedly is to the spreading of God's truth. This testimony is founded on *my own careful observation*, as I have during 10 years gone in and out amongst this benighted people. The opium is known here, as in most parts of China, by the name "*Foreign Tobacco*" (or *Foreign Smoke*), so that *our name is inseparably connected with the curse*. In the city quite 70 per cent. of the men are smokers, of whom the greater half cannot afford the indulgence. This means a misery in the latter case, equal or worse than equal to that in the homes of confirmed drunkards in England. Of the women in the city about 10 per cent. are smokers. In the country smoking is less common among both sexes; we might safely estimate it at 40 and 5 per cent. respectively."

512. (Sir J. Lyall.) Foreign opium, the opium imported from India, is supposed to be of a better quality and fetches, therefore, a higher price, does it not, than the native product?—It is assumed to be of a better quality.

513. And therefore, presumably, of a higher price?—Because of the greater skill in its manufacture.

514. Of a higher quality, and therefore of a higher price?—Oh, a much higher price. The difference is very disproportionate indeed as to cost; but the Indian opium, the general testimony is, is worse in its effects upon the people than the native grown.

515. It is possible that some of the cases containing the native opium might be labelled wrongly "Foreign"?—No doubt, for purposes of gain, it will often be sold as foreign opium.*

516. (Chairman.) Now we turn to the province of Shen-si?—From the province of Shen-si, Mr. Easton writes: "The evil results are apparent on every hand. Sad and sickening are some of the cases one has met with, but they are so common that they slip from the memory as an ordinary affair. At present we have an old woman, living in our house, aged 70; she is respectable, and has been well-to-do; she has three married sons, all, I think, over 30 years of age. Two of them and one of their wives are amongst the most inveterate and despicable opium smokers in the city. They have ruined the family, sold everything, even to the garments off the poor old woman's back, and the bedstead from under her, and left her on the floor to starve. Two years ago Miss Fausset discovered her in this condition, and as she dared not give her cash, she daily sent her cooked food. She is now in our house doing little odd jobs of needle-work for her food; we have sometimes given her a garment; but her sons, who watch her constantly, got it from her within a few days. This is a sample of what is very common here." He says that native-grown opium is chiefly used; in fact, he says: "All native. I have never seen foreign opium; the natives in these provinces do not know it. The majority do not know that foreign opium is still brought to China; they regard our guilt as consisting in first introducing it. It is, however, always called "*Foreign smoke*." Mr. Easton, says further: "This is a great opium-producing district; the quantity grown is enormous. The whole population suffers much; wheat, oil-seed, and beans being so little grown as to make them dear. Dealers come from all parts to buy opium, bringing silver for the purpose. This influx of silver depreciates the value, and the exchange becomes very low, seriously affecting ourselves as well as many natives; a teal fetching about 200 cash less than usual, say 3s. 2d., instead of 3s. 10d.," and he says, "Ignorance is the only excuse one can find for the Europeans who pretend to defend it."

* The witness desires to state that cases or chests of native opium could not be sold as "foreign." The witness opium ball is beautifully made, and many years ago a London opium merchant in showing him one, said that the outer covering or shell could not be imitated in China. Small quantities of the native opium when in the condition ready for immediate use might in some cases be sold as foreign, and this was what the witness meant by his answer.

517. You have now dealt with the province of Shen-si?—Yes.

518. Do you know at all from what sources the demand for opium is supplied in that province?—From Mr. Easton's testimony, and he is at a point where he would be likely to know, he says, that the Indian opium is not even known in that province.

519. What is your next province?—The next province is Shên-si. I have a statement from Mr. Hoste, who is the son of Major-General Hoste. He says that "Native tracts are occasionally issued by individuals against the use of opium. Last winter some were being sold in this city. I enclose translations of four, with the originals of three." I may possibly later on be allowed to read one of them, but this is one of the opium tracts circulated in the district, of which he has sent me a translation. (Tract put in.) He says that "opium is grown in this neighbourhood on irrigated land. As a rule, about three-fourths of the land is grown with opium." In answer to the question, "Do the officials prohibit the cultivation of opium?" "In what way and with what result?" He says: "Occasionally a man of more than ordinary goodness and force of character may enforce, rigorously and effectually, the prohibition of it. Till within three or four years proclamations forbidding the cultivation of opium were annually put up, but were simply a dead letter. Now the cultivation is legalised, and a heavy duty of over 3 dollars an acre is placed upon it; but this does not check the cultivation." He says that only native-grown opium is used in his district. Mr. Bagnall, who has been a missionary for 20 years in China, says, concerning the province of Shan-si, and he has travelled about it very greatly: "The people of Shan-si are historically a quiet, law-abiding people, possessed of good business qualities; but now, through the opium, are becoming in thousands of cases, so reduced both as regards physical strength and energy of mind, that one cannot but be alarmed at what must be the condition of most of them in the early future. The effects are seen in the neglected appearance of the people and property; for many of the finest houses in the cities, and many which might well be termed mansions in the villages of the Tai-yuen plain, are literally crumbling to pieces. In the valley of the Fen river (a very fertile district), the best land is almost entirely given up to the cultivation of the poppy. Travelling on the main road from the south towards Tai-yuen Fu, I stayed at an inn a few miles from the city. During the evening and in the morning I heard children's voices. These I supposed were from the younger members of a family who were travelling. But while the mules were being harnessed, and the many carts were being packed previous to starting, I saw that eight little girls, ranging from seven to twelve years of age, were being placed in a cart. Enquiring about them from a fellow-traveller whose cart stood next to mine, he replied, 'These children have been bought cheaply in Ta-t'ong Fu [a city in the northern part of the province], by the man you see with them, who is going to sell them at T'ai-ku [a city about forty miles from T'ai-yuen Fu] for a high price. This has become very frequent lately, and is what your opium is doing.' By way of explanation he said the people in the north of the province being poorer, the opium habit reduced the victims to extremities more rapidly, and that selling their daughters was one resource to get money in order to procure the drug."

520. What was the name of this last province?—The province of Shan-si.

521. So far as you know, the main source of supply of opium in that province would be local?—Very much so. I have had a daughter, in fact, two daughters residing in that province, and a son, and the opium growing from their testimony as well as that of others, is very extensive—it is ruining the province.

522. And you would hold that both the central and the provincial governments of China were largely to blame in this matter?—Distinctly so; but there are in some of these parts attempts, every now and then, to destroy the opium, and when "the runners" are coming there is everything done to divert their attention from parts where it is being grown, and, in fact, where they have been destroying it the people have said: "Kill us, kill us," because they would rather suffer injury themselves than lose their money by the destruction of the opium crop.

6 80970.

523. What is the next province that you deal with?—The province of Gan-hwuy, one of the central provinces. This is from one of the most careful and most reliable men for accuracy that we could give any statement from.—Mr. Cooper, of Gan-king. He says: "A fearful case was brought under my notice the other day, which I am assured by the natives is of no uncommon occurrence. A man, formerly in business as an engraver, through opium smoking eventually became lazy, and lost all his business; one article after another was sold, until he had nothing left but his wife: instead of selling her—which is frequently done—he did far worse." I read this to your Lordship and the Commission: it is a statement we could not make public. He says: "Instead of selling his wife, he did far worse, viz., invited his opium-smoking friends who had money to his house, where he encouraged them to commit adultery right before his eyes, in return for which he received sufficient money to feed his lust for the opium. Alas! alas!! these cases are too numerous; when opium comes in self-respect and integrity go out. I believe that opium is the greatest curse on the face of the earth to these poor benighted Chinese, who have too little moral strength to refuse the bait so nicely put before them by so-called Christian England."

524. In this particular province have you reason to suppose that the importations from abroad of opium are considerable, or do you imagine that as in the other cases the principal sources of supply are local?—I am not so well able to speak as to that province, but Mr. Marcus Wood is here, who has lived in that province, and will be able to give more dependable statements in regard to it than I could. From the same province (though this letter is dated from Kin-kiang), my son, Marshall Broomhall, who had been living in the province of Gan-hwuy, gives a statement which I think will be worth the attention of the Commission. He says in a letter which I received about a fortnight ago: "The Chinese man's conscience needs no education upon the question of opium. I have never yet met a native who has not acknowledged that opium smoking was a sin. Were any native asked, 'What constitutes a sin?' almost invariably he would answer: 'Profligacy, opium smoking, wine drinking, and gambling.' I would that those who speak lightly of these things could have stood in my shoes a few weeks ago. When speaking to a few natives who were around me, about the Gospel, a gentlemanly Chinaman addressed me. He proved to have been private secretary to one of the Embassies, and had visited England, France, and America. Never before have I been made to feel such real shame for my country, as on that occasion, as for fully two hours he spoke without reserve of what he had seen and knew. The opium trade, and the wars consequent, were the chief subjects of his talk, on which subjects he was thoroughly conversant; having also been to India. He said he had noticed that the opium merchants themselves did not smoke—they knew better—but their greed made them willing to get rich by the ruin of another people. In vain did I endeavour to show that many of our people abhorred the trade. 'Yes,' he said, 'I know all about the Anti-Opium Guild, but what's the good of always talking; why don't you do something.' In concluding he said: 'Now, if the Gospel that you come to preach can accomplish what you profess, then the best thing you can do is to go home and preach it to your own people, for they need it.' What could I say, but acknowledge—as every honest English missionary must do—that to us belongeth shame and confusion of face. This conversation was heard by, and retailed to, over a hundred people. One felt it was no wonder, as he said, that we were hated. These things cannot but be causes of ill-feeling and indignation. It grieves one deeply to meet hundreds who have been cursed, to every one who has been blessed, through contact with the foreigners. The awful habit has gained an incredible hold on this people, and is gaining ground everywhere. In place of the ancient custom of assembling at the tea shops to drink tea over the making of a bargain, or the contracting for coolies or boats, it is not at all uncommon to resort to the opium den instead. In places where one can hardly obtain food, opium can be bought. Last year when going westward (up the River Yangtze) to the city of Chung-king, in Si-chuen, I was often astonished to find where it could be obtained. No matter if the boat stopped in the gorges where only rocks were to

Mr. B.
Broomhall.
13 Sept. 1893

F

Mr. E.
Broomhall.
13 Sept. 1895.

"be seen, and where at first sight no house was discernible, the men would go ashore for their pipe, and one would find on some small plot of land a small hut or similar place where opium and wine were to be had. In other places small boats would come and fasten alongside, which proved to be floating opium dens. In many of these small huts and boats there was nothing for sale save the opium and wine."

525. What would your next province be?—Honan. Mr. Coulthard, a nephew of mine, writes from Chau-ki-keo, and he says:—"There are about 1,000 opium dens in the cities and towns near here, irrespective of the private arrangements provided in places of business and great halls, and he thinks the average number who visit each of these dens daily would be 30." He says, "Scarcely any, if any, really foreign opium is used here. Ho-nan opium is very superior; certainly not the tenth of one per cent. used is foreign. During the last two years, owing to the cheapness of flour and millet, cases of cruelty to procure opium have been rarer. Still, cases are known where wives are sold to satisfy the craving, and children sent out to beg to procure the daily supply of opium. Everything available is sold, and in some families it is impossible for any member of the family to keep an article of clothing which is not in wear at the time; all is seized by the voracious consumer to supply the deep craving."

526. Now what is your next province—Cheh-kiang, is it not?—I have with me only a brief note from Cheh-kiang. Mr. Randle writes: "That he had never met a Chinese who had attempted to justify opium smoking; but, on the other hand, I have met and conversed with hundreds who have both condemned it and deplored it." And he also says, "One very evil result of the opium trade with China is that it makes suicide so easy; and, alas! so common."

527. Chih-li?—The extract from Chih-li that I propose to read is given by my son Hudson Broomhall, who lived in the city of Huai-luh. It shows the difference between the condition of things now and many years ago. "At Huai-luh (in Chih-li), in 1851, the Mandarin tried to prevent the introduction of opium. It was discovered that an innkeeper had privately provided opium and pipes, and after trial he was convicted. The mandarin gave him the option of a public beating, or the mending of the city north wall; he chose the latter, which cost him 10,000 taels (say 2,500*l.*). While the wall was being repaired, my teacher was born, and received the nick-name 'Sin-cheng' (New Wall), and since has been called Mr. Cheng (Mr. Wall) to distinguish him from his brothers. Opium-smoking is now very common in the city, and there is now no public protest against it."

528. No public protest?—No.

529. Then do you mean by that that the public opinion of the locality is no longer hostile to the introduction and use of opium?—That is so. The incident he mentions as occurring 40 years ago shows what was done at that time to check it, but now it is common and no attempt is made to stop it. And in connection with that same thought I would venture to quote the words of the Reverend Dr. Happer, not of our own mission, who says:—"I can testify from my own observation, during forty-seven years' residence in Canton, to the distressing evils of opium. In the year 1844 the facilities for opium smoking were not seen in any Chinese house. Now the opium couch is seen in nearly every well-furnished house."

530. You have now gone through the evidence, province by province?—Yes.

531. What you wish further to say is of a more general nature, is it not?—I think perhaps it might be permissible to me to say a few words which bear upon the remarks made at the opening, as to the effect of this upon the welfare of the country and as to the rapid extension of the vice.

532. We shall be glad to hear any general statement that you wish to put before us as representing your society?—As showing the effect upon the country as a whole the Reverend William Muirhead, of the London Missionary Society, says: "Opium smoking is rampant in all parts, and is eating out the vitals of the nation." And Dr. Griffith John, of the London Missionary Society, one of the most able men in China, says:—"Opium is not only robbing the Chinese of millions of money year by year, but is actually

destroying them as a people. It undermines the constitution, ruins the health, and shortens the life of the smoker; destroys every domestic happiness and prosperity, and is gradually effecting the physical, mental, and moral deterioration of the nation as a nation." The Reverend E. O. Williams, of the China Inland Mission, writing from Western China, says:—"Oh, that our statesmen in England could see a little of the effects of this poison which we have forced, and are forcing still, upon the Chinese that we may make a little money. The poor Chinese! No wonder they hate the foreigner. How can we ever make amends for the awful wrong we have done them? You come across it at every turn. If you go on a journey very probably your coolies are opium smokers, or your boatman; you see it and smell it in the inns; you come across it everywhere." And as was stated in a leading article in the "Times" some little time ago, "25 years ago, the only marketable opium came from India; but now," it says that "China is no longer compelled to resort to India for its opium. The huge crop of Chinese opium is raised for the supply of scores of millions who never smoked before." And it further says, that "seven-tenths of the adult male population, it is computed, now are opium smokers. Probably 25 years ago only a fraction had contracted the habit. The propensity, which is understood to have a total existence in China of no more than a short century, has of recent years spread like wild-fire among the nation." Dr. Griffith John fears that no legislative measure on the part of the Chinese would put an end to it; but he says, "Be that as it may, our path as a Christian nation is plain enough. We have inflicted a terrible wrong on the people of China, and it is our solemn duty to try and undo it by abandoning the trade at once and for ever ourselves, and by giving them every sympathy and aid in our power in their attempt to banish the curse from within their own borders."

533. This deplorable increase in the consumption of opium in China has, it would appear from the various statements that you have read to us, been chiefly fed by the enormously increased growth of the poppy in China itself?—It has been so.

534. And there has been great laxity on the part of the Imperial and local provincial governments in enforcing the edicts which have been put forth to prohibit or diminish the consumption of opium?—The reason for that has been that money was going out by millions a year; their silver for the Indian opium, and that has caused the authorities to be lax in enforcing their own regulations, which 50 years ago were extremely strict; men were put to death then for selling and smoking it. But another reason, no doubt, which we cannot shut our eyes to, is the fact that it is an opportunity which corrupt officials may take advantage of to accept bribes for allowing the growth in these interior provinces. I have not gone into the state of things in all the provinces because of the time.

535. I think you have given us abundant evidence to show the ill-effects of opium, and to show that the vice widely prevails and is increasingly prevalent in China?—My own conviction is very strong that if this thing goes on for another 50 years as it has gone on for the last 50 years, it will bring China into a most awful condition. From all parts it seems that during the last 40 or 50 years the growth has been immense, and the increase of its use immense. Mr. Morris, a deputation from the Baptist Missionary Society, who visited China more than a year ago, says that "In Shan-si a very intelligent native told me that he thought there would be six or seven opium-smokers out of ten men in the city, while in the country the proportion would not be more than three to ten. He also said that 'when he was a boy—he was nearly 70 years of age—opium was consumed, but that the habit of using it was not a common one, and an opium-smoker was pointed at and talked of as quite an exceptional character. The practice, he told us, had grown up chiefly within the last 30 years.' The increase seems to have been more rapid in recent years. Mr. Faers, writing from Sui-fu in Si-chuen, says:—"The use of opium is favoured by the magistrates. When I came here in 1891 there were under 200 licensed dens, and now the number is doubled, it being an easy and lucrative source of revenue, and the chief magistrate styled it a 'legitimate business.'" Mr. Huai says: "If Christianity is not received, the demoralisation of the Chinese by opium, and the Government of the country by other Powers,

" will be facts to be recorded at no very distant " epoch." And that is the impression which many have, the Chinese themselves feel that we are seeking to weaken them as a people, that by-and-bye the country may be taken by other people, and it may be worth mentioning that in *last Saturday's* "Standard" in the telegraphic tidings from Shanghai, we read:—
 " *Viseroy Chang*, who is notorious for his hatred of " foreigners, and for the encouragement he has given " to the natives in their barbarous treatment of Euro- " pean visitors, has, it is reported, addressed a petition " to the Throne, in which he deliberately advocates the " extermination—that is, the massacre—of all foreigners " in China, more particularly the English. He contends " that this policy is necessary, in order to prevent the " eventual partition of the Chinese Empire among the " European Powers." I have never seen that as coming from an official before, though it has been said to our missionaries over and over again, that it is our motive, to weaken them as a people, and by-and-bye to take their country. Archdeacon Wolfe mentions in one of his letters the fact that the American Board of Missions had abandoned a mission station because of the extent to which opium-smoking was practised; he says:—"The degradation of an opium-smoking town " is of that peculiar and intensely low and hardened type " that, humanly speaking, it seems almost impossible to " make any impression of a moral or spiritual nature " upon the inhabitants of a place given up to the " degrading vice of opium-smoking," and I may, perhaps, in just a few words, give the testimony of three missionaries, to a point which bears out what is a common impression in China. Dr. Galt, formerly in charge of the Church Missionary Society's Opium Hospital, Hang-chow, referring to the fact that the habitual use of opium affects the increase of the population, says:—"I find that only one inhabitant was " added to an opium-smoking family during 11 years " in fact, 154 parents, of an average age of 33 years, " had only 146 children born to them during 11 " years." The Rev. J. McCarthy, of the China Inland Mission, who went right through China from Shanghai to Burmah, says:—"The people assert freely, and " believe firmly, that the number of children born to " opium smokers is less than to other men, and that " it thus tends to reduce the population." The Rev. Dr. Griffith John, of the London Missionary Society, says:—"The Chinese tell us that a large proportion of " the regular opium-smokers are childless, and that " the children of the others are few, feeble, and sickly. " They also affirm that the family of the opium-smoker " will be extinct in the third generation." I published a book some 10 years ago, rather more—12 years ago—on "The Truth about Opium Smoking," which I shall be glad to hand to your Lordship. That book contains the testimony of many missionaries, and was published in answer to some statements made by Sir George Birdwood.

536. Would you give us a few more copies—each member of the Commission will be supplied with a copy?—I have a few copies left. It is out of print now, but I will be very happy to supply copies as far as I have them. I referred just now to the native opinion. This is one, and it may be worth while for this to go in evidence as just one of the many tracts published by the natives themselves against opium. Mr. D. E. Hoste explains that "the picture represents " one of the opium shops, or dens, common in North " China. The owner is weighing out opium for the " half-naked wretch at the counter, whilst his assistant in the right foreground works at the bellows and watches the pot in which the raw opium is being prepared. The two half-naked men going out have just bought their ration of opium. They are described by the three characters over their heads, " as:—*Shih hsiang ohih*," or (*insatiable opium eat*); " and *chien hsin he*—(*reckless spendthrift*)—whilst " on the signboard over their heads are the words— " 'The medicine of East and West, opium in rolls or " paste sold here'—(a polite term for opium). The " characters on the right side of the picture are doggerel "—to the following effect:—

" There are people who say opium is a rare fine " thing—what nonsense! 'and are continually brag- " ging of their prowess' (in smoking it and selling it). " What effrontery and boasting! And even declare that " the practice will benefit them. How utterly absurd! " As a matter of fact they come to ruin and beggary— " That's certain!" The writing below is as follows:—
 " Open a prosperous shop, and drive a roaring trade, " in selling native opium, raw and prepared. Lay in

" a stock of smoking materials built up of the best " opium all ready, and (you say) you will deal fairly by " rich and poor alike and (so you do) for whether they " are friends or relations, they all have to pay up ready " money. Some buy opium and go; others lie down in " your den and smoke there; if they smoke but three or " five pipes, don't they enjoy it; and how sparkling they " become in their wit and conversation? They sip tea " and eat cakes only thinking of present gratification " and regardless of future disaster. Though everybody " knows it is injurious, people just love it; at first " they take a few whiffs to quiet them in sorrow and " anxiety, then as the craving lays hold on them, day " and night they can't leave the opium pipe. No " matter how lusty a fellow you may be it will, with " you up, before you were hale and hearty, now (by " your opium smoking) seek debility and ill-health; " you are under the misery of the craving, we exhort " you good people all, not to get snared by opium. " Thus your peace and prosperity will be secured. Ten " miseries arising from opium smoking:—I. Yellow " haggard face, wasted body and debility—(this is " what the craving does for you). II. Clothes all " tattered and torn—respectability done for. III. Wife " and children weeping and in wretchedness. The " result of your neglect. IV. Father and Mother, " though not ill; dead early. Died of anger and " despair. V. Pay no taxes, or duties. Property all " sold. VI. For ever lying down, regardless of the " place being dry or wet. When the craving comes on; " VII. Wandering about in rags and nakedness. An " utter outcast. VIII. Begging about the streets. " Destitute. IX. A prey to remorse and despair. 'Tis " late now to repent. X. Tormented with fears as to " the future. Indeed a hopeless look-out." I think " perhaps I ought not to add more.

537. You have given us a very full general statement, but we would not ask you to withhold anything that you consider important?—I made a remark that I think there would be no real check to the growth of use of Chinese opium while our Indian opium is exported. I believe that the Chinese Government could save their own country—would make a desperate effort—if their hands were free; but they have no encouragement to do it. In fact everything is on the other side while the Indian opium is sent to China; and we are particularly wishful that the export of opium from India should be stopped as the only thing that will give us any hope whatever of the Chinese authorities being induced to make any effort to check the consumption in their own country. I have to thank the Commission for the patience with which they have listened to me.

538. There are only one or two more questions which I would like to ask you. You have clearly shown the evil which attends the excessive use of opium by the Chinese people so far as it has come under the observation of your numerous body of missionaries; you have shown that so far as your information extends, the greatly increased consumption has been chiefly met by the increase in the cultivation of the poppy in China itself, and your missionaries have in several of the reports that you have quoted, referred to the laxity on the part of the local governments in relation to the enforcement of prohibitions against the use of opium. Well, then you have now referred to the action of the Indian Government. You, of course, quite recognise, do you not, the change that has taken place in the state of public opinion in this country; it is certain, is it not, that a war with China to compel the admission of Indian opium would no longer be sanctioned by public opinion in this country?—No.

539. That is so, is it not?—I believe it would not be sanctioned.

540. Certainly not?—But I believe the Chinese would be afraid to run the risk of it, and they would fear, further, that though a quarrel might not arise out of the opium as avowedly a question of opium, it might come in another way, and if it did not, that there would be a return to the old smuggling habit, so long as we are manufacturing and exporting the Indian opium. The increased consumption of opium, I may be permitted to say, during the last 50 years was not merely from native growth, but up to about 10 years ago there was a steady increase of the amount exported from India. Though it has been reduced in price, it has not been very greatly reduced in quantity during the last 10 years; its value is less, but the quantity has been much the same.

Mr. L.
Broomhall.

13 Sept. 1893.

Mr. E.
Broomhall.
13 Sept. 1893.

541. In the earlier part of your statement you alleged that the Government of India gave a direct encouragement to the exportation of opium from India into China. Well, in what way do you consider that the Government of India can be justly said to have encouraged the opium trade?—Many years ago Mr. Julius Jeffrey, F.R.S., of the opium factory at Patna, distinctly pointed out that it was his business to manufacture the opium to meet the Chinese taste.

542. Many years ago that was; but as the trade is at present regulated, how would you say that the Government of India directly gives encouragement to the exportation of opium from India to China?—By the growth and manufacture of the opium for export, and by the monthly sales at Calcutta, which are Government sales, and also by, so far as we can judge, the discouragement of anything which would check the export.

543. (Sir J. Lyell.) I gather that the prohibition of the export of Indian opium is urged by most of your missionaries as a striking act of expiation for our guilt in the matter in former years in the wars with China, and as an example and encouragement to the Chinese Government to take measures to stop the habit, but that most missionaries have only a slight hope that the Chinese Government would be now able or willing to take measures to stop the growth and use of the poppy—of opium in China?—It is not viewed in the light of an expiation, but as a matter of moral right, it is not with the view to our past ill-doing, but as a matter of doing right now. But if the Chinese themselves begged us to send the opium, knowing how common its use is there, you ought to refuse to send it.

544. But the latter part of my question was that most missionaries have only a slight hope now that the Chinese Government would be able or willing to take measures to stop the growth and use of the poppy?—Opinions vary; but the testimony generally is that there is very little hope, partly because the officials themselves have become in many cases smokers of opium, and in high quarters too; and further they are now deriving a certain amount of revenue from it themselves. But my hope individually is that, seeing that something must be done if the country is to be saved, they will from patriotic motives be compelled to take action.

545. You know that Sir James Fergusson said in the House of Commons that the Chinese Government at

The witness withdrew.

Mr.
G. G. Brown.

Mr. GEORGE GRAHAM BROWN called in and examined.

549. (Chairman.) Are you a member of any University?—I was a private student of Glasgow University, my Lord; but I am not a graduate.

550. You have been a missionary in China?—Yes.

551. How many years have you been labouring in China, and in what districts have you been stationed?—For more than six years and since 1888 in the city of Lan-chau, my Lord. If you will look at the map you will find in the north-west corner the city of Lan-chau, capital of the province of Kan-suh. My testimony is only valuable because of my having been in a somewhat inaccessible district.

552. Will you tell me what is your experience of the district of Lan-chau, as to the effects of opium on the Chinese consumer, whether regarded morally or physically?—Distinctly bad in both ways, my Lord.

553-4. Is there anything you would like to add in any way?—I have made inquiries as to the amount of Indian opium sold in the city. Being a capital city, there is a large number of expectant officials from the south residing there, but only two stores sell Indian opium in that city. The distance from the coast is 2,400 miles, so that of course the price of Indian opium, as compared with the native-grown product, is as ten to one. The cost as ten to one; the strength of Indian opium as eight to one of the China drug.

555. And the proportion in which Indian opium is consumed as compared with the Chinese I suppose is merely fractional?—Absolutely fractional. The point here which I wish to mention to your Lordship and the Commission, is that no Persian opium is known in the city, although a great trade route passes through it. The trade route from Turkestan goes down through

the present moment can prohibit the import after 12 months' notice. Do you understand that that is the case?—I heard Sir James Fergusson make that statement; but while we are manufacturing the opium in such vast quantities and allowing its export, the Chinese will not pay much attention to that.

546. You put it, upon moral grounds, that we ought not to allow the export for a moment?—Not for a moment.

547. Whether the Chinese Government will take action themselves, or not?—I feel, as Dr. Griffith John put it very powerfully some time ago, that our action should not depend upon anything which the Chinese Government may do. He says: "I cannot close my eyes to the fact that opium smoking in China has become so common and that the habit has such a hold on its victim, that in my most calm and solemn moments I can see no hope except in God. There are millions in China to whom the drug is dearer than life itself. Even if the foreign trade in the drug were given up, it is more than probable that opium smoking, and consequently opium growing, would go on in the provinces. Yun-nan, Kwei-chau, and Sichuen are covered with the poppy every year, whilst in several of the other provinces it is extensively cultivated. The evil is now one of enormous magnitude; and I am inclined to think that no legislative measures on the part of the Chinese Government, however honestly adopted, will put an end to it," and then he said what I stated just now:—"Be that as it may, our path as a Christian nation is plain enough. We have inflicted a terrible wrong on the people of China, and it is our solemn duty to try and undo it by abandoning the trade at once and for ever ourselves, and by giving them every sympathy and aid in our power in their attempt to banish the curse from within their own borders. Would to God it were possible to bring the British Government to see the wicked character of the traffic, and to induce them to sacrifice their opium revenue on the altar of our national Christianity and China's well being."

548. Then you do not look to practical results; you think that whether there are any practical results to be expected or not, it is the duty of the Indian Government to stop the export?—Unquestionably. But I should hope that in view of such action being taken by the Indian Government, it would be a direct encouragement to the Chinese Government to take immediate action, and I believe it would be that.

Chinese Turkestan, through the city of Lan-chau, crosses the Yellow River there and goes onwards to the south. The second route passes the province outside of Kan-suh, but I only refer to the first route.

556. What is the distance of the trade route connecting Lan-chau and Persia?—The distance in days from the capital of Chinese Turkestan is 54 days' journey. We do not speak of distances except as by days in Lan-chau. Chinese opium is specially grown in these regions, as it is a famous district. Your Lordship is aware of the great Loess formation that extends over the Steppes of Russia, the fertile earth of which is especially suitable to the production of opium.

557. In Turkestan?—In the district of Lan-chau. I asked an old shopkeeper, a man about 70 years of age, when opium was first smoked in that district. He said less than 50 years ago it was first smoked by a man from Ho-nan; and as my informant graphically explained, the man went into the inner chamber of his inner court yard, and shut the doors and windows. The penalty then was beheading.

558. Has the practice enormously increased since that date?—Yes.

559. Would you give us any details that you wish to put before us?—May I be allowed just to add one word. Upon the authority of this man opium was first cultivated about 30 years ago—30 years before 1821. I hold that the vice has quite overmastered public opinion since then. The common native statement is that eight-tenths or nine-tenths smoke in this city. I am not referring to the outside cities, my Lord, merely the capital city of the province.

560. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) Do you think that that eight-tenths and nine-tenths refer to women and men, or only to men?—I consider myself that it may only be applied to adult men. But I add we consider that six-tenths of the married women smoke. The smoking was stopped about the year 1875 by a man who became famous in two directions. His name was Tso. He was the man who reconquered Chinese-Turkestan, after Yakoub Beg had revolted; and later he became famous in another way, because when the French took Peking he petitioned the Emperor that he might take troops into France—possibly your Lordship recollects—to fight against the French on their own ground. This was not accepted; and he died of a broken heart. During his Viceroyalty of the province he stopped the smoking of opium by drastic measures. He took—I merely give the native statement—the men who were habitual offenders, and slit their lips transversely, so that their lips could not close round the opium pipe, and they could not smoke. This had a tremendous effect upon the suicides from opium in the same way.

561. A tremendous effect?—In decreasing the number of suicides from opium.

562. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) But not in decreasing the number of suicides altogether?—Yes, sir. I am sorry to say that, as a native explained to me, they prefer opium to any other form of committing suicide. We asked, "Why do they not jump into the Yellow River?" And the answer was, "Too cold." The opium tax in the year 1891-92, after it was to some extent legalised, in the province was stated to me by a gentleman of the name of Ch'en, who was in charge of one of the Customs barriers, to have amounted to 637 wans of ounces of silver—a wan is 10,000 ounces (=8,960,000 English ounces). This referred to the tax collected on the opium cultivated in the province and exported to the other provinces, because of the extreme cheapness of Kan-suh opium. The price of opium there is equal to nearly 9d. per English ounce. The sale is enormous. I have seen five stalls in one street, within 50 yards from the shops, in addition to little stalls set down on the street.

563. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) Can you tell us how the opium revenue is levied?—I asked, and was not enlightened! I am sorry to say I think that there is a good deal of the proverbial squeeze. It is done very much at the discretion of the mandarins, and their idea is to get as much as possible.

564. (*Chairman.*) We shall be glad to hear anything that you like to tell us regarding the moral effect of opium on consumers?—I have remarked that it has appeared to me to destroy all the moral senses; all other obligations must give way until the craving is satisfied; and I may say that it is necessary to see a man under the influence of an unsatisfied craving before one understands what that means. I once slept on the same brick bed with a man whose craving was unsatisfied. I do not think I shall forget it easily.

565. (*Mr. Pease.*) Perhaps you would describe the man's condition as well as you can?—I am not a medical missionary, but the whole nervous system seemed to be on extreme tension, and he was really unrestrainable. One could not coerce him by reason; he could listen to nothing. May I mention that opium induces poverty of the district, notwithstanding its very fertile soil—the quality of the soil is decreasing steadily, because of the rotation of crops, which is fixed—vegetables, opium, tobacco—the three in succession; and they make no variation year by year. Grain has to be imported from the neighbouring prefecture, which is principally Mahomedan, being Mahomedans the people there do not smoke opium to the extent that the heathen Chinese do. On the information of a worker in the fields, I found that the rents of the farms were steadily decreasing, although the ground was originally famous for quality. The average return from opium versus grain is as 23 to 8; that is to say, the farmer who honestly cultivates his ground and grows grain receives eight ounces of silver as his profit from each Chinese acre of ground. If he cultivates opium he receives 23 ounces; so that is a very strong argument in favour of opium to the Chinese. I further point out that there is practically no reserve of grain in the district, and the people live in constant fear of famine, from the reason that they know, should the crops fail, they have nothing to fall back upon. The previous witness was asked a question as to the gain from growing opium. I believe that it has not, as far as my knowledge extends, resulted in any gain to the Chinese, because the silver received seems to be expended again

in opium, for they become opium smokers themselves through cultivating the plant. (I give that upon the authority of a native graduate of the name of Ch'en.)

On the physical ground, I have noticed the terrible induction of sterility amongst the women. My wife has come across not one or two, but many mothers who smoke during pregnancy avowedly to reduce their trouble in labour. I have also known of women having 8, 10, 13, 14 children. In three of these cases two grew up; in one case only one;—the others died not through infanticide, but because one or both of their parents were exceptional smokers. I have known of one lady who was able to smoke three Chinese ounces of the native opium daily; she had become a sot. In the time of the influenza there were no coffins left in the city—perhaps that is the strongest point as to physical debility which I can lay before your Lordship and the Commission. They had come to the condition where there were not coffins to bury the dead, because of the terrible ravages that influenza made amongst them, and those who did not smoke were, as far as I observed, the ones who came out best from the scourge. At the time of anti-Russian excitement—on the march of 54 days to the capital of Chinese Turkestan—they raised three Regiments in Lan-chau of 1,200 soldiers each. Out of those 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.

566. (*Chairman.*) In Hu-nan?—Yes, the Mandarins in the province of Kan-suh are principally from Hu-nan.

567. In Kan-suh?—Yes, they consider it is necessary to have these Hu-nanese mandarins in order to control the turbulent natives of the province. There are some very quarrelsome districts. A Hu-nan General, of the highest rank, said to me, "It would be a very different thing had you not brought opium when you came to 'preach the Gospel.'" Another point that I have to mention is that in the matter of choosing wives, one of the questions now asked is, "Is she an opium smoker?" A most barbarous practice is the smoking of the opium ash, and one of the reasons adduced for using even the small quantity consumed of Indian opium—that is known as Duty-paying opium—is that they may smoke the ash three times. The Chinese opium may be smoked twice, more usually once. There is a third practice that is depraving the population terribly, and that is eating crude opium. It is prepared in balls, and a smoker just breaks off a little piece and swallows it, in order to allay the craving when he has no time to smoke. I also mention that I procured a supply of morphia in the form of medicine for curing opium, and got into bad odour because this was all bought up by some secretaries in the Viceroy's office for the above purpose; then not having enough to supply their demand, they were displeased at my "deceiving them." These were all the points that I wished to say before your Lordships on this question.

568-9. It comes to this, does it not, that your observation during your years of residence in a remote station, has established in your mind the conviction that the practice of opium smoking has largely increased, and that it is most detrimental morally, physically, and materially to the Chinese people?—Yes, my Lord.

570. Then, may I not take it from you that in the district in which you lived the main source of supply was local?—Yes, guarding the statement, by saying that before Indian opium was introduced at the coast, there was no use of opium in the province.

571. Would you say that the local authorities are doing what they ought to do in the enforcement of the edicts which have been promulgated by the Government for restricting or prohibiting the use of opium?—The edicts are certainly posted and proclaimed; they send their officials round the districts, but, if I may say so, it is something like "Satan reproving sin."

572. Were such edicts published and circulated from time to time when you were at Lan-chau?—Yes.

573-4. But no step was taken to enforce obedience?—Not so far as I was aware. Of course it was difficult for a mandarin to enforce obedience to an edict against a sin which he himself commits. I mean he cannot openly do so. Allow me to make a statement with reference to a mandarin under whose jurisdiction my wife lived in a city called Han-chung in the next province. This mandarin was a conspicuously moral and upright man and had the position of sub-prefect. He stopped the growth of opium by very severe

Mr.
G. G. Br
13 Sep. 1

Mr.
G. Brown.
Sept. 1893.

penalties and grave punishments, even to men of high rank, and in stopping it he incurred such disfavour that at the time of the triennial visit of the Viceroy, 50 petitions were trumped up against him in order to get him put out of his office. This shows the feeling of some, at least, of the Chinese mandarins against opium.

575. Were there any other Europeans resident in that district?—There were one Belgian priest, and for a short space of time about five Russian traders who came from Siberia; in addition to my colleague, who left in the year 1889.

576. What was the demeanour of the people towards you in a general way—friendly?—At first very far from that, my Lord; but eventually we had the exceptional feature in our work of getting amongst the higher classes, and they latterly showed considerable friendliness towards us.

577. Did you receive adequate protection from the first from the Government?—All that we required we received, my Lord. It was not necessary under these circumstances.

578-9. (Sir J. Lyall.) What do you think would be the practical results from the opium habit—the vice of opium smoking, if the Government of India were to stop the export of Indian opium?—My candid belief, especially with reference to the mandarins from the Hu-nan province, and they are practically the dominant power in China, is that they would do their utmost to put down the evil.

580. You think they would be encouraged by the example?—I am certain of it, sir.

581. Do you think they would be practically able to carry it out?—If they had the free hand that Viceroy Tso had it would be very simply done—I refer to the slitting of the lips.

582. As far as you have seen and know, Indian opium, I gather, is now a luxury of the rich opium smokers in China?—It is more economical to buy the native opium in that district. You must excuse me guarding myself—my evidence only refers to the district under the Prefect of the capital of the district of Kan-suh. Where the strength of native opium is as one to eight of the Indian drug, and the price as one to ten, the advantage is in favour of the native opium.

583. I should think that is rather a doubtful fact, that of the relative strength—one to eight?—It is not, of course, chemically ascertained; but it must mean something very like that, when one lady could smoke three Chinese ounces, nearly four English ounces in a day.

584. But practically Indian opium is now in China, I understand, a luxury of the rich, just as French brandy is a luxury among English spirit drinkers?—Yes; on the same analogy that, if you were to stop the native whiskey and leave the door open for French brandy, there would be difficulty about abstaining from spirits.

585-6. In practical smoking, just as in practical drinking, Indian opium is very much like French brandy is in England at the present moment?—The use of it, as a comparison.

587. Yes?—Not the effects.

589. No, not the effects, the use of it?—In the extreme north-west it is so.

589-90. Supposing spirit drinking is a great evil, do you think it would be incumbent upon the French Government to stop the export of French brandy; would there be any moral obligation?—If I were a member of the French Government I should have no doubt as to my action in this matter, sir.

591. (Mr. Pease.) You mentioned that the Indian opium had eight times the strength. Is the dose that is taken one-eighth of the dose that is taken of the Chinese opium?—Yes; that was the experience of the man of whom I have spoken to-day.

592. (Mr. Mowbray.) Do I understand that when this Viceroy disappeared things relapsed at once; that

he had no public opinion behind him in putting down the smoking?—I understand that he had the subordinate officials with him; but the official who followed him as Viceroy was a venial man, and he was bribed. That is merely given upon the statements of the people. I was not present at the time; but the Hu-nan mandarins, as a class, profess themselves distinctly antagonistic to opium.

593. But one Viceroy having shown himself strong enough to put it down, his successors did not carry on the same policy?—No, sir.

594. (Sir W. Roberts.) I think I understood you to say that in Lan-chau fully nine-tenths of the adult—the adult men—smoked or used opium?—The native opinion is that eight-tenths or nine-tenths; I consider that that refers to adult men.

595. It is a large city, I presume?—Upon my own calculation it contains about 200,000 souls.

596. And how long has opium been used, do you think, upon that scale?—The growth is increasing every year; they are laying down more land every year.

597. So that the habit is practically a generalised habit in that city?—Unfortunately it is so.

598. Not being a medical man, perhaps, your attention was not called to what I might call the vital statistics, as to the death-rate, or probable death-rate and birth-rate of the towns?—I was at the time we were there under very considerable surveillance on the part of the mandarins, and it was with great difficulty that I secured any reliable statements. On the death-rate and birth-rate it has been impossible for me to secure statistics.

599. In walking about the streets did the population appear decrepit?—Very much so.

600. Your impression was, speaking generally, of the officials, the better classes themselves, that they were in a low state of vitality?—Yes, I might put my answer that I grew to recognise the men who were opium smokers by the look upon their faces.

601. Did you say nine-tenths of them?—Eight tenths or nine-tenths of the adult men.

602. Then the exceptions would be the persons who did not smoke opium?—I include under the words "smoking opium" those who smoke a little and those who smoke to excess.

603. And you draw a sharp distinction then?—Not where the craving is established I hold that a man is an opium smoker.

604. Are all such persons then persons of weakened health?—In the case of the rich, who have sufficient food, they are not. They may continue the habit without showing perceptible injury physically, but in the case of the poor, where they have very little food, and must smoke, they show it very quickly. The influenza epidemic affected the poorer classes in much greater numbers than the rich.

605. But your general impression was that the public health was deteriorating in that city?—Beyond doubt and question.

606. (Sir J. Lyall.) I suppose the poverty is very great there, is it not?—Yes, as a general statement it may be said to be so.

607. The people are, a large proportion of them, underfed, do you think?—From a British standpoint, underfed; from a Chinese standpoint, satisfied; the Emperor has almshouses in the city, where any people who wish to go may get food gratis.

608. (Chairman.) You heard the statements made by Mr. Broomhall with reference to the action he would desire to see taken by the Government of India in relation to the opium trade. Do you support his recommendation?—Distinctly. My desire would be to know, for the credit of England, that it could not be cast in our teeth that we carried opium in one hand and the Gospel of salvation in another. It injures one's life-work as a missionary.

The witness withdrew.

The Reverend A. ELWIN called in and examined.

A. Elwin.

609. (Chairman.) Are you a member of any university, Mr. Elwin?—No.

610. How many years have you been a missionary in China and in what districts have you resided?—For a

little more than 23 years; and I have resided, I may say, all the while at Hang-shau, the chief city of the Cheh-kiang Province, although of course I have worked from that city into the country districts.

611. Will you tell us what you have specially noticed as arising from the use of the opium?—I have been connected for about 20 years with a large hospital that we have in Hang-chau, where at present we have about 100 beds, and a certain proportion of those beds are assigned to opium smokers, so that we see the physical effects brought before us continually in the persons of those who come to be cured of opium-smoking, and certainly the effects are most disastrous. My own work, in the country away from Hang-chau, consisted largely of itinerancy, travelling about among the people, and it was the greatest difficulty, in the country districts, to find any coolie or chair-bearer who was not an opium smoker, and over and over again I have noticed the following results: I have started in the morning with the coolies and chair-bearers, we will say, and after travelling for about three hours I have noticed that the men began to get weak and were hardly able to move; and then I have been told, "We must stop because the men wish to smoke opium." Well, we would stop for perhaps an hour, while the men would go to an opium den; and they would come out of the opium den new men—the load that a man could hardly carry before he went into the opium den he was able to pick up and carry with the greatest ease. Of course this only lasts for a time, as long as the opium effect lasts, and then, once more, he gradually gets weaker and weaker, until he can do nothing at all until he smokes once more. They are perfect slaves to the opium habit. That, as I have noticed, is the physical effect upon these people.

612. What would you say with regard to the physical condition of the agricultural population—are they able to do that amount of work which a labourer in good physical condition ought to be able to perform?—An opium-smoker cannot. While he is under the influence of opium, he may do a great deal, and perhaps may do more than another, but the effect soon wears off, and then he becomes practically helpless, and can hardly do anything at all. I have met with a great many of these men, both opium-smokers and others, and, as I say, I have for the last 23 years had considerable experience in this way.

613. Would you say that the agricultural population in the district in which you have lived in China was insufficient in physical ability?—Not at all; they are very strong indeed, and with regard to the general agricultural labourers, so far as I have met them, not many of them smoke. It is chiefly those I have met with in the cities that I think have smoked, and those whom I have engaged in the cities to go into the country; there is a great difficulty in getting men who are not smokers.

614. And would you say that the artisans of the towns are wanting in physical ability?—Not at all.

615. So that neither in the towns nor in the country, generally, would you say that the physical ability of the people was unsatisfactory?—No, I should not; but I should like here to say, as the gentleman who preceded me said, that I speak entirely of what I have seen myself in Hang-chau and in the vicinity. I know perfectly well that it is very much worse in some of the interior districts, but with regard to Hang-chau we did not see quite so much evil among the people; there are not quite so many smokers as there are in some of the interior cities.

616. What proportion do you think that the habitual or excessive smokers bear to the whole number of the population in Hang-chau?—Well, I should be very sorry to say—it is so very difficult to find out; I really should not like to say what the proportion is, but with regard to the special class, I can say that it is the greatest difficulty to find a coolie or a chair-bearer who is not a smoker. They nearly all smoke.

617. Perhaps there may be a larger proportion of smokers in that class than in the mass of the population?—I think their temptations are greater.

618. Do you think that the practice is increasing generally in your district, in the district of Hang-chau?—I have not the slightest doubt about that. When I went to Hang-chau, I will say 20 years ago (I was there before that, but will say 20 years ago), as we went through the streets of Hang-Chau it was comparatively a rare thing to see an opium shop; that is to say, where opium was sold and smoked. We could always tell an opium shop by a curtain in front of the door; it is the only shop in that large city that would have a curtain in front, and when I asked why the curtain was in front, I was told that it was so that the

magistrate, when he went his rounds through the city, would not see the opium being smoked—he could shut his eyes to it—but if the man in the shop did not pay the "squeeze" which was demanded, the magistrate would very soon discover that there was an opium-smoking shop there, and the man would be had up and severely punished. And now I know for a fact that there are more than 1,000 opium-shops in Hang-chau, in that one city.

619. Would you consider that the officials show culpable laxity in not enforcing edicts which it is their duty to enforce in relation to the practice of opium-smoking?—I am quite sure they do. I believe they look upon the opium question—many of the officials look upon the opium question—as a means of receiving bribes. It is known among the people generally—they all say so—that if the people who own the opium shops are willing to pay, they can keep the opium shops without any difficulty at all, but if they will not pay, they are sure to be discovered and punished.

620. (Sir J. Lyall.) But is there not, nowadays, some recognised system of licensing opium shops in your part of China?—There is; there is a system of licensing the opium shops, but I do not know what that system is.

621. (Chairman.) What have you to tell us as to the sources from which the opium consumed in Hang-chau is supplied; is it mainly from local sources—mainly Chinese opium—or is there any considerable proportion imported?—I should think by far the larger proportion comes from Shanghai and Ning-po, Indian opium. We have not got so great a cultivation of opium—of the poppy—round us, as there is in some of the interior places. My friend, who has just spoken, lived in a place 2,400 miles from the coast, and you can easily understand the difficulty of conveying opium so far when it is taxed so often; but Hang-chau is near the coast—we are only about 3 days' journey from Shanghai—and, therefore, it is easier to get the Indian opium, and, of course, if the people can get the Indian opium they prefer it; it is stronger, and they seem to like it better. May I add one word with regard to the increase of opium smoking? I suppose, up to 10 or 12 years ago, I had never seen the poppy grown at all. I had never seen such a thing; but when I left China a few months ago, if I went into that district I saw the poppy on all sides; the field prepared for the poppy. It is extending there very much; the growth of the native opium.

622. You wish to say something, I believe, to give us your view as to the effect of the alleged connexion of the British administration with the opium trade in relation to your special work as a missionary?—With regard to that I can only say this, that we hear so frequently the remark made by the natives; when we speak to them they say: "You have brought us the opium, and therefore we do not want to hear any thing else; we do not want anything else from you." And, with regard to that hospital which was started originally to cure Chinese of smoking opium, I have heard them say this: "First of all you bring us opium, and now you start the hospital in order to cure us of smoking it."

623. Have you any further general statement to make?—With regard to the moral question I should like to say a few words.

624. Yes?—Missionaries are accused of exaggeration; it is said that they exaggerate the evil of opium smoking. Well, I must say this with all my heart, that I believe it is impossible to exaggerate the evil of opium smoking in China. I do not wish to repeat what you have heard already from those who have spoken this morning; but I will only say this, that I can endorse every word that has been said with regard to the dreadful curse that it is to the Chinese people. There was a letter in the "Standard" this morning which I should like just to make one remark upon. Perhaps you have already read it; but there is just one sentence I should like to read. The writer of this letter has been abroad for no less than 35 years, and has had great experience, it would seem, amongst opium smokers and others. He says, "And are the consequences to others as injurious from opium as from alcohol? The drunken European artisan or labourer returns from his home well-nigh mad from drink; attacks wife and children, and in his fury maims and often kills them. The opium eater or smoker, when he indulges to excess, sleeps off the effect of the drug, and though he may injure his own

Rev. A. Flavin.
13 Sept. 1893.

"health, is comparatively harmless to others." And then lower down he says, "I never saw any person so affected by the drug as to be dangerous to others"; and here I think we ought to remember that although it is quite true that the drunken European artisan or labourer returns to his home well-nigh mad from drink, attacks wife and children, and in his fury maims and often kills them, here the opium smoker does what I consider is quite as bad, he will sell his wife for gain. A man who is a drunkard gets the money, and he buys the drink, and then kills his wife; the opium smoker first of all sells his wife—he begins at the other end; he sells his furniture, his children, and his wife, and his home; and when he has disposed of them all then he drinks, and has no wife left to kill. Of course it has not the maddening effect; but still the money must be obtained, and the opium must be smoked, everything must go in order that the craving for the opium may be satisfied.

625. (Sir W. Roberts.) I was much interested in what you said about these coolies. You say that after working about three hours they were exhausted, and that they had their pipe of opium and revived?—Revived.

626. Did they not take a meal at the same time?—No.

627. No nourishment at all?—Very often none at all, as I know for a fact. In many of the opium dens where I have seen them go in there is nothing to be had but the opium, and I should just like to state here that I believe that is the reason why there is so much discrepancy in the testimony with regard to the effect of opium smoking. These poor people (and the great mass of the people are poor) literally live on the opium; it is their meat and their drink, and consequently they very soon must come to grief altogether; they cannot stand the strain upon the system. But on the other hand we find gentlemen stating that they have known people smoke opium for years, and that there has been no ill-effect at all, and I think the reason is not far to seek. These people have had food,—good food and nourishing food,—and therefore they have been able to stand the strain of the opium smoking, and have stood it for years, because the good and nourishing food has to a great extent counteracted the ill-effects of the opium smoking.

628. These coolies, I understand, are strong, muscular fellows?—They are strong, muscular men, and many of them had been, perhaps, field labourers or farm labourers before they had taken up the special work of carrying these loads.

629. One impression was that they are short lived?—Undoubtedly, because they keep on increasing the dose, and they gradually go lower and lower. I have seen it. I have known men myself strong, muscular men—I have known them take the first pipe, and gradually, year after year, get lower, and weaker and weaker, until at last they have been good for nothing, and when I have wanted a coolie, I have said, "On no account send so-and-so," because I have known the man was no good at all, and would only be an hindrance instead of a help when I was travelling.

630. I assume a good many of these coolies will continue their opium eating in moderation?—I do not think so from what I have noticed, they increase it. The craving is something so terrible—it is something so awful—and a man will take so much in order to satisfy the craving we will say this month, but next month he increases it just a little in order to get more enjoyment out of it, and, to satisfy the craving, will daily increase the dose. I do not know any such thing

really as a moderate opium smoker. The dose is always, I believe, increased by degrees.

631. Is that more the case among the lower classes than among the more educated classes, do you think?—No, I do not think so. I have seen it among all classes—among mandarins, officials, and what are called the literati (the scholars), and I believe it is practised among all classes.

632. No; I mean as to the deleterious effect and the necessity of increasing the dose?—I do not think it shows so much where a man has food, and nourishing food, which to a certain extent counteracts the effect of the opium; but, unfortunately, many of these people we have to deal with almost live on the opium. I have known many, many men who have really been expending half their income on opium. The ordinary rate of wages (that was in the Chinese money) is 200 copper cash a day; well, they will spend 100 of these copper cash in opium, and the rest they will spend in food, or in helping their families, as the case may be.

633. I suppose you have not had any opportunity of noticing the difference in the opium habit as it affects persons of different races?—No, I have not, but I think from what we read it must have a different effect in some parts. A Chinaman we can tell directly by his eyes when he takes the opium, you can tell by the look of his eyes and his face—he becomes pale and emaciated. You can always, as a rule, tell the opium smoker. Many years ago, when I first went to China, it was the greatest disgrace to be an opium smoker, and to accuse a man of opium smoking was a serious thing. Now, if you accuse a man of opium smoking, he simply laughs; he will not defend the custom, but he will laugh and turn it into a joke.

634. (Mr. Pease.) You did not mention with what missionary organisation you are connected?—The Church Missionary Society.

635. (Sir J. Lyall.) You say you never saw the poppy grown in the country which you know till about 10 years ago?—Ten or 12 years ago, yes.

636. Do you connect that growth of the poppy then, in that country, with any action that our Government has taken, or what do you think is the reason?—I think undoubtedly if the Chinese in this district had not had the Indian opium to begin with they would never have needed the native opium. Of course the question of gain comes in, because I was told on good authority that a man in a certain piece of ground, we will say, might get two dollars by growing rice; he could get six dollars by growing opium, and therefore the temptation to grow opium is so great that the people naturally give way to it.

637. But the habit—the opium habit—is of considerable standing in the country, is it not?—Undoubtedly, where we are this hospital that I have referred to was originally started by a gentleman giving 2,000*l.* for that very purpose, to start an opium refuge where opium smokers could go and be cured. It was opened first of all at Ning-po, but about 20 years ago it was removed to Hang-cha, and there it has been ever since, and it is out of that opium refuge, or opium hospital, that this larger hospital has grown.

638. The habit being of long standing, I mean, what has happened to encourage the growth in the last 10 years?—The numbers of the people now; there are so many more smokers, and of course the native opium is much cheaper than the Indian opium, and so there is a demand for it, and naturally the people try to supply that demand by growing it.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. M. Wood.

Mr. MARCUS WOOD called in and examined.

639. (Chairman.) Will you tell us with what mission you are connected, Mr. Wood?—The China Inland Mission.

640. How many years have you been in China?—Seven years.

641. And what was the district in which you presided?—Principally in the province of Gan-hway, in the capital city of Gan-king—there for five years; and one year was spent in Chung-king, the capital—not the capital, but the open Treaty port of Si-chuen; the other year was spent mostly in travelling through

Hu-peh, and in taking missionary journeys into Si-chuen and Ynn-nan. So that through these journeys I have passed through several provinces in Central China.

642. Will you give us your observations with regard to the use of opium: is that a common practice in all classes of the community where you have resided?—Excessively common in all classes with the exception, perhaps, of the agricultural districts; it is not so common there as in the large cities and thickly populated districts.

643. What would you say as to the effects of the opium habit, whether you look at it morally or physically?—I should say most destructive to the consumer, both morally and physically, and that in all classes of society wherever it is used; the only difference being, as has already been referred to, in the higher classes, where one has more opportunity of nourishing the system by good food. There it does not tell so quickly, but I consider not less really in the long run, only longer time may be allowed because of the nourishment that is taken.

644. What do the Chinese say themselves upon the subject of opium; what is the state of public opinion with regard to this question?—Well, I may say that in my seven years' experience of the different provinces I have never met any of the Chinese who defended the practice of opium smoking in any way whatever. In fact opium smokers would not themselves defend the practice, but would rather deplore that they have been affected by the use of it, and seek help from us to break off the habit. So that even the smokers themselves will not defend it, having already experienced its evil effects upon themselves and families; and those who are non-smokers are frightened lest their young people should become addicted to this fearful habit, which they look upon with such a terror.

645. There is a wide difference of view, is there not, with reference to the effects of opium? There are some who would tell us that though certain tribes and races are habitual smokers, still they are well nourished and that they have got good physical ability; and that, in fact, there is such a thing as a moderate use of opium, which is not injurious as compared with the admitted evil effects of excessive consumption. What would you say about these statements?—I have seen these statements in public papers since returning to this country; but I must say I have no sympathy with them; from my own experience I cannot endorse them. My experience is more like that of the Rev. Mr. Elwin, who has just preceded me—I do not consider that opium can really be used in the way that has been mentioned in these articles; that is to say, it cannot be taken in moderation. It is always increased week by week, or month by month, as the case may be, the only difference being, as has already been stated, that where a person is healthy and able to procure good nourishing food, it may not tell so quickly upon the constitution, but no less really. I do not consider that opium can be compared to alcohol in that way. In this country we know of thousands, perhaps tens of thousands, who may be able to use alcohol without any injurious effect, as far as anyone knows. That, at any rate, is an open question. But, speaking generally, we may say that thousands use alcohol without excess, but in China my experience is that the opium cannot be used in the same way at all—that as soon as a man becomes an habitual opium smoker he increases his dose, and whenever he touches it he is obliged to go on, unless he stops immediately. If he allows a month or two to elapse, he becomes addicted to the habit, and increases the dose as time goes on; so that I do not consider that they can be compared on the same platform at all.

646. Will you tell us from what sources the opium consumed in your district was chiefly obtained; was it obtained from local sources, or was it by importation?—In the province of Gan-hwuy where I resided longest—five years—it is now a mixed article. Seven or eight years ago, when I first went to the country, a great deal of Indian opium was used in Gau-hwuy; because, as you notice, it is on the Yangtze river, between Hankow and Shanghai—the large Treaty ports easily got at. But in recent years, say, within the last 10 years, the natives of these tracts have taken to growing the poppy. When I first went to China, in that province there was very little poppy seen anywhere; it was very scarce; indeed you might travel through the province and not observe it. But now it is a common thing to see the fields covered with the red poppy. It is quite common in recent years, and indeed the retail merchants are mixing the two articles, the native opium, which is the cheaper, and the Indian opium, which is the better quality; by mixing the two together they make the native opium a little more palatable, having the Indian mixed with it.

647. Have you anything to say to us with reference to the effect which you consider is brought about by the alleged connexion of the British Government with the opium traffic, in regard to your own work as missionary?—Well, I may say with the other speakers,

that it is always brought before us whenever we are speaking to the natives as being the one thing which makes them hate us. I believe there is a hatred to Europeans among all the Chinese, as has been seen recently in these riots; but I have great reason to believe from my own experience, having passed through one of the riots myself in Chung-king, that the natives hate us who belong to Britain more because they know of our connexion with the opium trade; and that is one great factor in the present hatred of the Chinese to Europeans, and especially British subjects. That has been my own experience. I simply give it as evidence.

648. Can you connect that feeling of hostility more particularly towards the English with the memories of the wars of the past?—Memories of the wars of the past, and more particularly the present condition of China on account of the use of opium so extensively. They credit us with that; whether rightly or wrongly, they do not know, many of them. They hear it from others, repeat it, and pass it on from one to another; and I would like to say in this connexion that, as a missionary, I would make a distinction between the reception we have as individuals and as nationalities. I should say that the Chinese hate us as a nation, largely because of our connexion with the opium, but as missionaries we are received in many parts more hospitably. After they get to know us individually, they distinguish between the missionary and his country. That often takes years, in order that they may be able to learn that distinction. They look upon us when we first arrive in a new town as foreigners; they find out that they have to do with the foreign nation, and they do not want us there; they hate us, and try all they can to put us out of the place; and when these riots take place I may say that the common people are very often not at all anxious to take part in them, they are generally instigated, I think, by the mandarin, the higher officials and the literati.

649. The riots?—The riots. In the riot I saw at Ch'ung-king, I entirely believe that the common people were only too sorry that the missionaries were turned out of the station. They were glad to have us there and they had no reason to dislike us. Personally they were our friends; and it was the literati and the officials who wished to see us out of the place. That was because they knew least about us.

650. To sum up your evidence in one short statement, I may take it from you that you are here to-day to urge that the Government of India should prohibit the exportation of opium to China?—Certainly.

651. Nothing less than that would satisfy your view as to what ought to be done?—No, I see no other way out of the difficulty as regards China from a missionary's point of view.

652. (Sir J. Lyall.) You say you see no other way out of the difficulty as regards China from a missionary's point of view?—None whatever.

653. I suppose you mean by that, that you think the measure would diminish the hostility of the Chinese to the foreigner?—I think it would be a very great factor toward that. I cannot see how it would be otherwise. The Chinese would see then that we had some interest in their welfare, and were willing to show it by doing away with the revenue which we derive from it, as they know, in order to give them the opportunity of putting down this terrible evil in their own country.

654. Do you think we should be really able to convince them of that, or do you think that the Chinese mind and intellect being what it is, they would not find some other ground for a general hostility towards foreigners—do you think they would not find some other explanation of our action?—That I cannot say. But it seems to me that the most reasonable way of looking at it would be that it would suggest itself to their minds, knowing as they do the agitation that is going on just now in the country about it, they would surely say that it was an attempt, at any rate, to show that we were desirous of their welfare.

655. (Mr. Macbray.) Is it the opium smokers who show this hostility to you on account of opium or the non-opium smokers?—Both classes; but I should say perhaps the opium smoker first. But I do not know that we can very well distinguish. All classes of the people seem to hate us, until they get to know us individually. As a nation they seem to hate us.

656. The opium smoker loves the drug, but he hates the person who brings the drug?—No; I should say he hates the drug as well as the person who brings it; but

Mr. M. W.
18 Sept. 18

Mr. M. Wood. he has become addicted to it to such an extent that he cannot give it up. He is in such a position that he hates the drug itself, although he is clinging to it.

18 Sept. 1898.

657. He takes it against his own desire?—He takes it against his own desire—his own best inclinations. It is really a habit which he has himself got into, and one which he would gladly break away from. I may say, as an evidence of this, that we have constantly in our Mission stations—daily, I might say—tens of men coming to us, dozens of men coming to us, asking us to give them something which will break off the opium habit; some medicine to counteract it and free them from it. In many stations we have opium refuges on purpose for receiving these.

658. I do not know whether you have given us what, in your opinion, is the proportion in your own experience of smokers and non-smokers?—It is very difficult to give any accurate figures in China. My own impression of Gan-hwuy is, that about 60 per cent of the male adult population in the city of Gan-king—a capital city—smoke opium.

659. And you believe that, if the import of Indian opium was stopped, that that would really induce the Chinese to put down the growth of their own poppy?—That is my personal impression.

660. That is all I am asking?—I mean to say by that, that while there may be much to be said on both sides, yet it seems to me that such action on England's part would give the opportunity for the Chinaman to do as he often says he wants to do, to stop the opium habit altogether. He is always saying that, and we can only believe what they say until we see what they will do. But I think that would be the best opportunity for them to act.

661. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) You say that you can only believe what they say; but how is it consistent with any real detestation of the habit and condemnation of it, that as one of the previous witnesses said, and as I have also read elsewhere, it is the common practice for Chinese Society to offer every guest who goes into the house a pipe of opium?—That is becoming common; but it has not been very common in my part of China. Only three or four years ago, no Chinaman was considered a respectable member of society, that is from their own standpoint, if he was an opium-smoker at all. It was quite a disgrace if he was pointed out as an opium-smoker.

661A. No gentleman would have liked it to be known even though he smoked it?—I cannot say that; in my province I know that custom is greatly on the increase; and, therefore, I consider that it is merely the continual use of the drug which is taking away the moral sense of the people. They know what is right if they are left without the opium, and when the opium becomes such a habit, then it demoralizes them to such an extent that they do not look at it in the same light.

662. It is against the Buddhist religion to smoke opium?—It is; and I would just like to make this statement before I retire, that my experience in all the provinces I have been in, is that none of the Chinese native churches—Christian churches—will admit to

their membership anyone who touches the opium in any shape or form. Whether he grows it, sells it, or smokes it, they consider it is a distinct barrier to membership in a Christian church—not the missionaries but the natives.

663. Is not that among the Protestants?—I mean the Protestants, yes.

664. But among the Roman Catholics it is not a bar, is it?—I have no personal experience of that matter.

665. I have read so in some books?—Perhaps some of the other missionaries might touch upon that point. I have not had personal experience enough to say. I know that in all Protestant Christians it is so—native Christians; and that without any interference upon the part of a missionary; it is quite spontaneous.

666. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) Might there not be another reason why those connected with opium, whether as smokers or producers, should not be admitted to the Christian churches; does not the very fact of this refusal—is it not intended to be a sort of counter-demonstration against the charge that is made that the English brought the opium into the country?—No, I do not see how it can be that, sir; because in this way, it is always the native Christians themselves who have the right of keeping back any one from the membership of the church. So you see they are altogether friendly to the Europeans.

667. What I mean to say is, would it not be almost necessary for them to take that attitude, otherwise if opium smokers were taken into the churches they would say, "Oh, here you are; you encourage the thing; it is here in the churches; as well as by introducing it"?—Of course it is essential that they should not allow a native to become a member of the Christian church for that reason; and that is, of course, taking the highest ground they can take; the native Christians would not consider it right for anyone to touch opium who professes to be a Christian; it is altogether contrary to Christian principles because it is so harmful.

668. You seem to have travelled through the country a great deal in the last six or seven years?—Seven years.

669. Are you a medical man?—Not a medical man.

670. Then you would not, perhaps, form any opinion as to whether there was evidence of degeneracy of race in China, in the community at large?—From my own experience, as non-medical man, I should certainly say there is a great deal of evidence. Wherever the opium is more grown and more used, there the people are far worse physically.

671. So that you do not think China is awakening, but gone to sleep; that is your impression?—China is certainly not awakening. China is becoming more and more demoralised as the opium habit increases. That is my impression.

672. That is your strong impression?—That is my strong impression.

The witness withdrew.

Rev. F. Brown.

Rev. FREDERICK BROWN called in and examined.

673. (*Chairman.*) You are a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church Mission, are you not?—Yes.

674. How many years have you been a missionary in China?—10½ years.

675. In what districts have you served?—In the provinces of Chih-li, and Shan-tung, coast provinces.

676. Will you tell us briefly what is your experience as to the effects of opium on the Chinese consumers, whether you look at it from a moral standpoint or the physical standpoint?—I look at it from both standpoints as distinctly bad. The moral effect on the heathen seems to be to rob them of all that little moral sense they seem naturally to have; and it turns them into thieves, liars, fornicators, and it seems to turn them into everything that is bad. I speak now especially of the heathen.

677. In what way have you found the alleged action of the British Government, or the Government of India, with the opium trade, prejudicially affect your work?—I find that I am frequently ashamed of my nationality; during my 10½ years' residence in China

it has been my privilege to travel extensively in the two provinces I have named, and to go over the same ground frequently; and I have often been taunted and ashamed of my nationality, bringing the Gospel of Jesus in one hand, and in the other hand opium—my nation was sending the opium into the provinces in which I travelled. The moral effect of opium on our native Christians (or the immoral effect) is very marked. We have distinctly cases in which we are greatly puzzled—we are obliged to excommunicate several each year, possibly five or six. I returned to England in May, and in January one of our native ministers had been charged with opium smoking. He had taken it to relieve his pain, he had been sent to a most out-of-the-way place, and without being able to consult a medical man in his illness, had been advised to take a whiff of opium. He had done so, and possibly more than once. The man became a smoker in his capacity as a Christian minister, he was disqualified. He to-day, while regretting it more than anyone else probably, is not preaching the Gospel, but feels himself morally unfit, and the Church feels bound to relieve him of his

office. I give this as an instance of the way in which we, as Christian missionaries, are affected through the opium. If you would allow me to speak of the physical deterioration, I would mention that I have taken some prominent part in famine relief work, and I would distinctly state that I have noticed that the opium smokers were the first men who seemed to fall under the strain of scarcity of food. I would also state that the mission with which I am connected is possibly the largest educational mission in China. We have colleges in four or five different cities, and we find that when the son of an opium smoker enters the college, he is really unfitted to compete with the sons of non-smoking men. I may state that the colleges are not strictly kept for the sons of Christians, there is admittance by paying; they get a thorough good Western education. We find that we occasionally get opium smokers' sons, and they are unfit to endure the ordeal which is placed upon them in that place, and frequently withdraw. I would also state that I have resided close to the Examination Halls in Peking city, where each year there are a large number of graduates go in for the metropolitan examination, and men are carried out from the Examination Halls, during the time of examination, dead, and invariably, when you ask who the man is, the reply is, "Oh, he is an opium smoker." No smoking is allowed, I understand, in the Examination Hall, and he dies under the strain.

In answer to the last question on the paper which I had placed in my hands, as to the effect it had upon my work, I would put in three petitions. The native Christians knew of my return to England, and as the mission with which I am connected is an American mission (though I am engaged to travel the district, and have full charge of the work in the Shan-tung province) our members asked me to bring a petition to England, and try to stir up in the minds of the English people a feeling on this matter. I represent to-day an aggregate of over 1,000 native Christians, and I have three petitions here, one representing 448 Christians of four different missions, two English and two American. I have another representing 600 Christians in the Shan-tung district, who spontaneously got together and wrote a petition on satin to the Queen of England. It has seemed impossible to present it to the Queen. I have shown it often. I have translations of the petition, which, if thought advisable, I might read in your hearing.

678. Yes, we shall be prepared to hear it?—This petition distinctly states:—"We the members of the Christian Church in Shan-tung see all around us evidences of the destructiveness of this deadly drug, and desire to see the use of opium suppressed in China. Opium has long been the bane of our country, through folly and ignorance many of our people have been taken in the snare. This is no light calamity, opium slays the smoker, wastes wealth, scatters mothers, renders wives homeless, the nation is impoverished, families are destroyed, and very many lives sacrificed. Happily for us the holy religion of Jesus came to China, taught by missionaries who expounded to us the doctrines of truth, dispersed the cloud of delusion, and helped us to escape from the paths of error, thus it is that we have avoided the sin of the opium smoker. We have established an Anti-Opium Association, and with one accord we pray God, morning and evening, to bring about an end to this calamity. We now with all respect pray the Sovereign of England with her ministers and magistrates mercifully to pity China, whose ignorant and foolish people have suffered the mischief wrought by opium. We also pray all merchants and traders dealing in opium to cease from bringing it to our shores in response to our humble cry for our people, our homes, and country, and we will ever remain your grateful petitioners. This favour we natives of China beg at your hands. Signed by native ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, and eighty leaders of the Church in the Shan-tung District and representing nearly 600 Christians. Translated by F. Brown.

679. The petitioners in that petition seem to assume that the great evils of which they speak are due entirely to the importation of opium. They do not appear to recognise the much larger quantity of it that is supplied from local sources?—I would say that in the provinces of Shan-tung and Chih-li, so far as I am able to judge, the local production is limited compared with other provinces. It is nearer the coast, and the foreign opium is more accessible.

680. Would you say that the foreign opium represents the half of the consumption?—I would certainly say so.

681. Is there any other petition that you would like to bring before us?—There is another petition here.

682. Is that numerously signed?—This represents about 300 Christians from the province of Chih-li; the other is from the province of Shan-tung.

683. Would you read us that?—It is signed by the native ministers only:—"We the ministers and officers of Methodist Missions sign our names to this petition the begging that measures may be taken to stop the use of opium, and save the Chinese from the ruin which it causes. From the entrance of Christianity into our country many missionaries have been putting forth efforts for the elevation of our people, and we native Christians are striving to copy their example and virtuous deeds. As to tobacco and wine most of our congregations have adopted prohibitory rules after careful discussion. Even non-Christians in many cases gladly yield to exhortation and follow the same rule as the Christians. But as to opium smoking it has prevailed for many years, the habit has been formed, and although the craving is less in some cases than in others, yet the mischief wrought is intense and to check it is impossible." (This is a literal translation of their petition.) "Time after time has China's Sovereign and high officers issued prohibitory proclamations. The missionaries with the ministers and laity of Christian congregations have repeatedly exhorted the people on the subject of opium smoking. But opium traders have been eagerly coming and going all the time, rendering it most difficult to eradicate the evil by stopping the supply. The poppy has been grown in China in limited quantities. But the bulk has been coming from India without intermission." (This statement will be accounted for by the fact that they grow it in limited quantities in this province, in the province of Chih-li.) "There is no evil from which our country suffers that can be compared with this. It is our humble opinion, which we state with all modesty, that he who confers a benefit should first cease to do harm and stop the inflow of evil. The source of mischief should by all means be purified. We take the opportunity of the return to England of Pastor Brown to append our names to this petition and entrust it to his care in the hope that measures may be taken to stop the export of opium from India to China and secure the lasting benefit of our people, whose gratitude will never cease. Here follow the signatures of the chief pastor and 67 ministers and leaders. January 1893." The ministers and leaders represent about 300 native Christians.

684. (Sir W. Roberts.) Have they memorialised their own authorities in the same sense?—No, I am not aware that they have.

685. That would not be safe for them, I suppose?—It might not be safe for them. Moreover the high official Li Hung Chang, the Viceroy of Chih-li, I think has distinctly stated that he has not much sympathy with the putting down of the growth of opium in China while the Indian opium is allowed full sway. That is distinctly understood by the natives in both provinces, and consequently the English Government get the benefit (possibly more than they deserve, but the full benefit), of all that can be said against opium.

686. (Sir J. Lyall.) Is it a fact that the Chinese Christians (converts, you know) are taken in any sense under the protection of the European Governments to which the missionaries belong?—That the native Christians are taken under the protection of European Governments?

687. To which the missionaries belong?—I am sorry to say that in some cases it is so. In other cases it is not so, for the missionaries distinctly give the native Christians and churches to understand that they will not interfere in matters appertaining to the Government—Government cases, law cases. There are ample opportunities, but in most cases, I think, they do not interfere.

688. So far as it is the case, is it not alone sufficient to account for any hostility on the part of the Chinese people, and particularly the Chinese officials, to foreigners?—To take the native Christians under our wing

689. Yes, the fact of the conversion of a man makes him no longer fully the subject of the Chinese Govern-

Rev. F. Brown

13 Sept. 1893

Rev. F. Brown,
13 Sept. 1898.

ment?—If it were so, it certainly would be very much opposed by the heathen. The heathen would look on such a man as half a European, but it is not so in most cases. We distinctly give them to understand that we do not interfere with their Government or their law cases. A Chinaman becoming a Christian is still a Chinaman.

690. If he is backed by a foreign Government, as it were, if he becomes a Christian, he is no longer fully a Chinaman?—If he was backed by a foreign Government he would not be a Chinaman; but it is not so, we do not interfere in their law cases.

The witness withdrew.

Brigade-
Surgeon R.
Pringle, M.D.

Brigade-Surgeon R. PRINGLE, M.D., called in and examined:

691. (Chairman.) Are you a member of the medical profession?—Yes, my Lord.

692. You were in the service of the Government of India?—Yes, Brigade Surgeon.

693. How long were you in India?—I served for 30 years in India.

694. What parts of India are you acquainted with?—Orissa for eight years, two years in Central India, and 20 years in the North-West Provinces.

695. What does your experience convey to you with reference to the question which has been committed to this Commission—what is your general impression with regard to the opium habit, with regard to its effects. Take, first of all, the physical condition of those who are opium eaters and smokers?—In this relation I would note first of all the medical aspect, and then the religious aspect; the difficulty of the natives doing without it, and the possibility of the effect upon the people of the withdrawal of it. First of all, the medical aspect. As a medicine opium is invaluable when prescribed medicinally. As a dietetic substance I consider it is absolutely unsuited for dietetic purposes. Its action on the digestion is such as to remove it entirely from the category of dietetics. With reference to the febrifuge properties, it is merely febrifuge on the principle that it is sudorific and sedative. It relieves the system by the skin, and it gives rest and relief from pain and suffering, and thus admits of restful sleep at night, both as regards malarial rheumatism and malarial dysentery. With reference to its effects upon the people themselves, I can only say, and say it most thankfully, that as regards India, in the districts that I have seen, the effects of it are not visible to any extent whatever upon the agricultural population. The cases in which the effects of opium are visible are those, who, by the habit, have drifted from higher into lower positions, and have thus collected in large cities, in what might be called the slums, as the dregs of the populace. I consider that India as yet is protected by its very high moral tone of self-respect from becoming victimised by opium. Habitual indulgence in opium is so absolutely contrary to any notion of self-respect, that I cannot understand any native—any respectable native—ever giving way to it without feeling that he has lost position, lost influence, and lost caste.

696. You were in the North-West Provinces, you say?—For 20 years, my Lord, as sanitary officer.

697. That would bring you in contact with the Sikhs, would it not?—To a certain extent, but not so much as in the Punjab.

698. Had you anything to do with any of the races which consume opium in India?—Yes, as medical officer in charge of a native regiment on service—in a very malarious district; when their constant request to me was for quinine. I prescribed quinine very largely, but never was once asked for opium; though I am afraid my demands upon the Store Department in Calcutta were so large with reference to quinine that I was called upon for an explanation for this large expenditure, and the civil officer in charge of the expedition stated that the large expenditure of quinine was absolutely necessary to maintain the force in any efficiency for the hard, long marches in these malarious districts. I consider that opium was never suggested as a febrifuge under any condition whatever. Of course I prescribed it as a medicine in combination with others, but never used it as a febrifuge.

699. (Sir J. Lyall.) What country was that expedition in?—In the hills of Orissa, near Cuttack.

700. And what were the troops?—The Bengal Native and the 53rd Native Infantry.

701. What province did the sepoys come from?—They came mostly from Oudh and the North-West Provinces. That was in 1854 and 1855.

702. (Chairman.) From the evidence that you have already given, I suppose I may take it from you that you do not hold that opium has had a wide effect in bringing about a state of moral degradation in India?—I consider that the population, as such, is practically untouched by the opium habit, as we see it in the villages and in the respectable portion of it. Of course I am not alluding to those who are drifting into the lowest classes of the people, or who may be found collected near coolie depôts, or men who, from a good strong physique, have fallen under the influence of opium, and thus have had to give up their regular work as palanquin-bearers or as workmen. Because, if a man once takes to opium, his time of immunity under the influence of opium is merely a question of the power of digestion, if that is seriously intertered with, the drug is too apt to supply the place of food, and while a man lives under the stimulation of opium, though he can carry on a very considerable amount of work, yet he gets lower and lower under its stimulating influence until the depression comes, when he feels that he practically cannot live without it. Those people are not to be met with in villages. There is no place in an Indian village that I have ever seen for a drone. Unless he is a wealthy man he must be a worker, and if he ceases to work he naturally drops out of the village or the agricultural population, and if he has taken at all to opium, his position as a respectable man is seriously compromised; while if he is engaged in business or trade, his habits of honesty, or probity, are compromised; for when a man is described as an opium eater or smoker, it is tantamount to saying that he is under influences that make him hardly trustworthy.

703. What do you say with reference to statements which have been made by very many to the effect that the use of opium in very limited quantities inevitably tends to an increase in the use, and ultimately to an abuse, or rather an excessive use, of opium?—On the principle, my Lord, that no stimulant of this character can be taken without keeping up the quantity—it may be increasing the quantity—because the stimulation requires more and more of the substance to bring it up to a given height, and unless it is up to that height, the tendency is to take more to raise it to it, until at last too frequently the very drug itself comes to be so paramount, that it supplies the place of food, and really I can only describe it as the Chinaman does when he says that a man lives on opium at first, but ultimately opium lives on him. It is astonishing how little a man can eat and live upon when he is dependent upon opium.

704. (Mr. Pease.) You think it is more so with opium than with alcohol?—I think so, sir; though on many points there is no comparison between the two substances. When opium is taken, there is a necessity for the dose being gradually increased, or completely abandoned, half measures are of no use except under restraint. If opium is taken as a soporific, and the person leads a listless, idle life, he is bound to go on increasing the dose to produce sleep, whereas, if he leads an active life in the open air and has thus the possibility of producing sleep, then under ordinary conditions, he may not require quite so much.

705. (Chairman.) Have you anything else that you would like to say in your evidence in chief with reference to the moral, or physical, or religious aspects of the question?—I would only say, with reference to the moral aspect of it, that there is the evidence which has been published with reference to an inquiry held in Calcutta at the Calcutta Medical Society, in which a number of native medical gentlemen of position gave their evidence. I want nothing more to supply all that is necessary for the immorality connected with the smoking of opium than is supplied by this report of the Calcutta Medical Society.

706. Has that evidence been published?—Yes, my Lord, I have a copy of it here.

707. Will you show it to us?—Certainly I can leave this with your Lordship. I have no evidence that I could wish to give, with reference to the immorality of the opium habit, of greater value than that document. The recorded inspection of these opium dens illustrates the whole secret of the immoral conditions connected with opium-smoking. There is not a den, for instance, visited by Dr. Crombie in which there was not one woman, and the whole point rests upon that. The presence of that woman was expressly for sensual purposes, and the way in which this evidence is given, as I wrote to Dr. Crombie, illustrated the sensual action of the drug by the woman who was present in every one of the opium dens that you visited, and by the statement of some of the native medical men, who stated that none but the lowest people,—those who are lost to moral considerations—indulge in smoking opium in those dens, in short that it was a sign of moral depravity. As regards its being taken in fever districts in small doses, I consider that any one who habitually indulges in opium in small doses in fever districts, instead of its giving him some protection from the disease, absolutely produces a tendency to fever. I should consider that if any man went, for instance, into a malarious district, and took small quantities of opium to such an extent as to interfere with the digestion, no matter how small these doses were, it would render him liable to fever instead of preventing it, because fever, in all malarious districts, is generally primarily connected with biliary derangement, and the action of opium on the biliary secretion is, as we know, very remarkable, and, unless care is taken, the constipation that results from taking opium is such as to produce very considerable biliary derangement, frequently ending in inflammation of the liver, and abscesses or dysentery. But I consider that the necessity of opium as a medicine is so great that I would not on any account wish it to be understood that I am saying a single word against what is strictly medicinal in its properties and uses.

708. Is there anything that you would like to say to us with reference to the attitude of the Government of India in relation to the opium trade?—My Lord, as a Government servant, and one who served the late Honourable East India Company, I can only say that I consider the relation which the Government bears to this opium trade is so entirely opposed to all that I have felt the Government has done for that country, where its one effort has been to materially improve it, and to raise it, that I feel bound in justice, as I love the people and I love my country, to lift my voice against it. I know the effect that it produces on the natives, this opium and liquor traffic. It has led to the most mistaken ideas regarding the aim that we have in view with reference to our presence in India. It is so apt to lead them to suppose that we are there for little or no other purpose than for making money, than which nothing could possibly be further from the real aim and object, I believe as a Government servant of the Government in India as it stands at present. I have known it and seen it, and I consider that there is no Government that the world has ever known in which the handful has ruled the thousands in the way it has. I know what the natives think of it themselves: they have spoken very fully and freely to me as a medical man, and if this blot, and the excess to which the liquor traffic is carried, were removed, I know of no great State movement which would show the people more powerfully or clearly that the one desire of the Government is for their ultimate good. I know there are those who say that to interfere with the habits of the natives as regards opium would be most dangerous as regards the public safety. I can only say, in opposition to this, that I have seen perhaps the most inquisitorial orders that ever were laid down by a Government, especially with reference to a Government like that of India, in a strange land, among people who have such remarkable notions about the privacy of their houses (I allude to the orders with reference to female infanticide carried out without any disturbance in the Agra and Meerut Divisions for 30 years), I know the way that this order was carried out, and nothing but the absolute assurance that the Government really meant it for the good of the people would ever have permitted such an inquisitorial act to be carried out without the most serious complications from men who resent any interference with their home life, but who really feel in this case, that when the Government entrusted into the hands of underpaid and low caste people this very important duty with reference to the births of females in their houses the Government

were doing it for a good reason and with a good object in view, and without a single word of complaint. I know it was carried out in districts where, to give an idea of the suspicious character of the people, when I was starting vaccination, they brought up girls to be vaccinated, because they believed it would kill them, and their death would lie at my door, but, when they found it to be the reverse, they kept back the girls, in the hope that they would die from small-pox and no further questions asked. This is a fact that I placed upon record, and it is in an official report. There is one other point which I would like to say with reference to the great question of withholding opium from those who have been in the habit of taking it. I feel that this is a far more serious question than it is at first supposed to be or we are apt to view it. Withholding opium from an opium-eater or an opium-smoker is a very, very serious step if the habit has gone to a certain extent. Unlike the alcoholic craving, &c. it is a craving of intense pain—of intense agony—and the relief that is given has to be seen to be believed. To see a poor creature writhing in pain and agony—then just a few whiffs of his opium, or a small injection of morphia—to see him come into the room again as if really nothing had happened to him—just shows that the craving is a craving that, in all efforts to stop indulgence in opium, must not be lost sight of. Indeed this is proved absolutely with reference to Burma, where the orders of the Government have been that for those who cannot give up the habit entirely and at once, if giving it up it would be dangerous to their health, a register should be kept, and that they are allowed to have a certain amount of opium given to them. Now that establishes in my opinion, my Lord, the great point that there must be a very serious mistake when people suppose that the opium can be withdrawn easily from those who are confirmed opium-eaters or opium-smokers, in the case of those who to a certain extent may be almost dependent upon this drug for their very existence. This action of the opium is seen in a remarkable manner among those who are ill-fed, and live in malarious districts, where it seems to hold diarrhoea and dysentery in check, and when it is removed their conditions assert their sway and the patient is rapidly carried off. I would only, with reference to this point, allude to an article which appeared in the "Lancet" regarding the withdrawal of opium.

709. Written by whom?—By Dr. Mout.

710. When did this article appear?—It appeared, my Lord, in the "Lancet" of April 30, 1892. This is my reply to the article in question, taken from the "Lancet" of September 10, 1892. Dr. Mout's letter was of such very great importance, that a medical man, whose letter I hold in my hand, points out that these statements, viz., the ease and safety with which opium can be withheld from prisoners, and the fact that no deaths are due to the opium habit, must be met by facts, and not be attacked by any vague statements, but by unquestionable data. I therefore went and examined all Dr. Mout's Jail Reports in the India Office here, and have extracted portions of them, which are in that little pamphlet I place before your Lordship. My letter produced the "Rejoinder" from Dr. Mout, but the "Lancet" declined to publish my letter in reply, dated October 18, 1892, a copy of which, in pamphlet form, I beg to submit, as there is a paragraph in Dr. Mout's "Rejoinder," which was of importance, because Dr. Mout was under the impression (entirely mistaken) that my knowledge of the effects of opium on the prisoners was drawn from the jails of Cuttack and Poroce in Orissa, whereas in reality it is the outcome of the whole of my knowledge of jail management, gathered in a very careful inspection as the sanitary officer of two of the largest divisions in the North-West Provinces, when I had the opportunity of inspecting the jails and was in medical charge of the largest jail in India myself, the Agra Central Prison, until I took the jail fever and had to be relieved and another officer appointed in my place. I feel that it is necessary to state this, so that the Commission may have the entire correspondence on this most crucial subject. Further, I feel that statements with reference to jails in India, to my knowledge, require to be most carefully received, when we consider, as Dr. Mout himself fully admits, the character of the subordinate native officials connected with the jails, and the tendency to receive money from friends outside in such that those of us who have seen much of jail management are sadly aware that the treatment a prisoner receives in a jail

Brigade-
Surgeon R.
Pringle, M.D.

13 Sept. 1893.

Brigade-Surgeon R. Pringle, M.D.

18 Sept. 1898.

depends a great deal upon the wealth of his relatives outside. To such an extent was this carried out in a model jail in the North-West Provinces.

711. I am afraid we must not go too much into that?—But it is with reference to the withholding of any luxury. For if we say that opium cannot be admitted into a jail, I very much fear that that must be most carefully safeguarded, with reference to the very great difficulty in carrying out this order as Dr. Mout has clearly shown in his own report. I will, however, not allude to that further; and with reference to what one reads regarding the apparent harmlessness of opium smoking, and some of the pictures that are exhibited of opium smokers in health and strength, would only take the case of the lascars, the native seamen, regarding whom I have here a sketch. This, my Lord, is the sketch of the native seamen, the lascars, taken from the "Daily Graphic." Now, to look at these men one would suppose that they were in excellent health, and that they were at all events not victims to the opium habit. I do not say that these men are victims to the opium habit. On the contrary, anyone who goes and sees the haunts of these lascars knows at once that in this country, when they stop at a port, it is then alone that they indulge in this habit of opium smoking. But I fear there is little doubt that many of them not only smoke it on shore, but eat it at sea. On one occasion a gentleman, whose name I can give—for I hold his letter in my hand—stated that when he was in command of a vessel sailing up the Red Sea, on one occasion when they got on the rocks, it was found out that the lascars were in such a state, under the influence of opium, that it was fortunate that the rising tide took his ship off the rocks as he had very little to hope for from his men. As long as the opium habit is kept within bounds, as I am thankful to say it is yet in India,—by outward respectability—no man being willing to be caught under the influence of it, or suddenly to be called up to do anything, and to feel that he is not ready to do it, the habit cannot be said to be visibly deleterious. But, it is to that fear, and, above all, the great self-respect which I am bound to say still remains in India, as far as my experience goes, both among the agricultural and the upper classes, that the freedom from this habit is to be traced. I am aware there are difficulties as regards Rajputana, but not having served there I will only speak of what I really know in reference to this. The only instance in which I can remember of any natives, of the better class connected with agriculture, being addicted to opium, was in two districts in the Meerut Division, and I found this out by their being in their villages at a time of the day when men should be out busily at their work, and these men were indulging in opium. The way the natives alluded to it to me was (in an undertone), when they said "I am afraid they are indulging in opium." Now, if there is any other point upon which I can give the Commission any further information, I am ready to do so, as my one object—and I would wish, my Lord, it to be stated—as a Government officer, in taking the part that I now am taking, and have done, is that I plead for India. It is possible to stop and to reduce the temptation to indulge in opium now, as I know it was to indulge in drink, if the facilities for taking it are removed.

712. Your statement so far has carried us to this—that the opium habit is not by any means universally, or I will even say generally, prevalent in India?—Certainly not.

713. But where that opium habit has taken possession of an individual it generally goes beyond the moderate use and with very injurious and fatal consequences. You have given a general statement to the effect that you feel regret that the opium trade has received a certain amount of countenance from the Government of India. The point I should like to interrogate you upon would be with reference to any proposals that you have to make of a practical nature, with reference to a change in the mode of dealing with the opium trade on the part of the Government of India. Have you anything to suggest on that point?—I could suggest that the opium be used and cultivated, and its cultivation alone permitted for medicinal purposes, as can be done under the supervision of Government, in much the same way that other drugs are cultivated at the Saharanpur Botanical Gardens, for medicinal purposes also.

714. Do you consider that such a regulation as you propose would be favourably received by the people of India?—I have no hesitation in saying, that as long as

it is done with due consideration for those who may have come under the influence of the drug, and are really its victims, this is quite possible; for the rest, as far as my experience goes, I have seen very few natives from whom the drug could not be withheld with perfect safety. That is to say, they are not such victims to it as to make them liable to risk their lives by this withdrawal. Of course I am only alluding to those whom one meets with in ordinary society, and certainly not those who have drifted into the drugs of society through inability to work.

715. (Sir J. Lyall.) I did not quite understand what you said about stopping opium in jails—preventing people who are addicted to opium from using it in jails. Was it your custom when you were in charge of a jail to stop it altogether?—With reference to that, as the question has been put, I would say that Dr. Mout—

716. I ask your practice, sir?—Dr. Mout—

717. I do not ask anything about Dr. Mout. I ask, please, what was your practice when you had charge of a jail?—I was in charge of a jail, and my practice was to act up to the orders I received from my superior officer—Dr. Mout—and I certainly withheld opium from every case, taking care that there were no serious risks incurred. I did that in the first years of my service in India, but I lived long enough in India to know that while I might withhold it, I would be very sorry to draw any conclusion upon the supposition that no opium finds its way into the jail, and that I was drawing conclusions upon absolute fact instead of knowing that it was possible that the wealthy could obtain opium if they were prepared to pay for it.

718. But I believe the general practice is to dole it out in very small quantities to confirmed opium-smokers, and not to allow it at all to other people in jails?—Certainly, if there is any risk to life, opium is given to those cases alone.

719. As a rule, do you not think there would be any risk to life; it must be only in a case of very excessive use of opium, where a man has lost his appetite for everything else; it would be only in a case of that kind, I fancy, that there would be absolute risk to life. There would be great suffering, but there would not be risk to life, I think?—Well, I may say that in this paper (my letter in the "Lancet," of September 10th, 1892), you will see quotations from Government reports in which the following occurs:—Seebangur, Aesam, 1862. "The sickness and mortality had increased during the year. Nearly all the deaths were from dysentery in worn out opium-eaters." The whole of these details are carefully given here.

720. That is not exactly an answer to my question. My question was, is it not the general idea among the medical profession in India, who have to deal with it as officers in charge of jails, that you can stop the use of opium without danger to life except in cases of very aggravated opium-eating, where a man comes into the jail already in a very low condition from the opium-eating habit?—Certainly.

721. In other cases you could stop it?—Certainly, in other cases you could stop it; but of course everything will depend upon the state of the man's health at the time. If he has a tendency to dysentery or diarrhoea, to stop the opium would simply be to expedite the fatal termination.

722. You have said that in your opinion opium-eating was inconsistent with self-respect among all Indians; did you say as much as that?—Yes.

723. How do you make that agree with the extensive prevalence of the opium-eating habit amongst all Rajputs in Rajputana?—I make it agree in this way—that I can remember when it was a sign of the greatest disreputability for anyone to drink spirits, but it has got to be so common lately that it has ceased to be disreputable by so many taking it now, and so opium-eating has almost assumed a species of respectability among the Rajputs. The difficulty, I think, is this, that as all take it, it is difficult for anyone to stand out alone; but it must be remembered that it is against their religion, and it is against the religion of any Mohammedan to take any opium or alcohol, or anything which intoxicates; and it is equally against his religion, to take little or much, as it is to take any at all.

724. Is it not the case that though they may think opium eating, to a certain extent, inconsistent with self-respect, they consider spirit drinking much more

inconsistent with self-respect?—On the principle that one shows disreputability outside and the other can be kept quietly in the house.

725. You talked about our Government encouraging opium and liquor, and of the fact being a public reproach to us in India: Do you happen to know what the prices of opium and liquor were when you first landed in India, and what the difference was when you left; you landed in India how many years ago?—1854.

726. Have you any idea what the difference in price is?—I am afraid I could not answer that; but I think I could answer the question by telling you how the liquor-shops were placed when I went to India, and how they were placed when I left India.

727. That is another thing; for instance, I can remember a time when any part of India (the India that I knew) spirits were to be got at about an anna and a half a bottle. For many years past you cannot get it for less than about 12 annas or one rupee?—It is less than that in the North-West Provinces.

728. But has not the tendency been always to increase the price, both of opium and of spirits since you have been in the country?—Certainly; and that has led to the addition of drugs to produce intoxication, which is the sole object that any native has for taking liquor at all, for as for taking it in the light of anyone taking liquor in this country, there is no such habit in India at all. A man only takes drink to be drunken; and he will bargain to be made drunk, and a careful addition of ganja will expedite this. The man has paid for the drunkenness to be produced, and this is done by previously adding ganja to the liquor presented for sale.

729. Is not that an argument that if you stop one door there you must stop all; that is if you stopped opium, for instance, you must stop spirits too?—I am very glad to say that I believe that entirely, and have done my best to carry it out; and I reported that liquor shops were put alongside the manufactories, and that also has been put a stop to. I do not suppose that any legislation will ever make a man give it up; but what I am anxious to see is that we will not do anything to tempt them to take it, and it would be the same with the opium. If a man can buy opium much as he would any other vegetable produced, excepting the license and quantity, he naturally concludes that the Government does not view it in the same light as they do it here, and they know now perfectly well, and many of them say, "Oh! it is a poison in England, and it is not a poison here." They see the distinction. Every person cannot get opium here; to say that it is to be got quite easily is a mistake. I know of a case the other day in which a girl took spirits of salt for suicidal purposes; but she had applied first at a chemist's with money to buy laudanum, and it would not be sold to her. That I know for a fact.

730. On the other hand, ordinarily speaking, there is nothing to prevent anybody getting laudanum or opium at a druggist's, if he wants to get it, unless there is some suspicion that he is going to use it to poison himself with it?—They must be known—every druggist knows, and they can tell, for they know who are in the habit of taking it. When I was in the Fens making inquiry regarding it, I found out it goes into the districts in carriers carts. Also that though the malaria has nearly ceased, the opium habit is far from uncommon. And with reference to that point, my Lord, I would wish to say that Orissa is a very remarkable illustration of the effects of famine in the district. I can remember Orissa in 1854 and the eight years after that, and I must say that I was under the impression that they were then not under the influence of opium at all; from what I have heard lately. At the meeting at the Society of Arts. it was stated that when the famine was present, indulgence in opium took great strides. That, I can quite understand, was due to the desire of the natives to take the drug to allay the pangs of hunger. With reference to any difference as regards races, I may say that during the whole of my service in India I have seen no difference as regards the effect of opium upon one race as differing from another. The whole difference really lies in the facilities that a person has for indulgence in the opium, and the opportunities of leisure. If he is hard at labour from morning till night, he knows perfectly well that to indulge in opium is to risk that hard labour, and that therefore has kept him clear, and I have little doubt that the difference in the action of the

opium in Burma differing from Orissa is really due to some cause like that—not that there is anything in the Burman that would make him different physically. I am not prepared to say morally—but the question is the opportunity and the leisure that is available to indulge in that which is a stimulant, because where I have seen those indulging in it, it was a habit of idleness, and the hard-working ryot of the North-Western Provinces has no time for idleness. He has to work hard, and he is, therefore, perfectly free from it.

731. You said you were two years in Central India, I think?—In Gwalior, yes.

732. That is not a large opium-using district?—Not as I saw it in a large military cantonment.

733. (Mr. Pease.) Do you say that there is no drug or medicine that can be given to these confirmed opium smokers which will cure them of the habit, that when they are confirmed opium smokers it is necessary to continue to give them a certain amount of it to preserve their lives?—I am afraid it is absolutely necessary in cases in which there is a susceptibility to diarrhoea or dysentery, which is only kept in check by the action of opium.

734. You have had some experience of the effects of opium I believe among the soldiers—would you give us the benefit of that experience?—No, I have not among the European soldiers.

735. Among the Sikh and Rajput soldiers?—Among them the only effect that I have seen, is that a man is very carefully watched by his comrades and by his superior native officers to know if he is one who indulges in opium, because it is possible that in times of trust, and in times of responsibility he may, practically unintentionally, from the craving coming on, place himself in a position in which his want of vigilance may be of serious consequence. Any man, or any regiment of men, (with reference to the question which has been put to me) who are dependent upon opium for sustaining their physique, are, in my opinion, my Lord, absolutely useless in the case of a great struggle.

736. (Sir J. Lyall.) You have not served, I think, with a Sikh regiment?—I have not served with a Sikh regiment.

737. And in the regiment you did serve with I think the men did not belong to a race which was in the habit of taking opium?—Opium was grown in those districts.

738. But it appears very few of them took opium?—40 or 50 years ago in India opium was grown up in the north-west, and many of these Sepoys were recruited in the north-west; and the experience of all who have served in districts where the opium is grown is that where opium is grown the tendency is to use it, and that is one of the reasons why the natives refuse to accept the money advanced, which is after all the point with regard to the cultivation of opium in India. Take away the money advances, and my experience in the North-West Provinces is that the natives will not cultivate the poppy; it is too risky for the morality of his household, and it subjects him to the opium poppy search, which is a very powerful organ of oppression in the hands of under-paid officials.

739. No doubt money advance is an inducement to most of these cultivators; if they do not get an advance from Government, they get an advance from a native merchant, do they not?—I am sorry to say that nearly the whole of the cultivation of the Agra and Meerut Divisions is on advances. But then when the lender advances he takes it in kind, and is paid back from the crop; the natives, in their advances for poppy cultivation, receive not only large, but favourable advances. It may be under such favourable circumstances, that it is probable it is the money-lender who compels the ryot, in his state of impecuniosity, to accept this money advance to pay off his debts. But I know that in three districts, the Agra, the Muttra, and the Aligarh districts, the cultivators resolutely refused all advances to cultivate poppy; and yet these were the three districts decimated to my knowledge (for I was in the districts more than once) with a fatal type of fever. So decimated were these districts that the population fell very considerably in the 10 years from this malarial fever due to the irrigation; and yet if there was anything that would lead a native to take opium as a febrifuge, these men had every excuse for cultivating the poppy for the sake of keeping back a little for their own use as a protection against fever.

740. (Mr. Maebury.) When you propose to prohibit the growth of opium except for medicinal purposes,

Brigade
Surgeon R.
Pringle, M.D.
13 Sept. 1898.

Brigade-
Surgeon R.
Pringle, M.D.
18 Sept. 1893.

do you regard it as a medicinal purpose to supply it in small quantities to those who have previously used it, and who could not do without it?—Only to prevent a fatal issue. I should only be justified in giving opium to prevent what I felt must be a fatal issue if the drug was entirely withdrawn.

741. You do not think that anything of the Burmese system of having a register of those who have been in the habit of using opium should be introduced?—That may be necessary. But in the districts in which I have served I am glad to say that it certainly is not at all necessary, as far as my observation and experience go.

742. (Sir W. Roberts.) I gathered from you that you looked upon the habitual use of opium very much as we look upon an habitual drunkard?—I am afraid I must have been misunderstood, for I see no point of comparison as regards India, except that indulgence in both is considered a disreputable habit.

743. Well, in that respect, as we regard a drunkard here as being a disgrace, there is no opium smoker who is not a disgrace in India?—No.

744. That is your impression?—Yes; that is my view.

745. So that the habitual use of opium in India is not at all like our habitual use of alcoholic beverages?—Am I to understand, sir, "habitual," without excess of indulgence?

746. Yes?—There is no such thing as habitual indulgence in alcohol in India, and anyone taking habitually to opium does it with the knowledge that he is jeopardising his position for respectability unless he is willing to be classed among people who have very little respectability to lose.

747. There is another point about the inferiority of opium as a febrifuge or prophylactic. Is it a possible

suggestion on your part that quinine might be supplied to these malarial districts by the Government and diminish in that way their reliance upon opium?—I am very glad, sir, you have alluded to that, because that is exactly the point on which I feel that the action of the Government deserves the greatest credit with reference to the outbreak of malaria over the portions of the North-West Provinces, when Sir John Strachey was Governor. It was my privilege to distribute large quantities of preparations of cinchona gratuitously, and I have no hesitation in saying the credit and the benefit conferred by that was such as really to put any substance like opium being given as a substitute perfectly out of the question.

748. That was during an epidemic?—During a very fatal epidemic of malarial fever more than once.

749. But where there is no special epidemic in these malarial districts is it possible that a supply of quinine could be placed at the disposal of the population?—I think, sir, it is not only possible, but perfectly practicable, with quinine at its present price. It is now reduced to nearly a rupee an ounce, and when I went to India it was sixteen.

750. (Sir J. Lyall.) Quinine has lately been given in the Punjab; we have provided large quantities of quinine in certain malarial districts?—And given at the very cheapest rates so as to encourage its being taken. If that were done, I think it would remove opium absolutely out of any possible category, either as a febrifuge or as a prophylactic; and there is room for a largely increased cultivation of cinchona, as I am told that in Ceylon it does not pay almost to cultivate cinchona, and if it does not pay to cultivate cinchona there, it would certainly pay the Government with reference to these malarial tracts where quinine is such a marvellous specific for fever, and the natives have such perfect confidence in it.

The witness withdrew.

Rev. W. S.
Swanson,
D.D.

Rev. W. S. SWANSON, D.D., called and examined.

751. (Chairman.) I understand that you have been in China in connexion with Presbyterian missions, and you were educated at a Scotch university, I believe?—The University of Edinburgh.

752. You have probably heard some of the previous witnesses?—I have.

753. Therefore you know the nature of the statements to us, and it is not necessary to repeat in full what has already been said. The great point is, that you with your authority, and with your experience, are here to confirm, in so far as you feel justified in doing so, what has already been stated; and of course if there are any new points you will add them. How long were you in China?—Over 20 years.

754. And in what parts of China?—In the southern part of the province of Fuh-kien.

755. Is that a province in which opium was grown in any quantities?—For 20 years of my life there, I never saw a poppy grown in the whole district. I used to go some 70 or 80 miles to the north of the city of Amoy, and 150 miles to the west, and about 60 or 70 miles to the south, and in the last year of my residence there I did see poppies grown.

756. When did you leave China?—In 1881.

757. Well, do you confirm what you heard said by the several witnesses with reference to the physical, moral, and social effects of the opium habit?—I do most fully.

758. And what are the opinions of the people in China themselves on the opium habit?—I have mixed with all classes of the people, my Lord, and I have never found a single Chinaman or a Chinese woman that did not say that opium was evil, and only evil, and that continually. I am thoroughly acquainted with the language of the people and have made myself acquainted with the conditions of their family and of their social life, and we often get the opinion of the people of China in a rhythmical couplet or triplet, and there is one rhythmical couplet that I may quote: "The man who smokes opium begins by selling his bedstead; he ends by selling his rice-bowl, and his chop-sticks, and then the two legs of him run away with one stomach." Between these extremes everything that a man has goes—house, lands, wives,

children; and I have again and again heard mothers say that when one of their sons begins to smoke opium, so far as they were concerned, he was dead to them. I have never heard any but one opinion; but I am bound to say this, that so far as my own Government is concerned, it has done nothing in China except what was a blessing to it, except in this one particular, and I am perfectly certain that, if this blot were taken away from us, we would have the Chinese people with a friendly feeling to Great Britain that that people possess to no other European country.

759. What action would you desire that the Indian Government would take with reference to the opium trade?—The entire suppression of the export of opium to China.

760. If that recommendation of yours could by possibility be adopted, what effect do you think it would have upon the attitude of the Chinese Government?—So far as the Chinese Government now is concerned, I should not like to say very much; but if you had asked me 20 years ago, I would have said without fail that the Chinese Government would have taken steps to put an end to the trade in their own country. I think even yet it is worth the trial; and it would do two things, it would set us right—the British Government—in the eyes of the Chinese people, and, in the second place, I think that the moral effect of it would be such as to force the Chinese Government to take some steps to protect their own people, because they know perfectly well, that so far as there is any public opinion in China, it is entirely and totally against the use of opium, and that those who are strongest in this opinion are victims of the habit.

761. Have you reason to apprehend that at the present time there is great laxity on the part of the Chinese Government and their officials in regard to the enforcement of rules and regulations limiting or prohibiting the use of opium?—I really could not say anything very definitely upon that point, but I can say definitely upon another point which bears upon it, that those officials say: "What is the use of us doing anything; what is the use of us doing anything here so long as we are compelled to receive this large import of opium from India? Stop that, and then we will do something; but what is the use of us doing anything so long as that is pressed upon us?"

762. They are no longer entitled to say that they are compelled to receive the opium?—I do not consider, my Lord, that they are free in any way. If the provisions of the Che-foo Convention are not carried out, then we fall back upon the old treaty. That is the position so far as I can apprehend.

763. You are aware that Sir James Fergusson has disavowed, on the part of the Government, any intention to use pressure on the part of the British Government to impose the consumption of opium upon the Chinese?—"Pressure" is a word with a very wide meaning. There are several kinds of pressure. I do not believe that there might be military pressure, but there is another kind of pressure.

764. You know what the state of public opinion in this country is on the subject, do you not?—I do not know; but I do not think that it is thoroughly awakened on the subject.

765. (Mr. Pease.) Have you ever heard the Chinese defend the practice?—I have never heard a single Chinaman, so far as Chinese Christians or heathens are concerned, defend the practice. Every single one of them condemns it; and I may mention for the information of the Commission, that about 12 months ago the Pope sent out a rescript to the Catholic Missionaries enjoining them to condone in no wise the participation of their Chinese converts in the opium habit.

766. (Sir J. Lyall.) How do you explain this growing prevalence of the habit accompanied by a general condemnation and detestation of it?—To the weakness of human nature—that is the way in which I explain it.

767. Is Chinese human nature especially weak?—It is especially weak on the point of opium.

768. In your experience of China, did you see any spirit drinking—dram drinking?—I have known of spirit drinking; but the Chinaman never goes to the street when he drinks spirits; he does it inside his own home, and it is a very rare thing to see a drunken Chinaman in the streets of a Chinese city. I am acquainted with three large cities, one that had 500,000 people in it before the rebels visited it; my own city, the city of Amoy with 250,000; and the city of Chiu-chew with 300,000. I am thoroughly acquainted with them, and I have very seldom seen in them a drunken Chinaman. I know perfectly well that there was a great deal of drinking of the Chinese raw spirit; but it was always done in the privacy of their own homes. No one in China would compare the two for a moment; the tyranny of the one habit is entirely different from the tyranny of the other.

769. The Chinese raw spirit is, I think, a mild spirit, is it not?—No; it is the very opposite; it is a very coarse ardent spirit.

770. It is made from rice, is it not?—It is made from sweet potatoes to a large extent in our part of the country.

771. (Sir W. Roberts.) Are there tobacco smokers in China?—The Chinese are almost all tobacco smokers.

772. The tobacco-smoking habit is general in China?—Oh! I would go beyond that—universal I would say.

773. (Sir J. Lyall.) Among women and children?—I have not seen children smoking, and I have very seldom seen women smoking tobacco.

774. (Mr. Pease.) Would opium smokers smoke tobacco?—Yes, they do.

775. (Chairman.) Has any estimate been formed of the number of Chinese converts to Christianity?—In my own mission, which has been one of the most successful in China, we have about 4,000 persons in the full communion of our church.

776. Do you know what the figures are with regard to the other missions?—I should say somewhere about 50,000.

777. The total for the whole of China?—I should think so. I mean the Protestants.

778. And the Roman Catholics?—I cannot form any estimate of them. The Roman Catholic Mission with us is almost a purely traditional one. It is not aggressive; it has simply descended from previous generations. I have never met with a Roman Catholic priest that preached in the streets of any Chinese city. I have been acquainted with some of them, and have one or two of them amongst my own personal friends.

779. (Sir W. Roberts.) Are the converts drawn from one class of society, or pretty evenly?—The converts in every case are drawn principally from the agricultural and the artisan classes.

780. The artisan classes?—The artisan classes, yes.

781. Do many of the *litterati* come within the influence of the missionaries?—A very few indeed. We would never have any trouble with the Chinese people, but for the *litterati* and the mandarins. An ignorant people, they are bounded on by vile stories about our making babies' eyes into opium, and by other stories of that kind; but as far as the people themselves are concerned, I have moved up and down amongst them for 21 years and never was more kindly treated in my own country than I was treated in China.

782. But there are, I presume, some of the merchants, and of the higher shopkeeping class?—Not many with us. Our mission is almost entirely composed of the agricultural classes.

783. And artisans?—And artisans, but more of the former.

784. (Sir J. Lyall.) The peasantry?—They are all proprietors, the peasants there, of their own fields.

785. Mr. Moubray.) Is that so all over China?—I only speak of my own part of China. I would not dare to speak of any other part of China.

786. I mean the 4,000?—That is within the area which I have already indicated.

787. Exactly; it does not represent all your communion all over China in point of numbers?—We have, fortunately, confined ourselves to one part of China.

788. Well, then, it does practically represent your total strength?—Practically it represents the membership in connexion with the Presbyterian Mission of the Church of England.

789. (Mr. Pease.) There is a considerable number of adherents, I suppose?—Oh, twice as many, if not three times as many, and we have about three thousand at least of baptised children.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. D. MATHESON, called in and examined.

Mr. D.
Matheson.

790. (Chairman.) We know your name well in connexion with Chinese commerce. You have been connected with a Chinese house of business, have you not?—Yes, I have. I went out to China in the year 1837, after a preparatory training in business, with the intention of entering the office of Jardine, Matheson, and Co., and with the probability in due time of being promoted if I was fit for it. The business then was carried on in Canton. A general business was carried on by the firm of Jardine, Matheson, and Co. They acted as commission agents in goods from all parts of the world, and besides that they had a large business in the contraband opium trade. Being contraband, it was outside the Port of Canton. There was a receiving ship at the mouth of the Canton river which received the cargoes of opium from India, and then from the receiving ship the clippers carried cargoes to stations at different parts along the China coast.

791. It was a smuggling trade; as described by you it was more or less a smuggling trade, the trade that the house conducted in opium?—It was, in a sense. I was going to explain, because I wish to do all credit to those who were then in business there. The opium was taken by the clippers to the different stations, and then at those stations the Chinese opium dealers came out and purchased the opium and paid silver for it as the most convenient medium. It will be seen, from what I have said, how easily the charge of smuggling was evaded by transferring it to the shoulders of the Chinese opium dealers.

792. They did the act of smuggling?—Yes, it reminds me of *Æsop's* fable about the boys and the frogs. The boys were amusing themselves by throwing stones at the frogs in a pond until a number of them were killed. At last a frog came to the top and said,

Mr. D.
Matheson.
3 Sept. 1893.

"Stop your cruel sport, for what is play to you is death to us." And so in the same way what enriched the British merchants and the East India Company was death to the Chinese. This is merely an illustration of what was really the fact; it was smuggling, undoubtedly.

793. What is your opinion as to the effect of the opium habit upon the Chinese people?—I have not come to testify so much about that; but rather about the way in which the Government acted in the matter.

794. In the early stages?—Yes.

795. Of course it is of the past, but we would be glad to hear a brief statement from you about the circumstances connected with the seizure of the opium in 1839?—I will be quite brief, my Lord. The Emperor Taou-Kwang in the year 1839 became very uneasy about the spread of the opium traffic. I believe one of his sons had died of opium-smoking; but I am not quite sure if that is the case. The consequence was that edicts were issued all over the country that it should be put a stop to. As this failed, he took the course of sending Commissioner Lin to strike at the root of the evil, by imprisoning the merchants in Canton, and by compelling them to deliver up all the opium that was on the coast. I may say also that at the same time there was an order that all Chinese opium smokers should be punished by death, and I, myself, saw a Chinese opium smoker hanging on a cross in the agonies of death, only a little distance from the factories. We were imprisoned in the factories for a short time, until the whole of that opium was given up—all that was on the coast; and I was one of 16 who were specially marked out as being connected with the opium trade, but we were allowed to go on condition that we should never return to Canton again.

796. Have you anything further to say about the early history of the question?—Soon afterwards, in 1841, Hong Kong was occupied, and all the merchants, foreign and British, went to Hong Kong, and that became the depot for opium, and the place from which the clippers were despatched to the coast—just as before, to the different stations on the coast.

797. From your experience at Canton and from your experience at Hong Kong, have you any recollection of any particular incidents that influenced the view that you took upon the opium question?—At that time I had not formed any opinion as to the character of the traffic. I tried to do my duty to the partners, and I did not think more about it. But in due time I was made a partner in Hong Kong, and then I felt a responsibility which brought questionings, and convictions upon my conscience that compelled me to say that I could not continue in this traffic.

One of the FIRST INCIDENTS was as follows:—I went in a clipper to visit Fuh-chow, one of the stations, and I was very much struck with this fact, that here were two opium-receiving ships selling opium to the people of Fuh-chow, and on the other hand there was the mission station and several missionaries working away trying to bring the same people to the knowledge of the truth. On going ashore, I was struck with the wretchedness of the people from opium-smoking, and with the two opposing forces—the opium trade on the one side, and the missions on the other. It was almost impossible to have any missionary work there at all, and I lately met with an extract from the letter of Archbishop Wolfe, now at Fuh-chow, confirming this. He wrote in the year 1891:—"One of the towns held as a mission station for 20 years or more by an American Board of Missions has at last to be abandoned, and, I think, very properly, for the degradation of an opium-smoking town is of that peculiar and intensely low and hardened type that, humanly speaking, it seems almost impossible to make any impression of a moral or spiritual nature upon the inhabitants of a place given up to the degrading vice of opium smoking."

A SECOND INCIDENT was:—I went down to see Singapore, and visited my friend Dr. Little, who was a leading doctor at that time. He showed me some of the opium dens and spoke of the terrible havoc opium-smoking was making among the Chinese population.

798. Is this recent?—No, but it goes on now. I believe the principal revenue for the support of Singapore comes from opium and drink.

799. But what you saw was some years ago?—Yes, many years ago. Then I have often spoken to the Chinese, who have said that the vice is just as bad as

it can be, and I remember one opium dealer coming to me to buy opium, who remarked: "the people say that the man who is a smoker of opium is making his coffin." He was doing so himself.

A THIRD INCIDENT was:—When managing partner for a short time I sent a man to Bombay to be an inspector of opium before shipment to China. He was a fine young fellow and we had great confidence in him. He did his work well, but after two years he began to get emaciated and miserable-looking, he was an opium victim, and at last he was obliged to give up his employment, and I do not suppose that he had long to live. I felt it rather on my conscience.

A FOURTH INCIDENT:—In 1847 when I was partner one of our clippers on the coast was boarded by pirates and plundered, and the officers were murdered and nearly all the crew. There was a notice in the newspapers of it, and they said that the opium clipper and the cargo belonged to myself, instead of using the name of the firm. I thought it was rather unfair to do that, but it stung my conscience, and convinced me that as a Christian I could no longer continue in the opium traffic. It was intolerable to me to continue in such a business, and I sent home my resignation to the senior partner who was in this country. I left China finally in 1849.

800-1. What is your recommendation with reference to the policy you would like to see adopted by the Government of India in relation to opium?—Well, it would be very like what others have said. I should wish to sweep away the poppy plantations from the plains of India and to sweep away that unrighteous and paltry revenue of four millions, and then to give India the opportunity of a new career of prosperity, which would also give the same to China and allow of her taking a great deal more of British manufactures than she has been doing in the past. And we have a remarkable illustration of that I think. There is Burmah on the one side of China, and Japan on the other. Opium in Burmah is giving constant trouble now: whereas Japan, in having secured its exclusion by treaty, is pursuing a prosperous career.

802. Are there any other observations that you would like to make?—I did wish to say that when the opium was given up under Taou-Kwang it was a heroic attempt on the part of a Government ignorant of international law, but it was a sad failure. The opium merchants appealed to our Home Government, and a succession of grievous wars began, slaying thousands of innocent Chinese, from 1841 to 1858, when opium was finally legalised by the treaty of Tientsin, and the United States Minister said on that occasion to the Bishop of Victoria, "It is the triumph of successful crime." Let me add that during the first war of 1841 the British nation was struck to the heart by the terrible disaster of the Cabul massacre, and in the year 1857-8—when opium was legalised—the British nation was agonised by that terrible Indian mutiny. I do not make any reflections in the matter, but that is so. Then I just wish to add that Lord Shaftesbury, who took a great interest in the question, said, "The opium traffic is a sin and a shame to this country. Do not cease to testify to this. Sooner or later they will have to give it up. It is a sin and a shame." I was struck with those words and I have never forgotten them, and I trust we shall go on endeavouring to get this matter put right.

803. (Sir J. Lyall.) I have seen it stated that the opium-smuggling system, which you began your evidence by describing, gave rise to a great deal of piracy, and that that was one of the bad features of it; can you explain how that was?—The valuable cargoes of opium were a great temptation to pirates. There was an enormous number of pirates. When our navy was there I think they destroyed about 250 pirate ships.

804. They were looking out for these clippers?—Yes. I wish to say, by the way, which I did not before, that the houses of Jardine, Matheson, and Co. and Dent and Co., who had nearly the whole of this coast business, were honourable men, and that the captains of the clippers and the receiving ships were honourable men. We must not suppose that they were a lot of scoundrels or buccaniers or anything of that sort. The Chinese opium dealers bribed the mandarins always, and things went quietly and smoothly, and the only people that the clippers had to be afraid of were those pirates; and, as I told you, one of those clippers, the "Omega," was plundered and nearly the whole of the crew murdered.

805. Everybody, I think, at the present day is sorry, so far as it is true you know, that force was ever used to open the Chinese market to opium; but do you not think as a merchant that it would be enough to make the Chinese Government now absolutely free to prohibit the import of opium, or do you think it necessary to go further?—I should be very sorry if the Indian Government did not take the first step and endeavour to cease to grow the opium.

806. Part of the opium exported from India is grown directly under the direction of the Government?—Yes.

807. But a great part is merely the growth as it were of the native States, which has been always more or less exported to China and other countries from time preceding our rule even?—But they are also under the Government influence; they must grow so much or so little according as it is wanted.

808. No, they may grow as much as ever they like?—I was under the impression that considerable influence was brought to bear upon them.

809. (Mr. Pease.) If we lowered the tariff that would induce them to grow it?—Yes.

810. (Sir J. Lyall.) We began by putting on a very low tariff upon it originally. It began at 125, it went up to 175, and has gone on gradually to 400, 500, 600, and sometimes it has been 700. Now it has gone back again. Would it not be a very unusual thing for a Government to absolutely stop the export of an article of commerce?—Well, it is the immorality of the thing, that is the question.

811. You think that the immorality of the thing would justify that course?—Certainly.

812. But would not the same ground of immorality then make it obligatory upon the English Government to stop the export of spirits?—There is no comparison; they would not compare at all.

813. No comparison in Africa, for instance?—Oh, well, the natives of Africa have no power of self control.

814. No comparison in Australia and New Zealand, where a population has been actually wiped off the ground by the use of spirits?—I will not allow in my own mind any comparison between spirits and opium. Opium is a curse. Spirits can be used in moderation; opium cannot.

815. We know that spirits have swept populations absolutely out of existence in various parts of the world?—Yes, those poor and ignorant savages.

816. Well then would not the same grounds—I may say the same moral grounds—make it incumbent upon us to stop the export of spirits; and I suppose nothing has done greater harm in India under our rule, particularly in more recent years, than the growth of the habit of drinking wine and spirits among the upper

classes in India?—We know that that is only in moderation; at all events, it is perhaps like the drinking of wine 30 or 40 or 50 years ago—when gentlemen sat down to the table with their wine. That fashion is going out now, and I suppose it is only the same thing in India with the upper-classes, but I am not sufficiently acquainted with India to speak with confidence as to that.

817. A missionary gentleman who gave evidence just now said, that the Chinese were weaker in those respects than we are: that is in resisting any kind of intoxication, that if they did use it at all they used it to excess?—I think he meant chiefly the opium.

818. Well, he said it of all, and Dr. Pringle said the same thing of the Indians; that is, he said it was equally the case with them, whether it was wine or whether it was opium, or whether it was hemp, they never took it except to get drunk?—Yes, of opium and hemp.

819. That being the case is there any strong line of distinction between the morality of allowing wine and spirits to be exported from England, and our allowing for instance the Malwa opium to be exported to China?—I think there is a very wide difference. Hemp, of course, does not go with the whiskey, it goes with the opium, the hemp is used to make the opium more deadly.

820. Is there not one incident in which our practice in India as regards, for instance the Malwa opium stands out in a very advantageous light in comparison to the English practice of importing spirits. I mean, I think in England when spirits are exported they are exported free of duty, the duty is not imposed; in India when the Malwa opium is exported it is subject to a very heavy duty?—Well, that does the Indian revenue a great deal of good.

821. Yes, but if that, I mean to say, is morally wrong, surely it is still more morally wrong to export spirits free of duty?—I cannot put spirits and opium together at all.

822. (Mr. Pease.) You are aware, I think Mr. Matheson, that the English Government have recognised their responsibility by prohibiting the importation of spirits in Africa, as parties to the Brussels Anti-Slavery Convention?—Yes, the people in Africa are of course of a very low type.

823. The English Government has placed the restriction upon the importation as parties to that convention?—Yes.

824. I believe by your obedience to your convictions upon this question of opium, you have prejudiced your own pecuniary position to a very considerable extent. That is so, is it not?—Well, as far as that goes it has, but it has not injured my position in society I hope.

The witness withdrew.

Dr. WILLIAM GAULD called in and examined.

825. (Chairman.) You are a medical missionary, are you not? Sir William Roberts has kindly undertaken to conduct your examination?—I am.

826. (Sir W. Roberts.) Where was your experience?—At Swatow, in the Canton province.

827. Is it confined to China?—Well, the last 12 years I have been in London in medical work, in charge of the Mildmay Hospital, Bethnal Green.

828. You have no experience of India?—No experience of India.

829. But you have some years' experience at Swatow?—I was for 16 years a missionary in Swatow, with an interval of two years home on furlough between.

830. Had you a dispensary there?—I had a hospital there with the largest in-patient practice of any hospital at that time in China.

831. It was not merely an outdoor dispensary?—No, I had a dispensary practice as well; the last year I was in China we had over 2,000 in-patients in the year.

832. You were, in fact, engaged in these duties continuously all that time?—All that time.

833. What is your experience in regard to the use of opium; was it very prevalent there?—It was very prevalent in some parts of the district. It was very pre-

valent amongst the literary classes and the Mandarin classes. It was almost universal among the chair coolies, and we could scarcely get a teacher who did not smoke opium.

834. It was what you would call a generalised habit then?—It was very largely prevalent, but not so prevalent as in some parts of China.

835. Scarcely so prevalent as drinking beer in this country?—Not so prevalent as drinking beer, I should say.

836. In what ways did you find that the Chinamen used opium?—They used it chiefly in smoking a prepared mixture of the opium, and I may mention that at Swatow it was almost wholly Indian opium that was used, scarcely any native opium, when I first went to China; it is 13 years since I left. There were times when the Chinese opium smokers could not get their opium, and then they bought pills or morphia to tide them over the difficulty; for instance, one year we sold about 50,000 pills at our mission, ostensibly to cure opium smoking, but I found after a while that these pills were not to such an extent used to cure opium smoking as to warrant me to go on selling them to the Chinese. I never charged anything for any other drugs, but for these pills we charged them, simply because they had the money to spend on opium,

Mr. D.
Matheson.

13 Sept. 1882

Dr.
W. Gauld.

Dr.
W. Gauld.
3 Sept. 1893.

and we thought it right to charge them for the pills which they wanted to cure it. But we found a large number of these pills were used simply to tide them over a difficulty. I think that is important in connexion with this—it has been a question whether smoking opium has the same effect as eating opium. Now, as a matter of fact, the craving for the opium is allayed by the eating of these opium pills, and by the eating of morphia, and the use of morphia is largely increasing in China. I may say in that connexion that from one of our leading firms of druggists, one of the partners of that firm says 50,000 ounces of morphia are sent out in one year to China.

837. I daresay you are aware that it has been said that it is impossible as to opium, that the alkaloid of the opium—morphia—can be taken in by smoking?—I believe that is the theory. At the same time we know that there are other alkaloids in opium besides the morphia, and the fact remains that whatever of the opium is non-volatile there is still enough left to do the mischief, because that we see before our eyes. The fact that a craving is aroused of such an intense kind by the smoking of opium, which craving is allayed by other preparations of opium, shows that in essence the nature of these is the same; they may not be the same in degree but they are the same in essence.

838. Has it been suggested that it may be partly carried mechanically?—I never heard any statement to that effect.

839. No explanation has been given in fact?—No; but the fact remains.

840. The fact remains?—Yes.

841. Then these habits are really in your view interchangeable?—I believe they are.

842. Morphia eating?—Morphia eating and opium smoking and opium eating.

843. Would you regard that fact as having a bearing on the mischief done by the opium habit?—I do not exactly understand your question, sir.

844. Well this is the question: What is the importance of this in considering the evil of the opium habit?—I have already given my explanation of that in saying that the different kinds of opium have the same effect essentially on the system, and that it is not sufficient to say that because morphia is non-volatile therefore the opium does no harm; something in the opium does the harm.

845. It may be some allied alkaloid produced by the heat on morphia?—Yes.

846. Now what experience have you had of malaria: is Swatow a malarial district?—It is; there is a great deal of malaria in the district.

847. Do you think that the use of opium there is practised in any way as a prophylactic or prohibitive against fever?—As a prophylactic I do not think it is in existence practically, and as a cure for malaria I think it is very little used. The natives use different kinds of drugs for their fevers, and what they do use is so inefficient that they are only too glad to get our quinine.

848. Then in your experience opium smoking is not a prophylactic against malaria?—I do not think so; more than that, I think the opium smoker when he does take the fever is less likely to get well over it than a man who does not smoke opium.

849. What is your opinion of opium smoking on the literary class; you said that a good number of them smoked?—It is very prevalent amongst them. I have a letter which has lately been received from one of our ablest missionaries at Swatow, a man who is not at all given to exaggerated statements, and he mentions one or two facts which it will not take longer than a minute or two to read.

850. We shall be very glad to hear them?—He says: "If you are not tired of facts about opium, I will note one or two incidents of the last few days." (This letter was written on the 1st August.) "I. A young non-Christian teacher of the language was lately employed here. He had been staying away for some days from his work. I sent to inquire the cause, he having sent a message to say that he was ill. The Chinese here did not think his word could be taken for it, for he is an opium smoker." (That is their remark.) "A man was therefore sent to see. His report was, 'He says he is ill.' I asked, 'Is he ill?' Answer, 'an opium-smoking man, how can I

"tell?' 'Did he seem ill?' 'A man who smokes opium as he does is always ill.'" (That was the native verdict.) "2. Another teacher, my own writer, who is an opium smoker, has been absent for a week from his work. He is assisting me in Scripture translation, and his Chinese scholarship and tact make him indispensable to me. His illness is the direct and significant result of opium smoking. It is accompanied with a complete lack of rallying power, which is another of the characteristic results of the habit. 3. A Chinese friend, not a Christian, or rather not a Church member, wrote to me the other day, asking me to get the mission to undertake the guardianship of two of his sons, and the management of the funds which he is providing to meet the expense of giving them a good English education. He is not likely to live long, and says he cannot trust his Chinese friends, but has complete confidence in us. The sons whom he wishes to commit to our care are the two youngest, and his chief anxiety is so to arrange matters that the money shall not come into the power of his eldest son; and why does he so distrust the son? Because, although he is not a regular opium smoker, he has begun to take it occasionally." (I think that is an important point), "and 'therefore,' says the father, 'he is no longer of any use, and if he got control of the money would speedily squander it.'" (that is his idea of a son who is only beginning to take it). "For this reason the father deliberately chooses to will the bulk of his money out of the family, and to leave it to the care of the missionaries, as the only way of securing that the youngest boys shall, after his death, get the benefit of it." One instance more: "4. Just as I write a fourth instance occurs. I learn that another teacher on our staff is also absent from illness. When he first came to the mission he was a rather heavy smoker of opium. He was thin and emaciated, with a bad colour. After a time he was induced to break off the habit. With the help of special treatment in our hospital he succeeded in doing so, after a period of struggle and severe suffering. An immediate and very marked improvement in his appearance was the result. He became fatter, and a new look of health and energy appeared in his features. No one who knew him could fail to notice the change. This went on for two or three years until, in an evil moment, he was tempted to resort to opium again for relief from some temporary pain. The habit returned, and his healthy look disappeared again. His health became unsatisfactory and uncertain. He would fain have back his liberty, and speaks of trying to recovering it, but it will cost him a harder struggle even than before. With three teachers disabled in our staff, we ourselves lose much time, and suffer not a little inconvenience. Why then do we employ opium smokers? Partly, I am sorry to say, because it is difficult to find a literary man here who is not an opium smoker, and partly because employment by foreigners, especially in a sea-port town like Swatow, is not much coveted, and men in an independent position will not come. We can only command the services of men to whom the small salary we give is a strong inducement, and such men are nearly always opium smokers, men who have forfeited their independence, and are under strong compulsion to find money wherever they can. The smoker is heavily handicapped." That is a letter written in the beginning of August last.

851. Is it your own experience that the literary classes are a good deal addicted to opium smoking?—Yes, most of the literary men that I came across in my experience at Swatow were addicted to opium smoking.

852. I suppose you could not possibly give us any general idea in per-centages?—No, I cannot give per-centages. I remember on one occasion asking a patient what was the proportion in his village smoking opium. He said "Ten per cent. of the adult males."

853. Have you noticed whether among the opium smokers at Swatow there are some who smoke opium regularly but moderately?—The term moderate is misapplied when used in reference to opium smoking. I think that in that respect opium essentially differs from alcohol. I do not think that we would hold wine, for instance, to be a poison in itself, or beer, but I hold that opium is a poison, essentially a poison, and that there is no moderate use of it apart from what is used as medicine, that the moment a healthy man takes opium he has taken something that will injure him.

854. Apart from theory is that your experience?—That is my experience, and there is a peculiar seduc-

tion about opium which carries a man very rapidly into the habitual use of it. I can sympathise with a man because in my own experience, before I left Swatow the first time, to come home, I was ill from chronic dysentery, and for a good many nights I had to take an opiate medicinally. I determined to stop it. The first night I stopped it I remember the perfect misery I was in, the utter feeling of helplessness and misery all over, as if I were going to die. I know what it is in opium smokers, when that was my own experience from one little dose a day for some time.

855. You would not recognise that the effects of opium on one race differs very profoundly from the effect of opium on another?—I do not believe it does; I believe that its effect in different races may differ in degree, but not in essence.

856. In that respect it must differ very much from alcohol?—I think it does differ from alcohol, and that brings up a point which I think my experience of the past 12 years enables me to speak upon with some confidence. It has been said that opium and liquor are of the same nature, and that the one is as bad as the other or as good as the other. Now, I have been working for the last 12 years in Bethnal Green, in one of the worst slums in London, and I have seen what drink is. I am not here to say that drink is a good thing; it is a horribly bad thing there, and I could not speak too strongly upon it, but the difference between the hold which opium has and alcohol has upon the human being is not to be compared. I remember a Chinese graduate coming to me at Swatow once, he was one of the leading men of his village. He came and stayed in the hospital and asked me to try and get him cured of the opium habit. He had been smoking for a long time, and I did my best, but the man, in spite of all my efforts, was brought to death's door and his misery was great. He was evidently dying. I said you cannot go on with this, you must have your opium pipe, or you will die. He got his pipe and he recovered. Again he came to me and said "I want you to cure me of this opium." I said "Graduate, you saw how it was before. You were at death's door, I dare not venture. I will not take the responsibility." "Well," he said, "I will take the responsibility, whether I live or die, try and get me cured of this opium." We tried again, and I am happy to say that by care and nursing and drugs, he did get round; he recovered from his opium habit, but the suffering of that man from intense irritability, diarrhoea, feverishness, and sleeplessness was very great. I do not wish to see again anything of the kind. That is with the opium. Then with regard to the alcohol, I believe I have got down at Bethnal Green specimens of drunkards of the very worst type, men and women saturated with drink. When they come into the hospital, we at once cut off the alcohol—it is as nearly as possible (being right in the slum) a temperance hospital. We only use alcohol in rare cases. We cut off the alcohol at once, and I have never seen any apparent distress from doing so like what I have seen in China

with the opium, and I hold that the opium takes such a grip of the system as alcohol never does.

857. Even in those persons who use opium moderately, habitually, it is difficult?—The smaller the quantity, of course, the less the mischief, but there is mischief, and the longer they use it, the larger the quantity they use as a rule. It shows itself in the sallowness of the complexion and the appearance of the eye, and emaciation eventually. I remember a young man coming to me in a dying state. He died of uncontrollable diarrhoea in a few hours, just simply from excessive opium smoking, nothing else.

858. I suppose you confirm the evidence that we have had before, that there have been no organic diseases like cirrhosis, or other degenerations with opium as with alcohol?—The appearance of the confirmed opium smoker, the hectic look, and the dark blue of his lips, and the jaundiced look of the eye, show that there must be some disorganisation somewhere. I do not think that it has been as yet scientifically gone into. I do not think any medical missionary has as yet gone into that investigation, as to whether there are particular diseases caused by the opium alone, but the opium smoker is more ready to fall a victim to diseases than the healthy man.

859. I presume that you found that your missionary labours were rendered more difficult by the prevalence of the opium habit?—They were so. In the winter time I have very often left my hospital for a time in charge of the native assistants of my own training, and travelled into the country with a brother missionary, a preacher. We used to preach in the open air, in the towns and villages, and almost invariably there would be someone in the crowd who would start this objection about the opium, "You bring us the opium, why do you come to teach us righteousness?"

860. I mean, you did not think it was what you might call a specious or colloquial objection?—No, they really felt it, I believe. The large part of the hatred the Chinese have to us is owing to this opium question. I remember, as an illustration of how they connected opium with the English nation, one day in the street opposite the hospital door there was a man selling beautifully-made figures, all nicely painted, of Chinese warriors and others. Amongst them there was one figure of an Englishman with an umbrella over his head (they usually associate us with the umbrella used as a protection from the sun), and in his other hand he had a large ball of opium. That was the idea of the Englishman in the mind of the Chinese.

861. That was at Swatow?—A ball of opium in one hand, and in the other an umbrella. That was how he was represented to the crowd.

862. I think you said that the opium used at Swatow was Indian opium?—It was Indian opium. I think now it is mixed, but at that time it was Indian opium.

863. Have you any further statement that you would like to make to the Commission?—No, sir, I think that is all I wish to say.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 11 a.m.

At the House of Lords, Westminster, S.W.

FOURTH DAY.

Thursday, 15th September 1893.

PRESENT:

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B.

Sir JAMES B. LYALL, G.C.I.E.
Sir WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D.
Mr. R. G. C. MOWBRAT, M.P.

Mr. ARTHUR PHARR.
Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P.

Sir CHARLES E. BERNARD, K.C.S.I.,
Acting Secretary.

Sir JOHN STRACHEY, G.C.S.I., Member of the Council of India, called and examined.

864. (Chairman.) You have had a long residence in India, I believe?—Yes.

865. How many years were you there?—About 38 years.

866. And you have filled numerous posts, ultimately reaching the very highest posts in the service?—It is hardly an exaggeration to say that I filled pretty well every post that a member of the Civil Service

Dr. W. Gould

8 Sept. 1893.

Sir
J. Strachey,
G.C.S.I.

15 Sept. 1893.

Sir
J. Strachey,
G.C.S.I.
15 Sept. 1893.

could fill, from the most subordinate posts to those of a district officer, and commissioner, and chief commissioner of Oudh, and Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, and I was twice Member of Council; altogether I was nine years a member of the Government of India, and for the last eight years I have been a member of the Council of India.

867. It goes without saying that you have been brought into personal communication with all classes of our native fellow subjects in India?—Yes, I ought rather to say the parts of India with which I have been personally acquainted. I have never been in Bombay or Madras except passing through.

868. Still you have had very wide opportunities of being brought into personal communication with the natives of India?—Certainly.

869. Can you give us, before you turn to other subjects, any statistics of the opium revenue, or shall we obtain that through another witness?—I think I can give evidence upon that point regarding the revenue.

870. Your last post in India was in charge of the finance, was it not?—Yes.

871. Well, having been in charge of the finance in India, it has necessarily been your duty to consider the question which is before the Commission in all its bearings, and we should be glad to hear your views on the various matters which are included in the Order of Reference to the Commission. We will take first the general question. I believe your views were comprehensively stated in the memorandum which you wrote on the occasion of the reading of a paper on the opium question by Mr. Batten, which paper was read before the Society of Arts in April last?—Yes; if you would allow that to be read I do not think that I could express my opinion on the general subject more fully than I did then.

872. I know that you have been kind enough to attend to-day at considerable personal inconvenience, and the Commission would be glad to lighten your labours in every possible way; and understanding as we do that that memorandum represents your views on the general question, I think it would be a relief to you and very advantageous to the Commission that the memorandum should be read to us?—Yes.

Sir C. Bernard read the memorandum, which was as follows:—

"I passed some thirty-eight years of my life in India, and I should not be very greatly exaggerating if I were to say that, during that time, I held almost every office which a member of the Civil Service in India can hold, beginning from offices of little importance to the very highest posts in the service of the State. I was brought into personal communication with all classes, from the greatest princes to the humblest ryots. I am entitled to say that I can speak with some knowledge of the facts, as they regard the people of India and the policy of the Government. Now, I have always felt in regard to this controversy that the object to be aimed at is to learn the truth and to act upon it. Thousands of excellent people in this country, of whom I desire to speak with all respect, because although I know them to be mistaken, I must fully recognise the perfect honesty and nobility of their aims, believe that we are ruining with a horrible poison millions of Chinese, and that, not content with this iniquity, we are encouraging the consumption of opium among our own subjects in India with similar terrible consequences. If this were true, I should say for my part that whatever might be the results to the Government or to the people, pecuniary, or economical, or political, or otherwise, however difficult or dangerous it might be to find substitutes for the loss that the suppression of opium cultivation in India might entail, there could be no doubt about our duty. I am confident that when Mr. Batten tells us that the total value of the poppy crops of India exceeds 13,000,000 sterling a year, he understates rather than overstates the fact. I know that all that Sir Lepel Griffin has told us about Sikhs and Rajputs—the most martial races of India—and the political dangers that would follow on the attempt to interfere with the consumption of opium, to which they have been accustomed for centuries, is perfectly true. Nevertheless, if I believed that the Government was committing the abominable iniquity with which it is charged, of demoralising and destroying millions of people, I should say that, whatever be the consequences, this iniquity ought not to be allowed to last for a single day during which we can prevent it. But what are the facts? It is impossible for me now to enter into the evidence

on which my conclusions have been based. I can only give the conclusions themselves, which the experience of a lifetime has impressed upon me. I believe it to be proved to demonstration that opium is not this terrible poison. The vast majority of those who consume it consume it in moderation, and so consumed there is no one of the stimulants that enter largely into the consumption of the world that is more innocent. I will go further, and say more beneficial. It is as innocent as the wines of France or Italy are to the people of those countries, or as undoctored beer is to the people of England or Germany. Like all other good gifts of nature, it may be abused, but even when this happens, whatever it may be to the individual, it is less harmful to society than the alcohol, which is the curse of our own country. This opium question has two aspects; one as it concerns the people of India, the other as it concerns the Chinese. As regards the people of India generally, I would ask you first to remember what India is. It is a vast continent as large as the whole of civilised Europe, with a greater population, for it contains some 280,000,000 of people. It consists of a multitude of countries differing from each other far more widely than the countries of Europe differ among themselves. In some of those countries, as we have been told, and as I shall have again to mention, certain classes of the people 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. We are told, however, that the consumption of opium has been rapidly increasing, and that it has been fostered by our Government. These statements are absolutely baseless. The increase of population under British rule has been enormous; but there is every reason to believe that the consumption of opium in India, under native rule, 150 years ago, was actually greater than it is now. However this may be, and without attempting to go back to times of which we know comparatively little, this at least is certain, that, although the population goes on rapidly increasing, the consumption of opium, instead of increasing, has diminished. It is certainly smaller now than it was, for instance, ten years ago. This has been the result of the policy of the Government of India. By a vigorous system of excise, it raises the price of opium as far as is consistent with the prevention of extensive smuggling, and reduces consumption to a minimum. The sole present danger is that this policy may be carried too far; and some authorities believe that this is already happening. The danger is that by making opium too dear and difficult to obtain, we may not only encourage smuggling, a comparatively small evil, but may cause people who have been content with the moderate use of opium to have recourse to cheap and noxious stimulants procurable from weeds which, I may almost say, grow near every man's door. Although, as I have said, the consumption of opium by the people of India generally is infinitesimally small, it has been consumed for centuries by certain classes in Northern India. It is an indisputable fact, as Sir Lepel Griffin has told us, that these classes, especially the Rajputs and Sikhs, are precisely the finest races physically in all India. I have often thought that the best practical answer to those who inveigh against the use of opium would be, if such a thing were practicable, to bring one of our crack opium-drinking Sikh regiments to London, and exhibit them in Hyde Park. There is no more vigorous, manly, handsome race of men to be found, not only in India, but in the world. They are the flower of our Indian army, and one of the bulwarks of our empire, and yet the use of opium among them is almost universal. It has always seemed to me a significant fact that among all the passionate appeals to British ignorance, we never hear one word about the Sikhs. We hear a great deal about so-called opium dens, which, after all, are very few and far between, but we hear nothing about the constant consumption of opium among the finest populations of India. People talk glibly about suppressing by law the growth and consumption of opium in India. I have great faith in the power of folly and ignorance, but I trust that I may not see the day when the attempt is made to deprive Sikhs and Rajputs of—I will not say a luxury—but one of the innocent and beneficial necessities of their lives. I read the other day, referring to this subject, some remarks by a most accomplished writer, who speaks on Indian subjects with high authority—I hope Sir William Hunter

will pardon me for quoting him. He said that a law such as that to which I have just referred could only be enforced in British territories by bloodshed and arms, while in native States it could not be enforced at all. I might enlarge much more on such considerations. They involve issues of political gravity, the existence of which appears to be unknown and unsuspected in this country. I repeat, however, that these classes which consume opium, highly important as they are politically, are numerically an insignificant fraction of the Indian population, and that, so far as the people of India generally are concerned, no opium question really exists. I must now say something about China; but Mr. Batten and other gentlemen, who have spoken with the highest authority, have said so much on this part of the subject that I shall add very little, and I can add really nothing that is new. There can be no greater delusion than to suppose that China depends on India for her supply of opium. If no opium were exported from India, the consumption of China would remain practically unchanged. Indian opium in China is a luxury of the comparatively rich. If they were deprived of it, they would suffer as the richer classes would suffer here if they were deprived of the choicest vintages of Bordeaux and Burgundy, or if tobacco smokers got no more cigars from Cuba. In such a case, in this country, the frequenters of beer-shops and gin-palaces would be conscious of no hardship; and the population of China would be equally unconscious if it received no opium from India. A single province of China produces more opium than the whole Indian Empire. Whole provinces are covered with the poppy; the cultivation goes on increasing, without any interference on the part of the Government of China. Even, therefore, if it were true that the people of China are being ruined by opium, the cessation of imports from India would not diminish the evil. But it is certainly not true. The vast majority of the consumers of opium in China consume it in moderation; and it is, as I said before, as harmless as the wine and beer of Europe. Moreover, as Mr. Batten has told us, if the Government of China should wish to undertake the task of stopping the consumption of opium, and preventing the importation of opium from India, it can do so if it pleases. It can prohibit the importation, or can impose any restrictions that it likes. Meanwhile, there is nothing with which we need reproach ourselves. If, as I wrote myself some years ago, India is, in deference to ignorant prejudices, deprived of the revenues which she now obtains from opium, an act of folly and injustice will be perpetrated as gross as any that has ever been inflicted by a foreign Government on a subject nation. India now possesses the rare fortune of obtaining from one of her native products a great revenue, without the imposition of taxes on her own people; and we are asked to sacrifice the manifest and vital interests of those people, to whose good we are pledged by the highest duties, in hope of protecting others, against their will, from imaginary evils; in other words, to inflict certain injury in pursuit of a benevolent chimera, which must elude us. Truly, to use the words of Condorcet, 'L'enthousiaste ignorant est la plus terrible des bêtes féroces.' I wish to say only one thing more, and it is that with which I began: what we want is the truth. How, I may be asked, if this widely-spread belief regarding India is erroneous, what is the explanation of its prevalence? My answer is, that the ignorance that prevails in this country regarding everything Indian is enormous. The ignorance about opium is on all fours with the ignorance on every other subject connected with India, and this ignorance is not confined to those who we expect to be ignorant, but extends to the most highly educated classes. It extends to all Indian subjects, history, geography, the condition and habits of the people, the constitution of the Government, in fact to everything. I will give an illustration which always seems to me to have an useful bearing on this opium question. There are many curious delusions about India which it seems impossible to kill. When I hear educated Englishmen talking about opium, I am often reminded of some admirable remarks of Sir Henry Maine on Mr. Buckle's 'History of Civilisation.' Mr. Buckle derives all the distinctive institutions of India, and the peculiarities of its people, from the fact that the exclusive food of the natives of India is rice. It follows from this, he tells us, that caste prevails, that oppression is rife, that rents are high, and that customs and law are stereotyped. I have no doubt that if Mr. Buckle had been asked he would have said that the same cause accounted for the consumption of opium in India. I sometimes ask my

English friends when they talk about opium what they suppose to be the ordinary food of the people of India. The almost universal answer given, perhaps with some air of displeasure that they should be asked such a foolish question, is that of course it is rice. I believe that nine-tenths of the educated men and women of this country believe this to be true. When they have not learnt such an elementary fact as this, that throughout the greater part of India rice is no more the ordinary food of the people than it is in England, how can we be surprised if they do not know the truth about opium. I cannot pretend to be hopeful that this ignorance will be dispelled before it has inflicted some ruinous injustice on the unfortunate people of India. In conclusion, I would ask those who have accepted these views about the iniquity of the Indian Government in regard to opium, to ponder the words of a wise and benevolent man—John Stuart Mill. He had better means of knowledge and know more about India than almost any Englishman that I have heard of who had not lived long in that country, and he declared his conviction that our Government there had been 'not only one of the most beneficent in act ever known among mankind.' This was true when it was written, and it is true now. I believe that there is no Government in the world that strives so honestly and resolutely to think of nothing but the highest interests of the people it governs. I believe that there is no country in the world in which the men who carry on the administration are more able and upright, or have a more true regard for the welfare of those committed to their care. We who have spent our lives in India are not all fools or impostors. It is, as Mr. Batten has most truly observed, remarkable that no single instance can be quoted of an Englishman who has been directly responsible for the well-being of India, and who has had an important voice in its administration, who has held the views against which I have been protesting. That, as Mr. Batten said, has been left for irresponsible persons in this country, whose want of knowledge is patent to everyone who has studied the question on the spot. When I hear the Government of India charged with the abominable wickedness of poisoning its own subjects, and poisoning millions of Chinese for the sake of filthy lucre, there is only one reason which prevents me from being filled with indignation, and this is that I know that these charges are the offspring of ignorance alone. Unfortunately this does not make them less serious, for of all the enemies to human progress ignorance is the most formidable, and is especially formidable when, as in this present case, it is combined with honest enthusiasm and an anxious desire for that which is right."

873. (*Chairman.*) Sir John, I understand it was your wish that the paper which has just been read to us should be accepted by the Commission as your general answer in relation to the first matter named in the Order of Reference to this Commission?—Yes.

874. Then I understand that it would save you some of the great strain which you might suffer from appearing before us to-day if we could take from you in another general answer the statement of your views with regard to the remaining matters included in the reference to the Commission. Perhaps it may be convenient that I should lead up to your answer by reading over the remaining clauses in the Order of Reference. We are asked to inquire into "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." We are asked "to consider 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," and so forth. We are asked to consider "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." We are asked to inquire as to "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. 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." Upon those matters you are prepared, I believe, to offer us a general state-

Sir
J. Strachey,
G.C.S.I.
15 Sept. 1893.

Sir
J. Strachey,
G.C.S.I.
16 Sept. 1898.

ment, and I think it would be more convenient that you should be allowed to make that general statement, without interruption in the form of questions, reserving our questions until you have made your statement, and we may ask or put questions upon any point which is necessary for the purpose of elucidating the subject?—Yes. Before I begin to answer these particular points, I should like to say that I feel that it is extremely difficult, in fact, impossible, really to say anything on this subject that has not been said over and over again before, and I have learned with much regret that Mr. Batten, who is absent from England, will be unable to give evidence before the Commission, for I think that his paper before the Society of Arts gives a more complete and accurate summary of all the facts connected with this question than anything I know.

875. Then we may take it from you that you support and endorse the view of the question which was presented in Mr. Batten's paper?—Entirely, without a single exception.

876. We shall take care that the paper prepared by Mr. Batten is circulated to the different members of the Commission?—The first of the questions which your Lordship has now put is, "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." I am afraid that I cannot say very much upon the first part of the question—for I have very little personal knowledge of those States.

877. No doubt we shall be very fully informed upon those points when we are in India?—Yes, I understand that the existing arrangement under which an export duty is levied on every chest of opium, when it leaves the native States in transit to Bombay, was substituted in 1831 for an arrangement under which the opium-producing States sold to the British Government all the opium produced in those States, but that arrangement was found to work in a very unsatisfactory way for both parties. It involved very great and objectionable interference in the internal affairs of the States and was extremely distasteful to the chiefs, consequently the present system was substituted and agreements were entered into with the chiefs by which they agreed to prevent smuggling, and that all opium intended for export to Bombay should be sent by certain specified routes. I believe that those are the only real points of great importance which are provided for. On the one hand, we have no concern whatever with the cultivation of the poppy or the manufacture of the opium or the consumption of the opium in the native States, and they, on the other hand, have nothing at all to do with the opium after it passes the scales, as they are called, where it is weighed.

878. (Mr. Pense.) Could you give us the date of the altered arrangement?—1831, I think it was.

879. I thought the first one was 1831, and that was altered subsequently?—No, I think it has been in force ever since. I believe the existing system under which the transit of the opium is managed is provided for by rules passed under the Opium Act, No. 1, of 1878. In accordance with that Act the cultivation of the poppy was prohibited throughout the Bombay Presidency, and agreements were entered into with the small native States included within the Bombay Presidency, under which they also prohibited the cultivation of the poppy, and they undertook to prevent smuggling and to adopt necessary measures for preventing the illicit importation of opium into our territories.

880. (Chairman.) Is the opium brought to its final state of preparation for consumption in the native States?—Yes.

881. The participation of the Government of India in the cultivation and preparation of opium in the native States is limited to the imposition of an export duty, is it not?—Absolutely nothing else.

882. In Bengal the Government occupies a somewhat different position?—Quite different.

883. There the Government is a producer of the article?—Yes, or a manufacturer; virtually you may almost say a producer.

884. A manufacturer?—Yes.

885. Then we will not further interrupt you. Will you kindly proceed with your statement?—The second

part of Clause 2 says, "on what terms, if any, these arrangements can be with justice terminated." Well, with regard to that question I can make no suggestion. The question, I presume, signifies:—Is it possible to make any arrangement by which the production of opium in the native States could be stopped or by which its export could be prevented. I can make no suggestion at all upon that subject, for it appears to me to be quite impracticable. These States have, as Mr. Batten says in his paper, a population of some 22,000,000. They cover an immense area; the habit of consuming opium has prevailed among the people of those States, particularly the Rajputs, for centuries. No restrictions have ever been placed upon the cultivation of the poppy or on the sale of opium within the boundaries of those States, and although it is very difficult to attempt to give any accurate statistics on such a point, the annual value of the crops of these native States has been estimated as being at least 9,000,000 of tens of rupees. I can suggest no means by which, if such a course were thought expedient, the cultivation could be suppressed. It appears to me that political difficulties of the gravest nature would be the inevitable result of any attempt of the kind. I was referring to the arrangements which were in force before 1831. I do not know much about them in detail, but it has been stated that they were in the highest degree distasteful, both to the people and to the chiefs; that they were most harassing to the people; that they involved all sorts of interference in the internal affairs of the States; and I think there can be no doubt that an attempt to suppress the cultivation altogether would lead to results of the same kind but of an infinitely more serious character. I believe, as Mr. Batten has said, that nothing short of an army of British officials scattered over the States supervising agricultural operations could prevent the cultivation. It has been sometimes said that we might prevent the export of opium into our own territories by a customs line, but that customs line would be between 2,000 and 3,000 miles long, and the establishment of such a line would be quite out of the question. We have most ample evidence in India to show the results of the existence of such a line in the Inland Customs line which was formerly in existence for the taxation of salt, and which was only abolished when Lord Lytton was Viceroy. There is no doubt that that line was one of the greatest disgraces of our Indian Administration, and it is quite impossible, I think, that anyone acquainted with the facts could ever wish to see anything of the kind restored.

886. Did they maintain a cordon round the Portuguese territory of Goa in connexion with the salt duty?—Only within the last year or so, I think.

887. Did we take over the salt manufacture at Goa?—Our treaty with Portugal has come to an end, and we have, I believe, been obliged to put a cordon, but that is on a very small scale, and we may hope temporary. The next point, my Lord, is the effect on the finance of India.

888. The effect on the finance of India of the prohibition of the sale and export of opium?—With reference to this, I think the first thing that I should like to say is that the question of the five or six crores of rupees which constitute the annual net revenue at the present time of the Government of India, is a comparatively small part of the question. I think the real essential question is—what is the value of the Indian crop? The Government revenue is, as Mr. Batten has clearly shown in his paper, a comparatively small part of the annual profits derived by India from the cultivation of the poppy. It no more represents the interests involved than in this country the 26,000,000 sterling that we raise by duties on spirits and wine and beer represent the value of all the liquors consumed in the United Kingdom. I believe the so-called Drink Bill is called 140,000,000 a year. In India, besides the Government revenue and the revenue derived from opium by the native States, there are the profits of perhaps a couple of million cultivators, these are the profits of the land-owners, of the merchants, the dealers, and the middlemen, and it has also to be remembered that although opium is by far the most valuable product of the poppy, it is by no means the only product. Poppy seed and poppy oil contain no opium at all, and are perfectly wholesome products, and they are very largely consumed both in India and in Europe. Mr. Batten in his paper estimates the total value of the poppy crops at about 19,150,000 tens of rupees. As far as I can

judge, their actual value exceeds rather than falls short of that amount. Poppy seed is an important article of trade. It is largely used throughout India as a condiment with food and for making oil, and for the latter purpose it is also used in Europe. The exports of poppy seed from India are valued at nearly 500,000 tens of rupees, and the value of the internal and external trade in the poppy seed is believed to be not less than 4,000,000. I cannot criticise Mr. Batten's figures, but I think it would be a matter of great interest and importance if the Government of India were thoroughly to investigate the question of the annual value of the poppy crops and were to come to some conclusion on the subject, for they have very much better means than any private individuals of arriving at the truth. Until we know something with tolerable confidence on this point it is impossible to say what would be the probable cost to India of suppressing the cultivation and the sale of opium, supposing always such a thing to be practicable and desirable. Meanwhile I can only say that my own belief is that the total value of the crops is probably greater than the amount estimated by Mr. Batten.

889. May I ask whether the 19,000,000 represents the value of the crop in the market? Is that the case; that is its market price?—The profit that is got by all classes out of the crop.

890. (Mr. Mowbray.) Does that include the profit in the native States as well as the Bengal opium?—Yes, Mr. Batten in his paper gives all the details by which he arrives at his conclusions. Mr. Batten also said, converting these 19,000,000 tens of rupees at the then rate of exchange the equivalent in sterling was about 13,000,000*l.*, and it would be very much the same now; but I should like to say on that point that it seems to me that these conversions of rupees into pounds sterling—the same thing applies when we come to the question of the net revenue—have very little useful meaning. Not many years ago, for instance, these 19,000,000 tens of rupees would have been equal to 19,000,000*l.* sterling. We have been uncommonly near seeing the rupee worth 1*s.*; in that case these 19,000,000 would be worth only 9½ millions sterling instead of 19; and it must be remembered that these immense fluctuations in the gold value of the rupee have not for practical purposes much affected the value of the products of the poppy crop to the cultivators of India.

891. (Chairman.) Of course the loss to the cultivator in India in the depreciation of the rupee might be met by an enhancement of the price of their article?—As a matter of fact, during all these great changes in the gold value of the rupee, prices in India have hardly been affected. I think it also is important to remember, as Dr. Watt has observed in his very excellent article in the Dictionary of Economic Products, that this industry has existed in India for centuries, and that from the time of Akbar to the present day it has been recognised and indeed protected by the Government. This revenue that we derive from opium we inherited from the Mogul Government.

The next point in the next clause is the amount of compensation payable, but it seems to me rather idle to talk of compensation for the suppression of such an industry as this. It is conceivable, though I have not the least idea in the world how it could be done, but still it is conceivable that a powerful Government like our own might absolutely suppress the cultivation and the trade in opium; but how compensation could be given for it I cannot conceive. My own belief is—again it is an impossible proposition—that if England were to make a free gift to India of 100,000,000*l.* sterling, it would be no compensation to India for the loss of one of the most valuable of all her natural products, for the destruction of a great industry and the extinction of one of the principal articles of her trade. The next question is, "What would be the loss of the actual revenue?"

892. Yes?—This question, it is not easy to answer with certainty, because the fluctuations in the amount of the opium revenue have been very great. Some years ago it was as much as 8,500,000 tens of rupees, but of late years it has greatly diminished. The principal cause of this, I think there can be no doubt, has been the rapid increase of cultivation in China, and the lower prices of Chinese opium. Other causes have, no doubt, contributed; probably the increased taxation in China has been one cause.

893. In the form of an import duty do you mean?—Yes. A few years ago an additional import duty

20970.

was imposed in lieu of the inland likin duties as they were called. Then there has been for several years a partial failure of the opium crops in India and that also has led to a great diminution in the sale of opium and in the revenue. The last year for which we have approximate figures is 1892-3. In that year the net revenue credited under the head of opium—I am speaking in tens of rupees always—was 6,371,000 to which have to be added the duties credited under excise 728,000, making a total of 7,100,000, and, this was about the average amount for the five years ending with 1892-3. For the present year 1893-4 we have only the Budget Estimate, and that, including the excise, has been reduced to 5½ millions, but to the extent of nearly 1,000,000; this large reduction is not due to an anticipated great fall in the demand for opium but to the expectation of a better crop and of increased expenditure, which will enable the reserve stock of opium which had fallen very low to be replenished. It must be borne in mind that the fluctuations in the opium revenue are, as in the present year, often due not to fluctuations in the Chinese demand or in the price obtained, but to the greater or smaller outturn of the Bengal crop, and the expense of gathering it. But the immediate prospects of the opium revenue I think are certainly not favourable. In consequence of a succession of bad seasons in India and low prices in China, and the constant increase of cultivation in that country, the quantity of opium exported has been much reduced, and other causes are, no doubt, operating in the same direction, but for present purposes I think if we take the amount estimated in the Budget of the present year of 5½ millions that is as reasonable an estimate probably as we can make for the present. But as I have said before, this sum represents only a comparatively small part of the interest of India in opium. If I am asked whether any means could be suggested, if it were considered expedient, by which the loss of 5½ millions of revenue or even a smaller sum than that—

894. That is not 5½ millions of pounds sterling?—No, I am always speaking of tens of rupees. If I am asked if I could suggest any means by which that could be made good I certainly could suggest no means. I think there is no doubt that it is useless to talk about possible reduction of expenditure. I think it certain that, speaking in general terms, there is no probability of its being diminished, but that it will go on increasing as appears to be the case in every country with an elaborate system of government. In 1881 the Government of Lord Ripon wrote very fully upon that subject, and declared that it appeared to them impossible to suggest any means by which the loss of the opium revenue could be recouped, and I think that all that they said then is quite as true at the present day.

The next clause of the Order of Reference to the Commission is: "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."

895. Would you draw a distinction in relation to the moral responsibility of the Government of India between an active participation in the trade as a manufacturer and the imposition of duties on export or charges in the form of license duties?—In answering this question I assume the object in view to be the restriction within the narrowest possible practical limits of the consumption of opium. I think it is certain that no system which could be in British territory substituted for the present system could be so effective in restricting the quantity of opium produced, and therefore in restricting the consumption. I assert very confidently that the Government of India has never been influenced by any desire to encourage the consumption of opium either in China or in India. On the contrary, its whole action has been in the direction of restricting the consumption by imposing the highest amount of taxation which can be imposed without defeating the objects in view. It appears to me that there can be no question that of all fiscal restrictions that can be imposed the State monopoly is the most repressive and severe. I think it is conceivable, though not at all probable, that the abolition of the opium monopoly in Bengal and the substitution for it of a heavy export duty such as that which we now have on the other side of India might if it were practicable involve no loss of revenue, but I think it would inevitably lead to an increase of consumption, and the difficulty of making such a change of system in Bengal would be extremely great independently of the question of the effect on the consumption.

Sir
J. Strachey,
G.C.S.I.
15 Sept. 1898.

Sir
Strachey,
G.C.S.I.
Sept. 1893.

Bengal is intersected in all directions with rivers, the outlets to the sea are very numerous, and the facilities for smuggling are enormous. The Bengal Government some years ago gave their opinion that they could see no limit to the cost of the preventive establishment that would be necessary. I should think that no country could be found where the difficulty of preventing smuggling would be so great; and I suppose that there is no article which it is easier to smuggle. I am not quite sure of the fact, but if I remember rightly a single pound of opium will last a consumer of opium a whole year. I cannot conceive the possibility of regulating any export duty with that maximum of severity of pressure which is secured by a monopoly; therefore I think, if it be true that the interests of morality are involved, then those interests are best served by the maintenance of the monopoly. Then, as regards China in particular. If the object at which we ought to aim is the reduction of consumption by the Chinese, it appears to me clear that to whatever extent we diminish the export of opium from India, we stimulate the extension of opium cultivation in China, and the substitution of the cheaper Chinese for the dearer Indian opium, and that is a fact that has always been recognised by the Government of India. The Government of India has always seen, assuming what I think is an indisputable fact, that the Chinese will have opium, that a reduction in the supply of Indian opium instead of leading to reduced consumption in China leads inevitably to increased production and increased consumption in that country. The present monopoly system therefore, it appears to me, by which the price of Indian opium is increased to a maximum, not only checks consumption in India itself, but it checks consumption in China also. So far as India is concerned I believe, as I have said in the paper of my own which was read, that really the only question is whether our restrictive measures have not sometimes been too severe, and whether they have not to a very objectionable extent encouraged smuggling, and by making opium very dear and difficult to obtain, whether they have not encouraged the use of drugs which are infinitely more noxious. My opinion, therefore, is that so far from the present system being open to the charge of stimulating the consumption of opium, whether by Chinese or Indians, that no system could be devised by which the consumption could be so severely checked. And as a question of morals, if it be held—which I myself am very far from admitting—if it be held that the consumption of opium for other than medicinal purposes is necessarily a vice, then I think it is clear, as Sir Henry Maine said long ago, in reference to this very question of substituting an export duty for the monopoly: "For moral purposes there is no distinction between what a despotic government does itself and what it permits its subjects to do. What possible difference can it make from a moral point of view, whether they take a part of the profits from the hands of the dealer or the whole of the profits from the monopoly?" Sometimes the objection is made on economic grounds that it is very undesirable for a government to engage in the operations of private trade. I cannot say that I attach any particular importance to that. As a matter of fact, there is no civilised government that for the purposes of raising revenue has not established some monopoly or other, and for my part I see nothing more objectionable in the monopoly of opium than in the monopoly of tobacco.

896. You have exhausted what you wish to say on the fourth article in the Order of Reference?—Yes.

897. Now we come to the question of the consumption of opium by the different races in the different districts of India, and the effect of such consumption on the moral and physical condition of the people?—The only country—I cannot say of India, because it is not India, it is as unlike India as Algeria is unlike France—but the only country under Indian administration in regard to which it appears to me that any evidence has been produced that deserves serious consideration to show that any considerable section of the people has suffered from the consumption of opium, is Burmah. Now it is indisputable that there has been a great body of opinion as to the injurious effect of opium on the Burmese. Two Chief Commissioners, Sir Charles Aitchison and Sir Alexander Mackenzie, both of them men who are entitled to speak on the subject with the highest authority, have concurred in that opinion, and there is no doubt that the same opinion has been very generally held by the majority of the British officers employed in Burmah. Also

it seems to have been an admitted fact that those views are in accordance with those of the more intelligent classes of the Burmese themselves. "Native opinion," Sir Charles Aitchison wrote, "is unanimous in favour of stopping the supply of opium altogether, and no measure we could adopt would be so popular with all the respectable and law-abiding class of the population. In a matter so intimately affecting the well-being of the community," he added, "these expressions of opinion are entitled to the greatest respect. When practical questions of this kind arise it may become a duty to yield to strong and general desire of the people, even when their opinions may appear unreasonable." Now, although I have myself, I must say, failed to discover the facts upon which this belief in the injurious effects of opium on the Burmese population rests, I cannot deny that it was right to yield to this general consensus of opinion on the part both of the Burmese themselves and of the English officers most competent to form an accurate judgment, and to take measures for preventing the sale of opium to Burmese, and their possession of the drug, and this has been actually done throughout the whole of Burmah. In regard to this question of the consumption of opium by the Burmese, it is, as Mr. Batten says, remarkable that the authorities in Burmah seem to have arrived at the conclusion that opium is a benefit to everyone in the country except the Burmese themselves. I should like to add that while there has been this unanimity of opinion in regard to the mischievous results of opium on the Burmese, there has been an equal unanimity in regard to the harmlessness of the practice among the large foreign population, Chinese and Indian, of Burmah. Sir Charles Aitchison writes: "There are large numbers of the non-Burmese community, constituting perhaps the most thriving and industrious section of the population, to whom the drug is a necessary of life, and by whom it is rarely abused. It is impossible to say precisely what the numbers of the Chinese and natives of India are, but they are probably not less than 200,000. The legitimate requirements of these people must necessarily be considered and provided for." Sir Alexander Mackenzie's views on that point were the same. He objected to any interference with the supply of opium to the non-Burmese population. "There is," he said, "a considerable non-Burmese population of Shans, Chinese, and others, who are accustomed to the moderate use of opium, and who consume it without ill effects or even with beneficial results." The Chief Commissioner "is not prepared to advise the absolute prohibition of the possession or sale of opium in Burmah by persons of non-Burman descent. Such a step would be an unjustifiable interference with the habits of a large section of the population, and would be quite impossible to enforce. It may be considered as established beyond question that there is a legitimate demand for opium among the foreign residents of Burmah, which would exist whether the Government countenanced the use of opium or not, that if Government decided to declare the sale or possession of opium generally illegal the demand would be supplied by illicit means, and that the result of any attempt to enforce absolute prohibition of the use of opium would be the loss of a large amount of revenue without any commensurate benefit." Although, as I said before, I cannot say that I am satisfied that while opium is harmless or beneficial to Chinese and others it is poisonous to the Burmese, still I cannot dispute the authority by which that opinion is supported, and if it be correct, I know of only one suggestion by which it can be explained. I believe there is no race of men among whom the demand for one form of stimulant or another does not exist, and it has been held by some—perhaps correctly—that while particular stimulants are harmless or beneficial to some races, they are injurious to others. It is possible that opium taken even in moderation may be injurious or a dangerous temptation to Burmese, although it may be innocent or beneficial to Chinamen or Sikhs, and, as many have maintained is the case, alcohol taken even in moderation may be bad for the people of Southern Asia, whilst, similarly taken, it may be good for Europeans. However this may be, Burmah is not India, and it is not reasonable to apply to India conclusions based upon observations made in a totally different country. It appears to me that as regards India, properly so-called, there is no evidence whatever to show that in any part of the country the consumption of opium is anywhere a common and crying evil. Of course I admit

Y:413.2.Mgt
C4.1-C4.2
=760

that the use of opium may be abused, but I entirely disbelieve that this occurs to any general or dangerous extent. On that point, as I have said in the paper that was read to the Commission, I think that throughout this controversy it cannot be too constantly remembered that India is not a single country such as we have in Europe, but a great continent, the countries and the peoples of which, beyond all doubt, differ from one another far more than the countries of Europe differ. As I have said elsewhere there is more difference—a great deal—between a Bengalee and a Sikh than between a Scotchman and a Spaniard. I believe that a very large proportion of the prevalent errors about India arise from false generalisations. Sensational descriptions of opium dens in Rangoon or Bombay will not in any way help us to learn the truth about the consumption of opium by Rajputs and Sikhs. Out of the 290,000,000 of people in India, I do not suppose that there are 290 hundreds who have more personal knowledge of these opium dens so-called than people have in England. I do not think that I can usefully say more in detail about the consumption of opium in the various countries of India. In the paper which has been read to the Commission I have stated my own conclusions. An excellent summary of the facts is given in Mr. Batten's paper, and with it are the speeches and papers of some of the most experienced Indian authorities—

898. Who took part in the discussion on Mr. Batten's paper?—Yes. Through the greater part of India it is doubtless true in every province that there are eaters or smokers of opium, chiefly eaters, but, in my opinion, there is really in the greater part of India nothing that deserves to be called an opium question. Certain classes, especially in Central and Northern India, have undoubtedly consumed opium for centuries. They constitute a very small proportion of the 290,000,000 of people in India, but, no doubt, their positive numbers are large. I do not know what they may be, but of Sikhs and Rajputs and others who consume opium the absolute number is large.

899. And they belong to races which have been exceptionally loyal to the British authority?—Certainly. Among the Rajputs and Sikhs in particular the use of opium has always been common, and the Sikhs in particular, who form so immensely important a part of our army, are almost invariably habitual consumers of opium, and, with very rare exceptions, they consume it with just as much moderation as the gentlemen in this room consume their wine and their beer. They regard it almost as a necessary of life, and it is a notorious fact that these Sikhs—and I may say the same of the Rajputs—are physically, I believe I might also say morally, but at any rate physically they are the very finest races in all India. As I have said in the paper that was read, a crack regiment of Sikhs need not fear comparison with any soldiers in the world; certainly they need not fear comparison with a regiment of our own Guards. If opium is so universally destructive, how are such facts as that to be explained? I believe that there is no possible explanation except that although the use of opium may be abused, need in moderation it is not harmful, and I have no doubt that it is much less likely to be abused than the use of alcohol. I do not think, my Lord, on that point I have anything more to say.

900. The last subject in the Order of Reference is the "inquiry into the disposition of the people of India in regard to the use of opium for non-medical purposes, and their willingness to bear, in whole or in part, the cost of prohibitive measures"?—On that point, my Lord, I would ask you to allow me to read a passage from a despatch written by Lord Ripon's Government in India in the year 1881, which gives, I think, a complete answer to the question:—

"It cannot be doubted," they said, "that native opinion in India would strongly resent any additional burdens being placed upon the taxpayer with a view to the abandonment, either whole or partial, of the opium revenue. It is, moreover, more than probable that the views of the British Government on this subject would be misunderstood. There must, a native paper said a short time ago, be some selfish motive at the bottom of the movement made in England for the suppression of the opium trade. No doubt an opinion of this sort is very foolish. The high motives which guide the action of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade cannot for a moment be doubted. However much we may consider that the views they express do not take sufficient account, whether from the Chinese or

Indian point of view, of the practical difficulties connected with the problem they have set themselves to solve, no reasonable person can fail to respect their motives. Without doubt the gentlemen who take an active part in the agitation against the opium trade in England would be the first to protest if they thought the Indian ryots were suffering from any grievous injustice. But, on the other hand, it cannot be doubted that the opinions foreshadowed in the native print, from which we have quoted above, are prevalent in India; that they would find louder and more frequent expression if it became generally understood that there was any serious intention of moving in the direction proposed by the Anti-Opium Society; that even supposing England were to award a considerable compensation to India, it is exceedingly improbable that such compensation would adequately meet the loss involved in the abandonment of the opium revenue, and that in consequence a sense of injustice would be engendered amongst the natives of this country, who would consider either that their interests had been sacrificed from selfish motives, or, at all events, that in our regard for the Chinese we had done an injustice to our own subjects."

I feel confident that the opinions which the Government of India thus expressed are entirely accurate. The only criticism upon them that I think possible is that they have stated the facts with too great moderation. Measures such as those suggested would, I believe, be looked upon from one end of India to the other with amazement and indignation, and if they were really enforced they would lead us into political dangers of extreme gravity. I do not think, my Lord, I can add to that.

901. You have made a very clear and comprehensive statement of your views; I should be very sorry to add to the task which we have already imposed upon you to-day by asking you any unnecessary questions. There are one or two points which I would like to ask you about. You have spoken in the early part of your evidence very confidently with reference to the effects of the consumption of opium, I believe, in India. You have said that so far as your knowledge extended you did not think it could be established that the consumption of opium had been generally injurious to those races in India who make use of opium?—Yes.

902. You expressed an equally strong opinion with reference to the people of China?—Yes.

903. Your observations with reference to the people of India would rest upon a large personal experience in India, would they not?—Certainly. Yes.

904. With regard to China, I suppose what you have told us results from the reports which have come before you from persons that you consider are entitled to speak with authority with reference to China?—Yes, I have no personal knowledge whatever of China.

905. We have been told by the numerous witnesses representing the missionary body in China that the Chinese Government are understood by them and by the people of China to be anxious to prohibit the growth and the consumption of opium, as supplied from the local growers in China, and we have been told that the Chinese Government have been precluded from taking any effective steps, and would continue to be deterred from taking any effective steps, so long as opium is permitted to be exported from India. What would you say with reference to that statement?—I think that is a point upon which other witnesses—Sir Thomas Wade for instance, whose name I see down here—can give far more valuable evidence than I can. All that I can say upon the point is that I am under the strongest impression that it is a complete mistake to suppose anything of the kind, and that the Chinese Government has no wish whatever to prohibit the importation of opium into China. I believe that if the Chinese Government desired to diminish the consumption of opium, of which I have seen no sign, it is quite intelligent enough to see that the diminution of the import of opium from India could not have that effect. Apart from that my belief is that there is no part of the revenue of the Chinese Government which that Government prizes more highly than the revenue that it derives from opium. This is paid in hard cash into the Customs' department at the treaty ports, and it goes into the Imperial Treasury. I have not got the papers here, but I believe that it has been made perfectly clear that the Chinese Government not only have not shown any desire to stop the importation of opium, but that they would be very sorry to see it stopped, because they

Sir
J. Strachey
G.C.S.I.

15 Sept. 189:

Sir
 Strachey,
 G.C.S.I.

5 Sept. 1898.

would lose—I forget how much they get, but I believe not less than a couple of millions sterling a year from it.

906. Now turning to India, I think you have told us that the larger portion of the production of opium in India is raised in the native States?—Probably the largest production, because there is not only the export from Bombay but the large consumption by the people themselves. As far as the export to China goes, the larger quantity goes from Bengal.

907. You have given us, have you not, a strong opinion that to interfere by prohibition in the native States would involve grave political difficulties?—I think very great.

908. And you entertain a similar view with reference to the prohibition of the use of opium by the races which have made use of opium from time immemorial, and which represent a very important element in our native army?—I cannot conceive the possibility of doing such a thing without the gravest political danger.

909. Looking at this question from a revenue point of view, you have expressed your conviction that there would be great practical objections to the prohibition of opium; that we derive a certain revenue from that source, and that you do not see from what other source this could be compensated if this revenue were brought to an end?—Yes.

910. But is it not the case that the revenue of India has shown a decided tendency to growth in recent years?—Certainly.

911. And from all sources?—I may almost say that there is no branch of the revenue which has not increased in a very satisfactory way.

912. There has been a great improvement in the revenue from railways, has there not?—Yes.

913. And you anticipate a further constant growth from that source, I presume?—Certainly. Every branch has improved. If it had not been for the terrible exchange difficulty I should say the revenues of India were in a very prosperous condition; but that, of course, has been a difficulty.

914. If the expenditure had not grown in an almost equal ratio with the growth in the revenue, the Government of India would have been in the enjoyment of a very handsome surplus by this time, would they not?—Certainly.

915. Under the various heads of charge, no doubt there are some heads of expenditure which inevitably arise in connexion with the efforts which we are making to introduce civilisation, and to improve the material and moral condition of the people of India; that is so, is it not?—Certainly.

916. For instance, public works, the supply of water, and many other heads of expenditure of that nature, are there not?—Certainly.

917. The military expenditure has shown a tendency to very rapid growth in recent years, has it not?—Yes, very great.

918. That subject, I daresay you are aware, has excited particular attention on the part of the Indian Currency Committee?—Yes.

919. You are speaking of this subject, of course, only as a civilian, but perhaps you may be in a position to say whether you think that that head of expenditure may be possibly arrested or checked in future years?—The military expenditure?

920. The military expenditure?—I am not able to say whether all the additional military expenditure has been wisely incurred or not, but there is no doubt, I think, speaking in general terms, that it is impossible to suppose that our military expenditure will be diminished. The circumstances which have led to the increase of military expenditure in India are patent to the world. They all may be summed up in the fact of the advance of Russia. It is foolish to prophesy what is going to happen in the future, but I believe for my part—that this is as certain as anything that we can foresee in regard to India—that some day we shall have to fight Russia on our frontier, and if we are not prepared we know what the consequences will be. Although I cannot enter into details and say that this or that branch of the expenditure was necessary, I have not the slightest doubt that there has been no such urgent necessity in India as the increase of our military strength. And we have this to remember also with regard to the advance of Russia towards the Indian

frontiers; we have not only to think of the possibility of having to fight her. The fact of the advance of Russia is felt throughout the whole administration of India. It is impossible to forget that all the native States of India know perfectly well that there is this great European power now approaching, and that we may have to fight for our empire.

921. Assuming that the change which we must have in contemplation is one for which we ought to stand prepared, might it not be possible that the preparation would be made quite as effectually by a general reinforcement of our Imperial army and our Imperial navy as by a local and perhaps excessively burdensome military expenditure in India itself?—With regard to that question, England now gives no help whatever. Every single farthing that is expended on the British troops that come from this country is paid for by India, and will continue to be so, I suppose. I do not think myself that it is fair that it should be, but so it is.

922. It is possible that in the future some readjustment of the burdens of military expenditure, and the preparation for the contingencies that you speak of might be made which would to some extent relieve the Indian Exchequer?—I should be very happy if I could believe that there was any probability of such a thing happening.

923. Then with reference to the question of the revenue derived from opium generally, looking at it from a financial point of view. I assume that you consider that there is a distinct objection to placing undue reliance upon such a source of revenue because of its uncertainty. It depends upon the fluctuations of crops and depends also upon the policy which may be followed by the Chinese Government, who might or might not at some future date adopt a fiscal policy which would operate to the exclusion of the Indian product from the Chinese markets?—Yes.

924. You would be glad, would you not, that the Indian Government should be in the position in which it would cease to be dependent upon this opium revenue for establishing a balance between revenue and expenditure?—Certainly, but not at all on moral grounds.

925. On financial grounds you are speaking?—Certainly.

926. (Mr. Pease.) You mentioned the native States generally. Malwa has also been mentioned—would you give us the names of the native States?—I am afraid that I cannot enumerate them all. The most important ones would be Indore, Gwalior, and some of the Rajputana States, Udaipur, and a number of smaller States.

927. Most of the evidence which we have had given in to us has been with regard to both eating and smoking. I see in your remarks with regard to the Sikh soldiers, you allude to their being opium-drinking regiments?—I think that I ought not to have said drinking. Sir James Lyall could give much better information about that. I believe that the Sikhs generally prefer the decoction called *post*, but I suppose when a Sikh soldier goes upon a campaign he takes a little bit of opium.

928. (Sir James Lyall.) Yes, they do have that.

929. (Mr. Pease.) Do you know what proportions of the men are consumers of opium?—I could not say from personal knowledge, but my belief is the great majority.

930. What is your impression as to the proportion among the Rajputs of those who consume opium?—That I could not give you except as a guess.

931. Surgeon Sir William Moore estimates the proportion after his first inquiry at 6·3 per cent., and after his second inquiry at 11·29 per cent. You have no reason to doubt that that is a pretty fair statement that perhaps from 6 to 11 per cent. would be the proportion of those who take opium?—He has studied the question on the spot, and I should think that his evidence is as good as you are likely to get.

932. And how would those soldiers compare with other sections of the community or to the proportion that were likely to be consumers of opium?—I could give no information upon that point. I have no knowledge of it.

933. You estimated the revenue at Rs. 5,750,000 I see in the Budget Estimate for 1893-4. The value of the net revenue of the current year is put as Rs. 5,061,300, that is something like three-quarters of a million less?—Yes; but that does not include the excise revenue

The arrangement is this, Rs. 5,000,000 is credited in the public accounts under the head of opium; then in addition to that there is the excise opium, the duties which are levied on opium consumed in India. I think I have got the figure; it was Rs. 729,000, which has to be added.

934. Which explains the difference; it seemed a discrepancy?—It makes the grand total Rs. 5,790,000.

935. Which is paid by the Indian taxpayer?—Yes, that is, the Rs. 729,000.

936. Then you stated that the loss to India, as I understood it, was something like Rs. 19,000,000; that would be something like 13,000,000*l.* sterling, and it would not merely be a loss of revenue?—Yes.

937. In estimating that Rs. 19,000,000 you estimated the whole value of the land and the value of the labour, and the services of the merchants and so forth?—Yes. Those figures, as I said, I derived from Mr. Batten, and in his paper he has given all the details by which he arrives at that particular figure.

938. None of that arises at all if the land can be equally profitably employed, if the merchants could turn their capital to some other business, and the labour was equally profitably employed?—With reference to that Mr. Batten makes a remark which I think is very much to the point. He says, suppose you wanted to abolish the consumption of beer in England and were to tell the hop growers of Kent that they might substitute for their hops potatoes and gooseberries, they would not think much of it; and so I think you may say of the opium in India.

939. But it is a matter of fact that the land under opium cultivation has been restricted and reduced without any compensation being paid to the persons whose lands have been growing poppy before?—Certainly it varies very much and has been diminishing.

940. And is it not also true that a great proportion of the cultivators now would not continue the growth of the poppy if it were not for the advances that are made to them for the purpose?—I am not prepared to say. I suppose if the advances were not given, it is extremely probable that the cultivation would be restricted.

941. They would then be placed in the same position as ordinary cultivators?—But to what extent that would happen I really could not say.

942. You think that the cultivators would be considerably prejudiced if they had to cultivate their lands with other crops?—They evidently think so, because it is perfectly voluntary the cultivation of opium; nobody has any pressure put upon him to cultivate opium.

943. You spoke of the policy of the Indian Government having been to restrict the cultivation of opium. Do you recommend a policy of restriction?—No. I do not think I said that it had been a policy of restricting the cultivation.

944. "Which was severely checking"; that was the expression, I think?—I said I thought that the monopoly system was more restrictive than any other system that could be substituted for it.

945. Then do you see any object in restricting the growth?—Well, my own personal opinion is that the consumption of opium is, in the vast majority of cases, perfectly innocent, just as I think in this country that the consumption of beer and wine is. Nevertheless, I do not deny in this country that I think it perfectly right to levy high duties on wine and on beer, to say nothing of stronger drinks. I think it is perfectly right to raise as large a revenue as you can from articles of that kind, and so I would say with the opium in India. Although I believe that it is not mischievous, still I think it is quite right to levy a heavy duty upon it; and also I cannot leave out of consideration the fact that there is a very strong opinion of multitudes of people whose opinions deserve respect, who do not think as I do; and I accept the fact that practically it would be impossible for any Government to encourage the growth of opium to any great extent. It is out of the question.

946. For moral or financial reasons?—No, I mean—

947. Out of respect to public opinion?—As I read in an extract from a paper of Sir Charles Aitchison with regard to Burma, when you have public opinion very strongly to this effect, even if you think it wrong you have got to pay attention to it.

948. You state, I see in this paper, that "the vast majority of smokers of opium in China consume it in moderation, and it is, as I said before, as harmless as the wine and beer of Europe." Can you tell us upon what you formed that statement, from what information?—All I can say is, that although I have had no personal experience in China, this is the conclusion that I have arrived at from all that I have been able to learn upon the subject.

949. If the facts were different, and that it was a cause of demoralisation in China, would you think that the policy of the Government ought to be any different to what it is?—Certainly, but only if the facts were different.

950. That if there was demoralisation in China, the course of the Indian Government should be different from what it is?—As I have stated in my evidence, my belief is that by diminishing the export of opium from India you do not diminish the consumption in China; as a question of morals, I do not say that it is right to desire to get a profit from the vices of other people. However, I may say upon that point it is certainly no worse than to get it from the vices of your own country.

951. But you think that the Indian Government should be no party to the exportation of opium to China if it was demoralising to the Chinese?—No, I would not say that. If I am quite certain that the Chinese will have the opium, and that by sending Indian opium to China the vice in China is not increased, I would not say that it was wrong.

952. We might as well have the profit of demoralising them as anybody else?—No; I will not admit that that is the proper way of putting it.

953. You stated that there were practical difficulties with regard to the prohibition of the growth of the poppy; is it not so, that it is effectually prohibited in Madras and Bombay at the present time?—I spoke of the means of prohibiting it in the native States. Yes.

954. But is it not the fact that the manufacture in the native States is at present entirely in the hands of English officials?—Certainly not; they have nothing whatever to do with it.

955. Under the supervision of English officials?—Certainly not.

956. I thought that was the case?—No; they have nothing to do with it whatever.

957. When does it first come to the attention of the English officials after it is manufactured?—When it leaves the native States this export duty is levied upon it; but we have nothing else to do with it.

958. It is not true, as we have been told, that during the manufacture it is under the supervision of English officials?—Certainly not.

959. (Mr. Mowbray.) I think you told us that the growth of the poppy had been prohibited in the Bombay Presidency under the Act of 1878?—I believe it was 1878.

960. And that that applied also to the native States under the Bombay Government?—Yes. I think, if I remember rightly, with the exception of Baroda.

961. It is not, I believe, technically under the Government of Bombay, is it?—No; but there is some special arrangement, I believe, made with it.

962. I only wanted to know whether before that prohibition there had been any cultivation of the poppy in the native States under Bombay?—I could not answer that question. I have no knowledge of it.

963. Now, I should just like to understand clearly where this transit duty on the Malwa opium is levied. Is it levied at certain definite points on the frontier between the native States and the Bombay Presidency?—There are certain points. I could not name them all, but Indore is one—perhaps the most important—Indore, Rutlam, and Ahmedabad. There are certain points on the frontier where arrangements are made for weighing the opium that is brought across. There it is weighed and sealed up in chests in some particular fashion, and sent with a passport. I believe it is sent in special consignments under guards; it is sent through to the Custom House at Bombay for export, and the duty, which is now at the present moment 600 rupees a chest, is levied at the place where it is weighed.

Sir
J. Strachey,
G.C.S.I.

15 Sept. 1893.

Sir
Strachey,
G.C.S.I.
Sept. 1893.

964. And is it all exported from Bombay, or is it consumed—part of it consumed—some of it consumed in the Bombay Presidency?—Yes, by far the greater part of it is exported to China, but such part—I do not remember at this moment what proportion, but comparatively small it would be—whatever is required for the local consumption of the Bombay Presidency would be sold there.

965. And is this opium sent through the frontier principally by native governments?—No; by native merchants.

966. But, I mean, they act upon their own responsibility, and not as agents for native governments?—No.

967. But these arrangements are all made with the native governments, I suppose, that the opium should pass through these special frontier stations, if I may call them so?—As I have stated, I have little personal knowledge of these matters; but, as far as I understand, the native governments have engaged that all the opium shall go by particular routes, so that there may not be smuggling through either. No doubt there is a great deal of smuggling as it is.

968. You think there is?—Well, it may readily be supposed that with such a valuable article as opium there will be smuggling; but as to what the probable amount of the smuggling is I could not say.

969. But I suppose if we had not these arrangements it would be almost impossible to prevent smuggling?—Certainly.

970. Where does the opium come from which the Sikhs consume?—That is grown in the Punjab.

971. In the Punjab?—For the most part, at any rate.

972. Is that in the native States in the Punjab?—No; Sir James Lyall would know that better than I do; it is grown under license, I believe.

973. (Sir James Lyall.) It is partly grown under license, and on payment of a duty on area, and on condition that the produce can only be sold to the retail vendors, who pay a sum to Government for the privilege of retail vending.

974. (Chairman.) A license duty?

975. (Sir James Lyall.) Yes; and it is partly grown in the Hill States subject to the Punjab Government, just as the Malwa opium is grown in the Malwa native States, and it comes out also under the same conditions, that it can only be sold to the Government contractor; and a small amount is allowed to come in from Central India and Rajputana on payment of the same pass duty, or very nearly the same, or quite the same, as that which the same opium pays on export to China; and in certain places like Delhi, where there has been a class of people who in former times were accustomed to use the Bengal or Patna opium, a certain small amount of what they call excise opium is allowed to come in and it is taken and put into the Government Treasury and sold to these licensed vendors—a very small amount; it is only from one or two places like Delhi that that has been allowed.

976. (Mr. Mowbray.) Then, in fact, they have in India three systems; really, they have the Government monopoly in Bengal, they have the native-grown opium, paying the transit duty, and they have the Punjab system of growing under license. I suppose that you would not be prepared to recommend the license system in lieu of the monopoly system in Bengal?—No; I do not see that there would be any advantage gained by it. As I said in my evidence, if the object is to put as heavy a tax on the opium as possible, I think that is gained more completely under the monopoly system than any other.

977. Have we any arrangements with the native States which regulate the amount of transit duty which we charge?—No; that is entirely in our own hands; we can fix any other export duty.

978. And it is fixed, I suppose, mainly with the view to revenue?—Entirely.

979. (Mr. Wilson.) You mentioned in your paper, Sir John—the paper which was read to us about the growth of opium in China—provinces being given up to it. I understand that is not from your own knowledge?—No.

980. Can you tell me where I could find the best information on that subject?—I am afraid I cannot answer that question. I think some of the other witnesses will give you better information than I can.

981. Then you made a remark which I did not quite catch—what the bearing of it was. It was something to the effect that out of 200,000,000 of persons in India there were not more than a certain proportion who knew anything about it, or not more that knew about it, in India than in England. I do not know whether you remember the expression?

982. (Chairman.) Yes, it was with reference to the personal knowledge of the evils of the opium dens?—I think what I said was—though I do not think my figures have any value—what I said was, I think, this; that out of the 200,000,000 of people in India I did not suppose there were 200 hundreds, that would be 20,000, who had any personal knowledge of opium dens.

983. (Mr. Wilson.) That is what I did not understand?—But I did not mean to say that that number has any importance.

984. (Chairman.) It is merely a mode of conveying a general impression?—Yes.

985. (Mr. Wilson.) Then I only want to ask you about these Sikhs, to whom you referred, and their consumption. You said something about when they went on campaign they took a bit. Do I understand they do not regularly take it?—They regularly take it, certainly; and I have been told by men who have the most intimate knowledge of Sikh soldiers that you could not, in fact, take them on a campaign without it—that it is absolutely necessary to them.

986. They eat that?—Yes.

987. Do they smoke as well?—I do not think so. No.

988. Have you any idea approximately about how much they consume daily?—I do not know; I could not say; it is a very small quantity.

989. (Chairman.) You have in another part of your evidence said that a pound would represent the consumption of a whole year?—Yes, but I do not stick to that. I spoke in general terms; I do not stick to the particular weight.

990. (Mr. Wilson.) With reference to Mr. Mowbray's question about smuggling, I do not quite understand. Is there something like a Customs line now round these native States?—No, there is no Customs line; but an arrangement is made by which the native States engage that the opium intended for export to Bombay should go by particular routes and shall cross their frontiers at particular points.

991. Yes; but what is the use of an arrangement if there is no Customs line to enforce it?—The native States bind themselves to take care that it is enforced. I do not doubt that there is a great deal of smuggling; but still when it comes to exports of thousands of chests, you cannot smuggle that.

992. (Mr. Pease.) I understand, Sir John, that none of the smuggled opium is exported—that the opium that is smuggled will not come into such circumstances as it can be exported?—No; it could not, certainly, on a great scale.

993. No; it would be consumed in India?—Yes.

994. (Mr. Wilson.) I understand that a great part of the opium is grown on advances?—Yes; in Bengal only.

995. Bengal?—Yes.

996. Advances?—But that is the universal custom in India—to give advances to cultivators of opium and everything else.

997. Does Government—do the authorities provide advances in the same way for any other crop or industry?—No.

998. The other advances to which you refer are made by merchants and so forth?—The Government advances are certainly for nothing else.

999. (Chairman.) It is the only article in which they are engaged as manufacturers. Is there anything that you would like to add?—No; I do not think there is anything else.

The witness withdrew.

Surgeon-General Sir WILLIAM MOORE, K.C.I.E., Q.H.P., called and examined.

1000. (*Chairman.*) Sir William Moore, will you describe to us the nature of your duties, and the official position which you filled in India?—I have filled many official positions; but perhaps the most important were as principal medical officer, for a number of years, in Rajputana, and then as Deputy Surgeon-General for five years of the Bombay Presidency, and then as Surgeon-General to the Bombay Presidency.

1001. How many years altogether did you pass in India?—About 33½.

1002. In the course of your services were you led to give much attention to the use of opium?—I first commenced investigating the use of opium so far back as the year 1868, and the results of my investigations were published in one of the selections from the Government of India in the Foreign Department—I forget the number—and I then said that opium using was not so prevalent in Rajputana as had been supposed (that, I think, was mentioned just now); and afterwards in some other article I said that nearly all the Rajputs used opium. The anti-opium party took that up as a contradiction; but they were not aware that about only one-fourth of the population of Rajputana are Rajputs, the other are Mhairs, Menas, Gonds, Bheels, and various other tribes, so that they made a mistake. It is amongst the Rajput population that the use of opium is prevalent. I do not mean to say that all of them use it, but the great majority of them do, and especially the native gentlemen—the Thakoors or Barons of the country.

1003. We have been giving our attention to the opium question from a general point of view. Can you tell us how were the investigations which you made with reference to the use of opium conducted?—Well, in Rajputana they were conducted—(I was then the Superintendent-General of Dispensaries and Vaccination, and therefore had to travel all over the country)—they were conducted by noticing the people at the different hospitals and dispensaries, by associating with them in their villages, by friendships with the Thakoors and native gentlemen, sometimes staying in their houses; in Bombay by going to the opium shops, by seeing the people there; by sitting down and smoking opium with them; and in the same way at Poonah.

1004. Well, towards what particular point were your inquiries directed?—Oh, purely and entirely to the physiological effect of opium on the constitution—the habitual use of opium on the constitution.

1005. Well, what were the conclusions that you arrived at?—Well, I came to the conclusion that opium smoking was practically harmless, and that drinking umal pawnee, or opium water, was practically harmless, not only harmless, but in many cases productive of very great benefit. A moderate use would brighten the intellect and strengthen the system, render the people more able to go through fatigue, and in seasons of want and scarcity enable them to do with less food. It was also in some degree a prophylactic to the malarious fevers which abounded in some parts of the country, and which I could prove by actual demonstration.

1006. Did you draw any conclusions with reference to the comparative evil effects of opium and alcohol?—I have already mentioned that the evil effects of smoking opium in moderation are practically nil, and the evil effects of drinking umal pawnee or opium-water are practically nil, but if opium is taken to excess it does an injury, but it does not do so much injury as alcohol. It never produces any disease, excepting in the very last stages of an opium-eater, who may suffer from emaciation and diarrhoea. But that is quite exceptional. It never produces drunkenness, such as alcohol does, in fact the attitude of the opium user is always one of repose. He never quarrels with his neighbour or beats his wife, or makes arrangements to commit crimes, whereas the man with alcohol does all this; and the man who suffers from alcohol will get disease of the heart, fatty degeneration, disease of the liver, the kidneys, and other organs. Nothing of that occurs from opium, excepting, as I have said before, by a very large use of opium—the last stages are some degree of emaciation and diarrhoea.

1007. Now, supposing opium were only obtainable in India as a medical prescription, what would you conceive to be the probable result of such a restriction?—It would be a grievous interference with the social

habits and customs of large sections of the population. I will give you an instance. The Rajput, when he is going to make a journey of 10 or 15 miles, or even 20, or even 30 miles, through the sand on a camel, generally takes a cup of umal pawnee—a stirrup-cup to strengthen him on the road. He would not be able to do that. The Rajput gentleman, after he has had his dinner at night, produces the opium pipe or cup of umal pawnee, whichever he prefers; it is produced just as wine is produced in this country after dinner. He would not be able to do that. The camel-feeder, who goes out into the deserts to feed the young camels, and stays there for months, would not be able to do it on his handful of grain and his camel's milk if he had not opium to add to sustenance. The people who frequent the opium shops—and most of them come to the opium shops because they are suffering from some physical malady—would not be able to go to these opium shops, and would not be able to get the relief that they get from them. The malarious fevers of the country would be considerably increased in severity, and the native chiefs, in whose territories opium is grown, would have grave cause for dissatisfaction.

1008. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) Have you, in your travels over India, distinguished between the effect of the habitual use of opium in different races?—No, I have not.

1009. You spoke of the Rajputs?—I spoke of the Rajputs. That is the finest race in India.

1010. They are opium eaters?—They are almost habitual opium eaters.

1011. Then you can speak from your own knowledge that they are generally habitual opium eaters?—Well, I have associated with them in daily intercourse, and at times lived in gentlemen's houses. My tent has often been pitched close to their houses; the Thakoors have come into my tent at night.

1012. You are speaking of the reputable citizens?—I am speaking of the gentlemen, the Thakoors, who are really the barons of the country.

1013. And also the workmen?—Oh, yes.

1014. Well-regulated and well-conditioned workmen?—Yes; many such workmen.

1015. And is it your experience that those using opium in that way habitually were, as a class, healthy people?—As healthy as they could possibly be as a class.

1016. I presume there are no statistics in regard to the death-rate or birth-rate in Rajputana?—No, there are no reliable statistics. There are statistics, but I would not recommend them as reliable.

1017. Have you observed whether there was a tendency in case of an habitual opium eater to the increase of the dose?—As a general rule they do not increase the dose, but some do.

1018. That has been your personal observation?—That has been my personal knowledge—yes.

1019. How many times a day do they take their opium?—Generally at night. Then you must recollect that the Indian labourer who takes his opium has no means of solacing himself after the day's work; he has no theatres, no music halls, no clubs, no societies, no gin shops.

1020. And so far as you know, speaking broadly, there is no evidence that the habitual use of opium in moderation, as you describe it, shortens life?—In moderation I should say there was no evidence whatever. Here is a book which gives you the history of the lives of Bombay opium smokers. I do not know whether you have it. But of course I do not mean to say that the excessive use of opium is not deleterious, because it is. But these cases of excessive use of opium in my experience are quite exceptional.

1021. Then, speaking of Rajputana, at any rate, the excessive use of opium is very much like drunkenness amongst ourselves—an exceptional condition?—Just so.

1022. Taking the total effect of the opium habit, is it your view that it is more beneficial than harmful, or more harmful than beneficial?—It is much more beneficial than alcohol.

1023. That is your conviction?—That is my honest view, after many years' experience and investigation.

Sur.-Gen.
Sir W. Moore
K.C.I.E.,
Q.H.P.

15 Sept. 1893.

Sur.-Gen.
Sir W. Moore,
K.C.I.E.,
Q.H.P.

15 Sept. 1893.

1024. Has your experience been gathered almost exclusively among the Rajputs?—No. I have already stated that I was in Bombay for some time, where I often went to the opium shops and smoked opium in the shops with the people.
1025. Is there a community among whom there is a general use of opium in Bombay?—It is very generally used, and by many people who you would never suppose used it—clerks and omnibus conductors, buggy drivers, tramcar men. A great many of them use it.
1026. Is it used in Bombay amongst the more reputable, the law-abiding citizens?—Not to so great an extent as in Rajputana, because the most of them in Bombay have taken to champagne if they can get it, or liquor if they cannot.
- 1027-8. There is no generalised consumption?—Not in Bombay; no.
1029. You cannot speak of the consumption of opium in Bombay as we can of the use of wine or beer in this country?—No; I do not think you could, because it is not quite so prevalent.
1030. So that if you were to stop the consumption of opium by any means in Bombay the effect would be very different from stopping it in Rajputana?—Yes, it would; but you would do a great injury to all these poor people who go to the opium dens, as you call them, though they are not more dens than the liquor shop is next door or two or three doors off; you do a great injury to them. One-half of the people who come habitually to these opium shops go there because they are suffering from some painful malady.
1031. And is that the best course that you think they could adopt to get relief?—I think it is, because they have, probably all of them, been to the hospitals and not got relief.
1032. Would one be at all right in comparing these persons, who frequent the opium dens in Bombay, to the classes that have sometimes been called the residuum, or the submerged tenth of society?—A great many of them are of course the lower classes of society. The higher classes smoke their opium at home, or drink their opium at home; they do not go to the shops. It is just in this way. Take a gin-shop in the lower parts of London; you will find the same class of people, comparatively speaking, as you do in the opium shops in the East.
1033. But I understood you to say, Sir William, that you could not regard the opium habit as at all generalised amongst the respectable classes in Bombay?—No, I do not think it is.
1034. It is exceptional?—But still a good many use it.
1035. Would you give us an idea. Amongst adults would there be one in ten who smoke opium?—No, I do not suppose there would be.
1036. Not even one in ten?—No. But I could not say for certain, because men will not tell you what their habits are, and they have a happy knack, if you question them, of often saying what they think you would like them to say.
1037. What is agreeable? Are they ashamed of the habit?—No.
1038. Not in Bombay. I mean among the more respectable persons; those who smoke opium are not ashamed of the habit?—I do not think so; no.
1039. You have not perceived that they tried to conceal it from others?—No; but they will not tell you unless you are friends of them and know them pretty well. They will not come and proclaim it in the street.
1040. Have you been in a Sikh campaign? Have you had any experience of the Sikhs?—Only to a small extent when I have been with regiments; there have been Sikhs in the regiment; but I have never been in the Punjab much—only travelling through it occasionally.
1041. Are there large or considerable populations in India among whom the use of opium is practically unknown?—There are large sections of the population who do not use it; but I could not say that it would be practically unknown, because there would be a small minority of people all over the country who do use it.
1042. And even throughout the country there is more or less consumption? It is not confined, I mean, to certain races?—I do not think it is confined to certain
- races, although certain races are more particularly addicted to it.
1043. How do you explain that? How do you explain that, as we are told, the Sikhs and Rajpoots seem to use opium as a diffused and general habit, as we use wine and beer in this country?—I think the explanation, perhaps, may be, as regards the Rajpoots, that they are the gentlemen, the upper classes of the country, although there are a great many poor Rajpoots, and I think they took to it when it was more expensive than the means of the lower classes allowed them to get. But that is pure supposition.
1044. Quite so; you do not speak very positively?—No, I do not.
1045. And you could not give us information?—I could not tell you why they do it, except that they are the better class; they use it just as we might use champagne.
1046. Then you have no information that you could give us as to the relation of the opium habit to race?—No.
1047. Perhaps you might have some other remarks to offer generally?—Yes, I have one or two other remarks that I should wish to offer. It will not take me long. I should wish to draw attention to the fact that insurance societies do not impose a higher rate on opium eaters. With respect to that they are guided by the medical officers of the societies. They were addressed on the subject some little time ago in Calcutta and Bombay, and they all gave the same answer.
- 1048-9. Is there a large amount of insurance work done in India on the basis of a large number of facts?—Yes; many of the insurance offices were addressed on the point, and they would not increase the insurance. They are guided by the medical men.
1050. That would refer to natives, would it not—insurance of natives?—No, it referred to insurance of Europeans, and natives, and all classes.
1051. But are we to understand that any proportion of the European community are opium eaters or smokers in India?—Well, I think there are a few. I was one myself.
1052. For a short time; you were not an habitual smoker?—Well, I was experimentally.
1053. But as habitual opium users?—Oh, yes, there are a few.
1054. Only a few?—Only a few.
1055. (Chairman.) Is the practice of life insurance largely resorted to among the natives?—Yes, it is; a great many insure their lives now, during recent years.
1056. With European offices?—Yes, there are several offices that take insurances of native lives and European lives; they do not limit themselves.
1057. And there are some native associations as well?—Some of the directors of these insurance societies are natives of course. Then I should like to draw the attention of the Commission to some erroneous statements which have been made. One is, that so much land being taken up in India for opium, enough was not left for the growth of cereals, and therefore famines occur; the fact being that it is only a decimal portion of the cultivable land that is taken up with opium. The famine in Rajputana, which was caused by the total failure of rains one year and the ravages of locusts the next year, was said to be caused by the want of food caused because of the opium cultivation in Marwar. I do not think there is a field of opium in Marwar. On the contrary, to my knowledge, hundreds and thousands of people emigrated from Marwar, and went straight across into the opium district of Malwa, a distance of two or three hundred miles, where they found food for themselves and water and grass for their cattle, when they could not get it in the place where they came from. Then, again, the famine in Orissa, in 1868, caused by inundations, was said to be caused because the cereals could not be cultivated in sufficient amount; whereas there is not an acre of opium land in Orissa. Well, such absurd statements as those are put in print. Then, again, it is alleged that the opium users cannot attend to their business. As I have said before, some of the most shrewd business men take their opium. Clerks and people who have work to do in offices, many of them you would be surprised to find taking their opium. Then it is said that opium smoking is more

deleterious than drinking opium water or even eating opium. This is quite incorrect. Opium smoking is harmless; and, besides, it is not crude opium that is smoked—it is a preparation of opium known as chandul or chandoo.

1058. (Sir W. Roberts.) How much per cent. of real opium does that generally contain?—It has never been investigated, but the combustion which the chandul undergoes when it is put into the pipe and put into the lamp must destroy much of the narcotic properties, and it has not yet been ascertained authoritatively what really goes up the pipe-stem into the smoker's mouth. That is a subject which requires investigation. Now, when crude opium is taken it has a different effect, because it must be dissolved and absorbed by the stomach into the system, and therefore it is liable to produce, in the first instance, constipation, and afterwards, by slow digestion and its probable consequences, diarrhoea. Then, that the effect of opium is to produce torpor and sleep. This is quite incorrect. The first effect of opium is exhilarating and stimulating. I compare a pipe or two of opium to a glass or two of good champagne as regards its good effects, and I compare several pipes of opium to several glasses of brandy and water; drowsiness comes on, but without any argumentative or quarrelsome stage. There is another very silly thing that they have frequently said, that opium is so potent persons must lie down to smoke it; they cannot take it standing up or sitting down as a Britisher would drink his gin or his beer. That is quite incorrect. You can smoke your opium sitting down, only it is custom and habit and convenience which causes them to recline; you see that any day in the opium shops. Then it is said that opium causes immorality. I have stated that in small quantities opium is exhilarating and stimulating. No doubt, as with all stimulants, the passions are temporarily excited, but in larger doses it is exactly the reverse. Another statement is that opium prevents the missionary enterprise of converting the Buddhist and the Hindoo. I will not go into that subject; I have said it already in a lecture I gave, that I do not think there is an atom of truth in the assertion. It may be mentioned that the ban placed on spirits by Eastern religions and the long fasts imposed are potent reasons why opium is used. The effects of chandul, which is prepared opium, have been confused with those of tye chandoo, muddut, and hemp. Muddut is a mixture of inferior opium and bran; tye chandoo is a mixture of the refuse of half-burnt chandul scraped from the pipes, the refuse of opium, ganja or bhang, and bad tobacco. Ganja is the dried flowers of the *cannabis sativa* or hemp plant; bhang is the dried leaves and stalks. The effects of chandul, carried to excess, are blank or sleep, or you may call it the *nirvana* of the Buddhists. The effects of ganja are vivid illusions of the brain which may turn to insanity; and if you refer to the statistics of the Indian lunatic asylums you will find that while hundreds are reported as having come into the asylums from the effects of liquor and bhang only three or four or five or six would be returned as coming into the asylums from the effects of opium. And in the jails in the same way. The deaths from opium are practically nil.

1059. (Sir W. Roberts.) I am only going to ask one more question. I do not know whether it is possible to answer it. How is it that the opium habit does not spread amongst the Europeans in India. I mean the habitual use of opium?—Amongst the Europeans?

1060. Yes?—Because they have been brought up from their youth upwards to believe in beer and liquor, and gin, and other things; and then it is a troublesome thing, smoking opium. It is too troublesome for a European.

1061. You would not admit that it was due to some profound constitutional difference?—No; I do not think so.

1062. But of course you would not be positive?—I do not think the constitutional difference has anything whatever to do with it. It is simply habit, and bringing up from childhood. We will say the Rajput child sees the opium pipe from the day of his birth, or as long as he can notice anything; the European child sees the gin or the beer.

1063. But you know new habits have arisen even within recent times. The original habit was the alcohol habit; then came the tea habit, the coffee habit, or the tobacco habit?—Yes.

1064. And the British people did not show them-

selves at all loth to take up these additional habits. How is it that in India they have not taken up the opium habit?—Well, for one reason it is a troublesome thing to smoke opium. You cannot take it like a cigar, and put it in your mouth and smoke it away; you must have a lamp.

1065. But opium-eating is easy enough?—Well, but that is nasty; it does not taste nice. But I have seen many Europeans eat a sweetmeat in India which contains a deal of opium.

1066. But they have not acquired any habit in that direction?—Well, they do not acquire the habit. I will not say positively why, except that I think it is simply a matter of bringing up from youth upwards.

1067. (Mr. Wilson.) I do not quite understand your position, Sir William. If I understand rightly, you think on the whole it is a good thing?—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.

1068. Then it is a good thing?—Yes; that is a good thing.

1069. We are going to India; would you advise us to go in for it?—I would advise you to try it certainly. Do as I did, go to the opium shops.

1070. I did not say "try it," but "use it"?—Use it.

1071. You advise us to acquire the opium habit?—No; I do not advise you to acquire the opium habit, but I advise you to go to the opium shops and see for yourselves, and all of you have a pipe or two.

1072. You do not quite catch my meaning, I think. I do not quite clearly understand whether you think on the whole it is a good thing or not to take opium?—That depends upon the situation the person is in, and it depends upon whether he has the means of using something else which he likes better.

1073. Would you tell me of a situation in which it is a good thing?—Well, I have already told you several situations where it is a good thing. When a Rajput has to ride 30 miles on his camel through the sand he takes his "stirrup cup" of opium before he starts. They used to bring me a "stirrup cup" of opium when I was starting on a march in early morning in Rajputana.

1074. Well, with reference to the people that you saw in the opium shops. You said they had probably all been at the hospital and failed to get relief?—Well, the great majority of them no doubt had been to hospitals, and perhaps were going to hospitals then.

1075. Do I understand that the greater part of the people that you would meet in these opium places are practically sufferers from some serious disease?—I have given the numbers, I think, in a pamphlet which I wrote on the "Opium Shops of Bombay"; but I should say, at a rough guess, that half the people who are in these opium shops, or, as you like to call them, "dens," half of them have something the matter with them.

1076. Previously?—They have bronchial affections, or nervous affections, or sciatica, or other painful affections, and they go there habitually every day because they find that the opium pipe soothes them better than anything else.

1077. Do you mean that a larger proportion of the persons in these places are invalids than anywhere else?—Yes, certainly.

1078. And that they resort there for the purpose of relief?—They resort to them for relief.

1079. Have the ailments, then, anything to do with the previous habit of taking the opium?—The ailments have nothing to do with it. The people in those shops have been described as suffering from the effects of opium, whereas they have been suffering from the disease for which they went to the shops to get relief.

1080. Then you said that they would not tell you if they took opium. Is that because they think it is disgraceful?—They would not tell you.

1081. You said you had asked—I think our Chairman asked you, or Sir W. Roberts asked you, about these persons, about other people taking opium—you said they often would not tell you whether they took it or not?—I mean not with reference to the people in the

Sur-Gen.
Sir W. Moore
K.C.I.E.,
Q.H.P.

15 Sept. 1893

Sur.-Gen.
Sir W. Moore,
K.C.I.E.,
Q.H.P.
15 Sept. 1893.

opium shops, because their presence there shows that they take it, but with reference to the better classes.

1082. Yes; I understand?—They would not tell you unless you knew them, and became acquainted with them. If you met a man in the street, and said, "Are you an opium smoker?" he would probably say, "I do not understand."

1083. Is it because they think it is disgraceful?—No; I do not think it is because they think it is disgraceful.

1084. Then why? What do they think?—Well, they would tell you if you became friendly with them, and knew them. But they would not proclaim it in the street.

1085. No. But I gather from what you said, that there was an inclination to conceal the fact that they took opium. What is their motive for such concealment?—I do not think there is any inclination to conceal it, because they will tell you if you know them. They will not come and volunteer information to anybody they meet.

1086. (Sir J. Lyall.) Is it the case, Sir William, in Rajpootana, it was thought a disgrace amongst the Rajputs not to eat opium?—Not to eat it?

1087. Yes, it was the same sort of disgrace which used to exist perhaps two generations ago in England, with respect to a man who would not drink wine?—No, I do not think so. I recollect very well one night, I was in the State of Marwar, the Political Agent of Marwar, and myself, were sitting in our tent with four or five gentlemen—Thakooors—and they were asked what they would have, and two or three of them had some brandy which we had with us, but one gentleman said, "No, he would not take any," and all the others said, "Oh, no; he wants to go home to his wife, and smoke his opium pipe." They used to chaff one another in that way.

1088. (Mr. Wilson.) I have only one other question—whether you have any idea of the quantity of opium consumed by these different classes of persons of whom you speak?—The quantity differs very much indeed. I should say, perhaps, that the average of what I have seen of a man who uses opium moderately is three or four pipes—he would probably use three or four pipes.

1089. What weight would that represent?—That would represent a weight of 50 or 60 grains, perhaps, of chandul, made into four or five little balls, which is put on the pipe at the lamp.

1090. (Mr. Pease.) You spoke of the persons going out into the desert with their camels, and there taking their opium as sustenance?—Yes.

1091. Do you consider that there is anything nourishing in opium, or that it is only a staying power for a while until he could obtain solid food?—It prevents what we used to call a few years ago eremacausis, or waste of tissue. The young camels are sent out into the desert of Rajpootana for the whole of one season, and then they are sent up to the Punjab for the next season, because they get a different kind of grass there, and they say that if they are not sent up to the Punjab after having had one season in Rajpootana they will never become strong camels; and they go out right into the desert districts, where there is not a village within 20 or 30 miles, and water is very scarce. Perhaps a hundred camels would be accompanied by three or four men, and all these men take their opium with them, and they live on a little flour that they take with them—grain (no rice there), and camel's milk and opium. They would not do that if they had not the opium.

1092. You think that a moderate amount of opium can be taken without any injury to the health. Would you recommend persons in this country to take regular doses of opium two or three times a day, and do you think that it would not be injurious to their health?—No, I would not recommend them to take it, and I would not recommend them to take three or four doses of spirits three or four times a day.

1093. But you believe it would not be injurious to their health?—That depends on what they would take. Some people would take a great deal more than others, just as in the same way as spirits. You cannot lay

down any quantity which a man may take. Constitutions differ.

1094. With regard to a remark that I made when a previous witness was giving evidence, there is no allusion in anything that I said with regard to the proportions of Rajpoots in Rajpootana, was there? What I gave was just your own remark, "From the above, and from the inquiries instituted during the previous year, it would appear that the percentage of people to population using opium in Rajpootana is not so great as I, in common with most Europeans, had imagined." Those are your own words?—Perfectly correct, sir.

1095. There was no mistake in the quotation I made?—No mistake. But afterwards I said, in another article, that most of the Rajpoots used opium.

1096. That I did not allude to in any way?—No.

1097. (Sir J. Lyall.) Sir William Roberts asked you whether you could give any explanation of why certain races used opium. He mentioned the Sikhs and the Rajpoots. As regards the Sikhs, is it not the case that the reason probably is that their first teacher prohibited the use of tobacco?—Their first teacher prohibited the use of alcohol and tobacco.

1098. I do not think he did alcohol—well, not so strongly as tobacco; he deprecated the use of alcohol?—That may have induced the taking of opium. As I say, I think, in my evidence, "the ban placed against alcohol and tobacco in the eastern religions may have led to the use of opium, against which no ban was placed." But that is purely speculative. I could not say why the different races use it, except that it is a habit and custom, and opium is a country product.

1099. Was not the early use of opium among the Rajpoots connected partly with their constant fighting in which they engaged; did not they drug themselves with opium?—Probably they primed themselves with opium.

1100. When they had to make a desperate assault, or anything of that kind?—Yes, they perhaps primed themselves with opium—or perhaps bhang—more frequently. Bhang is more injurious than opium a great deal.

1101. (Mr. Pease.) Just one other remark I would like to make, and that is with regard to the question as to the occupation of the land for cereals and for poppy; is it not the fact that there was a great famine in Rajpootana in which about 1,200,000 people died?—Yes, I was there at the time. I travelled 2,000 miles in Rajpootana in the famine years.

1102. And that a great many of them went into Malwa seeking for food, and they were unable to find it?—No; they found food for themselves and their cattle, and water. There was what we call a "bur" famine in Marwar. There was no rain, no grass, and no water, and the people emigrated by hundreds of thousands—went right up into the Punjab—went up to Goojerat. A good number crossed the desert into Scinde; but the greater part went through Meywar into Malwa.

1103. They were all saved that went into Malwa?—A great number of them died on the road.

1104. There was food for them in Malwa?—There was food for them, and grass, and water.

1105. The statement that was made from Dr. George Smith was, that if the land that was in Malwa had been cultivated with cereals, and those cereals had been sent into Rajpootana it might have saved the lives of the people there?—But how could they be sent into Rajpootana when there was no grass, and no water, and no railway? Why a camel would not carry more than he could eat. I was in Rajpootana at the time, and I saw all the people, and I can state from my own personal knowledge.

1106. The difficulty in Rajpootana was the want of means of communication as much as anything?—You see a man wanted food and water, and you could not send men, because they could not carry more than they would eat on the road.

1107. (Mr. Mowbray.) What sort of proportion of the population of Rajpootana are Rajpoots?—About one fourth. That is where the mistake occurred. The opium habit is not nearly so prevalent among what you might call the aboriginal tribes—the half-castes, mhaars, bheels, gonds, menas.

The witness withdrew

Dr. F. J. Mouat called in and examined.

Dr.
F. J. Mouat
15 Sept. 18

1109. (Chairman.) Sir William Roberts has kindly undertaken to conduct your examination?—Thank you, shall be happy to answer any questions as far as I can.

1109. (Sir W. Roberts.) I believe that you have had considerable opportunities of studying the opium habit in India?—The opium question I have, in all its relations, but not so much the opium habit, for I did not come so much in contact with it.

1110. Will you tell us what means you possessed of acquiring an acquaintance with opium?—Yes. I was Assistant Opium Examiner to the Government, I think for a couple of years, when I had to analyse and report upon the value of each batch of opium that was sent down to be exported to China. Then I was appointed Chemical Examiner to the Government. In that capacity every parcel of poisons that were supposed to have been intended for criminal purposes was sent to me for examination, and I had to report what I found in them. I never found opium in any case whatever, because it was not used by any professional poisoner.

1111. What?—I never found opium in any of the parcels sent, or substances which might have been contained in them for illegal purposes. I afterwards was appointed Professor of Materia Medica and Chemistry. In that position I had to teach the subject of the nature, composition, and uses of remedies employed in medicine, and amongst them was necessarily opium, by far the most valuable medicine we have, particularly in the tropics. Subsequently I occupied the Chairs of Medicine and Medical Jurisprudence, and taught the uses and abuses of opium in their therapeutic and medico-legal aspects.

1112. Then am I to understand that you did not come very much into contact with opium eaters or drinkers or smokers?—I came a great deal in contact with a colony in the Burra Bazar of Calcutta, which consisted almost entirely of opium users. They were up-country men, Marwarces, some of them bankers, some shopkeepers; men of considerable intelligence, really good business men, and the whole community of them were reputed to be opium consumers.

1113. You ascertained that from your own observation?—Yes. Of course I was well acquainted with them personally; they came to me at all times when there was anything the matter with them, any sickness, or other trouble. They were not a large colony; but they were a somewhat fluctuating body; many hundreds of them were coming and going in my time.

1114. Then what was your impression as to the state of health and longevity of these people?—I never in my life saw finer men of their respective classes, more intelligent or more active men, or men who showed less signs of being under the influence of any drug or narcotic than both the Chinese colony and this other community of Marwarces I have spoken of in relation to the Burra Bazar.

1115. Do you consider that you obtained accurate information as to the amount of opium that they would use?—No, because it is like tobacco smoking—where one man uses one cigar another will use ten; and the same with regard to pipes. I do not think that you could establish any exact definite quantity which they used. Mr. Monro, who was Commissioner of Police here, and is now a missionary in India, after being Inspector-General of Police there, has given approximately the quantity used per head of the population in Bengal, but you cannot rely much on it as the doctrine of averages does not apply to such questions.

1116. The "mixture three times a day" is a drachm, I think?—I do not know.

1117. But used you to see these people habitually smoking?—No, not habitually; at various times of the day; they did not use opium all day long.

1118. Recurrently, if you like?—Yes, decidedly.

1119. Nearly all of them?—Nearly all of them in that particular quarter use opium, I believe.

1120. And is it your impression that the habit continues for generation after generation among these people?—Yes.

1121. I hope the opium habit is not so old in India that you can speak of it as going on for generation after generation?—Yes, I can, for long before we went to the country it was in use. Smoking is not an Indian vice.

1122. You can speak of the opium habit in some parts of India as having been practised generation after generation?—From historical evidence I can.

1123. Yet the population continues healthy?—Perfectly healthy; amongst them are the finest populations in India.

1124. I suppose it is impossible that you could state facts proving that to the Commission?—No, because I never made special inquiry into this point. Those were the days before the opium question had become a burning question, and it only became interesting to me from my professional position in the city in the heads of which I lived 13 years. They came to me on all possible occasions to consult me as to their illnesses and their family distresses, and thereby I had a considerable personal knowledge of them.

1125. Did the habit go on increasing as years went on?—No, I saw no difference.

1126. Then you would compare the use of opium amongst these people to the use of the moderate use of alcoholic liquors amongst ourselves?—Undoubtedly.

1127. And quite as harmless?—Yes, quite, in fact more so, because a man shows a flushed face and many other indications of familiarity with alcohol; but you could detect nothing of the kind in the case of those who used opium. They were all temperate; I never saw, in the whole 13 years I was living amongst them (and I saw them daily); they came to me at the outdoor dispensary, or at the hospital, and as a friend, and I never saw, in all that time, an opium drunkard.

1128. Drunk from spirits, do you mean?—No, from opium.

1129. So that these particular groups that you had experience of had not even a minority of opium "sots," as they are called?—I scarcely understand your question.

1130. You have heard of the opium sot?—Oh, yes.

1131. You saw nothing corresponding to that amongst them?—Nothing whatever. What they were in the evening, when work was done, and the day was over, and they went to their rest, we had no knowledge of, because they were in their own houses; but there was never a brawl in the streets, there was never a man amongst them brought up before the police for any disturbance of public order, in the whole of that time, and I was in constant communication with the police authorities, for I aided them greatly in that part of the city in which I lived, in maintaining order.

1132. Still, I presume you admit that the opium habit has its bad side?—Yes, in excess, undoubtedly.

1133. Will you explain to the Commission what you yourself have observed as to the evils of the opium habit?—I never saw anyone who exhibited such an amount of misuse of opium, not one in the whole of that time, so I cannot speak to it from personal knowledge.

1134. So that you have nothing to say but praise of the habit?—Given the necessity of a stimulant, so far as my knowledge went, certainly.

1135. Do you confine your opinion merely as based upon your own experience of these two communities?—To these two great communities chiefly, but there used to come to the hospital up-country men who were temporarily in Calcutta. I knew nothing more about them than their nationality.

1136. You did not see any sufferers from opium?—No, not one.

1137. Did they not even suffer from what we should expect, in this country at any rate, constipation—yellow eyes, you know, from embarrassed livers?—I knew nothing about their health until they came to the outdoor dispensary, or to the hospital, to consult me medically; but those were not the effects that were visible in them at all. Liver disease was rarely found amongst them.

1138. Well, would you sum up your experience on this question?—You mean my general experience?

1139. Yes?—I would rather, if you will allow me, tell you my experience of opium in relation to crime and insanity; that is a subject I studied particularly.

1140. We should be very glad to hear your account of that?—Taking the connexion between the use of opium and crime, I collected the statistics, and I have here the reports of the prisons of the Lower Provinces

Dr.
J. Meunier.
Sept. 1893.

for five consecutive years, wherein are represented all the conditions connected with the imprisonment of 302,000 prisoners of both sexes and all ages—every detail connected with them, their age, sex, occupation, caste, and other circumstances—all these particulars are contained in this volume, and in the whole of it, amongst that large number of people, there was not a single crime that was attributed to opium, either its use or abuse. Had there been such, they would have been placed on record by the magistrates who sent in the returns.

1141. Is alcohol mentioned?—Alcohol, no; alcohol is not mentioned in my returns. We had a very small hospital at that time for the use of Europeans, but still we had a few cases of delirium tremens and similar affections. I will hand in to you the report to which I have alluded, because to give you even a resumé of the details in it would be very difficult; it is a mass of figures from beginning to end.

1142. That is your account of the relation of opium to crime; now with regard to lunacy, what have you to say?—I was official visitor of lunatic asylums, and I had constantly to visit them, and report upon their state, as to the causes of insanity, their treatment, &c. No figures had then been collected to enable me to judge, but I state generally in a series of papers, which I wrote in the "Lancet" (and which I hope you will allow me to present to the Commission), my views upon the subject.

1143. (Chairman.) Will you hand me over those papers?—Certainly, but there is one which I wish briefly to refer to further on, then I will give them to you, my Lord.

Now, here are the "Admissions to the Asylums of Lower Bengal for Ten Years" (1881 to 1890), printed by the Calcutta Medical Society. There were altogether in 10 consecutive years 2,202 admissions, of which 641 were alleged to have been caused by ganja, 117 by spirits, and 8 from opium. That represents the statistics, on this subject, of 74,000,000 of people, so that the infinitesimal portion of a man that became insane from the abuse of opium is really not worth taking into calculation.

1144. (Sir W. Roberts.) I would like to ask you, in reference to this question, out of that total, were there more habitual users of opium, or more habitual users of spirits, or more habitual users of ganja?—There must have been more of ganja, and there is a Commission now examining into that question in India. The hemp plant grows in every ditch, and it can be easily prepared for eating or drinking. It is a far more injurious drug than opium. These figures very fairly represent the difference in character for evil of these three substances. I have already given you the tables as to crime within the jails; now how is it as to crime without, which came under the supervision of the police. Here is a paper on the opium question in Lower Bengal, by Mr. James Munro, who was recently Commissioner of Police here, and who was in the magistracy for a long time in India before he became Inspector General of Police. I shall place this document at your disposal. He says: "Are the tendencies of the people in districts which consume opium more criminal than those of other districts in which the drug is sparingly used? The answer is distinctly in the negative. The division of Orissa, which consumes most opium in Lower Bengal, is the least turbulent and troublesome in criminal respects in the whole province" [that contains between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 of inhabitants]. "In the turbulent districts of Eastern Bengal, such as Dacca, Backergunge, Mymensingh, Khoosla, Jessore, and Pubna, the consumption of opium is trifling. During the years in which I was at the head of the police in Lower Bengal (if a reference to personal experience is permissible), I can testify that the use or abuse of opium formed no perceptible factor in the production of crime throughout the province. No case in which the connexion of opium with crime was established ever came under my notice." This gentleman is now a missionary in Bengal, and a very able one. Then he states here: "I most unhesitatingly assert, on the basis of criminal statistics and criminal experience, that the use or abuse of opium is not, to any appreciable extent whatever, a factor in the production of crime in any of the districts in the province of Lower Bengal." Now in this other paper* there is a reference which has recently

* The discussion by the Calcutta Medical Society on the effects of the habitual use of opium on the human constitution. July 1892.

been made to the Chief of the Police in Calcutta as to the amount of crime committed under the influence of opium. The following questions were asked of the said Commissioner of Police:—"Is there much crime traceable or attributable to the habitual use of opium? If so, what kind of crime? Crimes of violence? Or assault? Or robbery? Dacoity?" (that is house breaking) "Theft? House-trespass, &c.?" In reply to which he says: "The only crime that can be, in any way, attributable to the habitual use of opium is petty pilfering, but even this is rare. A petty thief, who is an habitual opium smoker, occasionally steals a lotah, or other small articles that come handy, to enable him to satisfy his craving for the drug. No crime is known to be an after effect of opium, and police experience goes to show that the use of opium does not tend to any crime of daring or violence." Another question is: "Is there such a thing as the 'drunk and incapable' of alcohol referable to opium?" Answer: "There is no such thing as the 'drunk and incapable' referable to opium." Then there are some questions also put to two native gentlemen. I will not trouble you with that, but there is a great deal of detailed information there regarding the influence of opium on the Native population. One of them says that "the Chinese and Siamese in the Colootollah section of the town are all opium eaters, but are nevertheless very intelligent and smart."

1145. The Chinese in the Straits Settlements?—No, in Calcutta. There is a colony of them. I forget now how many there were, but I think 800 or 400. I, however, saw the Chinese colony of 40,000 at Singapore, where I visited the opium farm and Chinese colony with the Governor, who gave them the highest character for sobriety, intelligence, and abstention from crimes of violence.

Another deposes that "hundreds of men over 70 years of age can be seen amongst the opium eaters of Burra Bazar" (that was the community I was referring to in answer to a previous question) "and they enjoy good health. I know an elderly lady who will complete her 97th year by the end of June, and who has been using opium for the last 55 years. She moves about without help, and eats her food well. She is slightly deaf, but does not suffer from any other bodily infirmity." He further says: "The vices of alcohol are unknown to opium. The police returns show that opium eaters are the most peaceful class of citizens, and the only criminal offence committed by men who take opium is petty theft, committed by the low class madat smokers. Alcohol is more expensive than opium. Alcohol renders a man drunk and disorderly, whilst opium makes him solemn and quiet."

1146. And you endorse those views?—Quite. Some of these gentlemen were probably pupils of mine. They are now native practitioners, men of great ability and large experience, who can be thoroughly relied upon for their accounts of the diseases that come under their cognisance. Here speaks another of them:—"The therapeutic value of opium no one will deny—its uses in dysentery, diarrhoea, cholera, rheumatism, neuralgia, diabetes, cough, &c., are undoubted, but its value as a remedy, curative, and prophylactic, in malarious fevers, is not so widely known. I will relate to you a circumstance which illustrates the value of opium in malarious districts. During an epidemic of fever in the Terai districts near Bareilly, in Robilkund, three compounders were sent with a stock of medicine. Of these three, one smoked tobacco only, and he died there of fever; the second man, who was a *dhany* eater, returned to Bareilly with a bad type of remittent fever; while the third man, who was a confirmed opium eater, returned after the epidemic was over, much improved in health and experience."

1147. That is rather a narrow experience, is it not?—It is a narrow experience, and these are merely typical cases. I do not think much reliance need be placed on these small statistics. Such statistics should be drawn from a much larger field of observation to enable any sound general deductions to be drawn from them; but still, there is quite sufficient in them to show that so far as I witnessed, opium in moderation was not a destructive agent in any sense, of health, morals, or manners, or productive of crime.

1148. (Mr. Wilson.) There was just one thing that you read us out of that book which struck me. One of the persons whose statements you read said that opium

makes them solemn. We were told it was exhilarating?—It tends generally to quietude and repose, and they dose off to sleep in most cases; when you wake them up they are intelligent and sharp, and are able at once to go to their work or business. Another question I have heard raised in this room I should like to touch upon. I never found one of those gentlemen (and many of them were bankers, merchants, and men of good position and repute) who was in the least ashamed of being an opium smoker or eater, or made any attempt to conceal the fact. If I were attending them medically, and I asked them whether they used opium, they readily told me; but in most cases it would have been a matter of idle curiosity for me to ask them, as I knew that they were practically every one of them opium consumers. And as to their loss of caste, and all that sort of assertion, I witnessed nothing of the kind.

1149. I understood that you yourself lived between a colony of eaters on the one side, and a colony of smokers on the other?—That was so.

1150. Then as regards these people you have been speaking of, do any of them indulge in both practices—eating and smoking?—I do not think so.

1151. (Mr. Pease.) It is the practice, is it not, to mix opium with ganja?—Not amongst those that I witnessed. It is done, I was told, in the Straits Settlements and other places out of India, and there it is said to be extremely mischievous.

1152. You drew a distinction between the action of the two; but I thought they were frequently taken in conjunction?—Not, so far as I knew, amongst the communities I lived in the midst of.

1153. (Chairman.) Are there any further observations which you would wish to make?—Allow me, my Lord, to read you my formulation as contained in my papers in the "Lancet." I say as follows, in summing up all I know of the subject, both from reading and practical experience:—"I maintain, and have not yet seen any authoritative proof of its inaccuracy, that the habitual use of opium in India is neither injurious, degrading, nor immoral; that it has caused no general mental or physical deterioration of the races of any part of India in which it is in general use since the control of its cultivation and distribution has been undertaken by the Government of that portion of the country which is under its direct rule; that it is not a general incentive to crime or destroyer of reason; that it is a valuable febrifuge and

prophylactic in the deltas of the great rivers and malarious districts generally; that any alternative which may, and indeed must, follow its compulsory disuse or employment only as a medicine for the enforcement of which no trained agency at present exists would be a resort to much more harmful stimulants and narcotics than opium ever has been, or can be;" [and that has really occurred; where the price of opium has become prohibitory they have taken to alcohol; where the circumstances have been the reverse, they have abandoned alcohol and taken to opium—so that it is no longer a speculative opinion] that the reasons for its proposed suppression, should such a proceeding be practicable, are unsound, visionary, and calculated to cause much undeserved misery and suffering amongst the peaceable nationalities, and would be actively resisted by the more manly and warlike races of India, whose mental, moral, and physical qualities are the best possible proofs of the absolute inaccuracy of the anti-opium contention; that it shares with the many narcotics and stimulants in use in all civilised countries the characteristics of a poison when used in excess, but in a minor degree to most of them; that such excess is exceptional in India; that the revenue raised from its sale in British India, as an excise, is no more immoral or degrading than the revenue raised in Great Britain from the spirit licences and other means of taxation applied to alcohol in its various forms, or to tobacco, which is also in universal use; that the fiscal action of the Indian Government in restricting its use is a really humane and moral measure when contrasted with the spirit licences issued in Great Britain, and is itself in practice and intention a thoroughly moral proceeding." That was the result of my observations, and those remarks based upon the study and use of opium in my practice as a hospital physician represent my firm convictions on the subject. If there is any other question I shall be happy to answer it.

1154. (Mr. Pease.) Is it not a fact, as stated at that meeting from the report of which you have made some quotations, that opium is taken for the purpose of exciting sexual desire?—Yes, I believe so; but as a matter of fact it rapidly produces a very different effect, and is said to have a marked tendency to diminish the reproductive powers to such extent as to influence the increase of population. This, I submit, is deserving of further consideration from a Malthusian point of view.

The witness withdrew.

Sir GEORGE BIRDWOOD called in and examined.

1155. (Chairman.) How long were you in India, Sir George?—Will you allow me to read my statement? I can get through it quicker in that way. It is taken from the remarks I made on Mr. George Batten's paper read at the Society of Arts in 1892, and is as follows:—"I wish here to speak only of my personal observation of the habitual use of opium during my 15 years' latter residence in Western India. I paid the closest attention to the subject during the whole of the years I was there, and had every kind of experience in relation to it, having at different periods been in medical charge of the Southern Mahratta Irregular Horse, the 8th Madras Cavalry, the 3rd Bombay Native Infantry, a battery of Artillery, the jail and civil station of Sholapore, and the steam frigate "Ajdah." Now with regard to that experience, I would like to point out the difference in the conduct of European troops while on the march as compared with that of the native troops. Whenever I marched with European troops they were a constant cause of anxiety to me, both on medical grounds, and on account of the trouble they gave in their dealings with the natives. I recollect, on one occasion, quite a riot in a village through which European troops were passing; they had broken into the spirit shop, and the young "Queen's" officer in command was just about to flog the *patel* of the village for their misconduct when fortunately I was able to stop him by telling him it would be as bad as flogging a mayor in this country. On the other hand, the native troops, when they were on the march, never gave any trouble, either in regard to drunkenness or women. On the line of march this is what would habitually happen with them. When a halt was sounded, they would break themselves up into small groups of four or five,

and sit for a while, and then one of a group would in a quiet way take from his pocket a little lump of opium, and proceed to divide it with those sitting with him; and there they would sit awhile meditating, swallowing the opium and meditating; and by the time the halt was at an end, and the regiment reformed and marched on, they were fully refreshed and perfectly steady. "Subsequently, and for the remainder of my service, I was attached to the Jamssetjee Jejeebhoy Hospital, Bombay, and was in succession Professor of Anatomy and Physiology, and of Botany and Materia Medica, at Grant Medical College. I was also a J.P., and a visitor of the jails in Bombay, and the year I was sheriff I regularly visited them. Besides this, I was probably more intimately familiar with all classes of the native population than any other European of my generation; while, as an ever-active journalist" (I was a journalist from the first day to the last of my service in India), "I was mixed up in almost every discussion of this sort during my time in Bombay. Well, in all the experience—as here precisely detailed, and capable, therefore, of being checked at every point—I thus had of the indigenous life of Western India, I never once met with a single native suffering, or who had ever suffered, from what is called the excessive use, or from the habitual use of opium; and, excepting cases of accidental or wilful poisoning by opium, I never knew of a single instance of death from its use; and I have never met with anyone who, in his own personal experience, has known a case of death, or of injury to health, from the habitual use of opium as practised by the people of any part of India proper." I exclude Burmah; I know nothing of it.

Dr.
F. J. Moul.
15 Sept. 1893.

Sir
G. Birdwood

Sir
Birdwood.
Sept. 1893.

1156. (Sir W. Roberts.) You exclude suicides, of course?—Yes. "So far as I can remember, in the printed tables used in Indian civil and military hospitals for the entry of diseases, there is no column for the 'opium habit,' nor for 'deaths from opium.' On the strength of my personal experience I should be prepared to defy anyone to bring forward, from their personal experience, a single authentic record of death, or shortened life, from habitual opium eating or drinking in India. If anyone can, let him, and the means of verifying his or her statement, are always, within the current generation, accessible in India. On the contrary, so far as my experience goes, the healthiest populations of Western India are those distinguished for their so stigmatised excessive use of opium. I refer to the people of Gujerat generally, and more particularly to the people of the Kaira district, and also of the neighbouring district of Broach. As to opium smoking, it is, from my experience of it, as innocuous as smoking hay, straw, or stable." I never could perceive the slightest effect from it upon myself, and how it has any effect on other people I do not know. I think it must result from the generally vicious conditions of the lives of the frequenters of the opium dens in China.

1157. Do you not think there may be a special toleration?—Yes, it may be that; but there is the fact that morphia is very readily decomposed by heat, and my presumption is that the morphia is decomposed in the opium pipe before it reaches the lungs. I think this is very probable, from my own experience of the absolute innocuousness of opium smoking. This was stated by me in 1881 in the "Times," and the Society for the Suppression of Opium engaging in controversy with me on the subject. I had collected, through Messrs. Henry S. King & Co., a large number of opium pipes which had been used, and samples of fresh *chandu* from every port in the East, but when I offered them to the Society for the Suppression of Opium to have analyses made, which would have determined this point at once, they politely declined; and I made over the collection to the Kew Museum.

1158. I do not quite understand how that can settle the question of decomposition of the morphia in the pipe?—If you can prove that the morphia, which is the "magistery" of opium, is decomposed in the pipe, surely it also proves that the evil effects attributed to opium smoking cannot be truly due to it.

1159. They might be attributable to the slight change in the alkaloids?—Yes, that might be so; that is a very interesting question, and it is very desirable to clear it up. As I said, I gave all my pipes, and all my samples of *chandu* to Kew, and there they are; but I do not advise their being analysed now, because the virtue of the *chandu* may have disappeared by this time. But here is a very remarkable fact. The opium that the Chinese prefer for smoking is Indian opium. Now, Indian opium contains only 2 per cent. of morphia, whereas Turkish and Egyptian opium, the kinds used for the production of morphia, contain 7 per cent., 8 per cent., and 9 per cent. of morphia. But since the Government of India began fostering a falling off of the importation of Indian opium into China, Persian opium has taken its place. Persian opium has scarcely a trace of morphia in it, not more than 1 per cent., if so much. From experiments I have made on inveterate tobacco smokers I am satisfied that a great deal of the pleasure derived from smoking that drug is purely psychical. I do not whether there is anyone here greatly addicted to tobacco smoking, but if there is I would almost like to try the experiment now, to blindfold that person, and put a cigar into his mouth, and pretend to light it. I am sure he would enjoy it immensely. Nine out of ten persons on whom that experiment is tried find that they do not know a lighted cigar from an unlighted one.

1160. But would you suggest that a new smoker, if he smoked in the dark, would not be sick?—Well, I only smoked a cigar once in my life, and it was in the dark, and I was dreadfully sick. It may appear rather fanciful, but I myself would like to prepare a consignment of Indian monopoly opium from which the morphia had been extracted, send it to China, and see the result.

1161. Do you not think that is like a proposal to make a beer without alcohol; do you think the British public would take beer without alcohol?—I do not think the British public would have their beer without alcohol,

but I think the Chinese would smoke their opium without the morphia. But the great thing is to have some analyses, two or three, made at different ports of the East, it could easily be done, of *chandu*, and I hope the Commission will do it. Of course a small portion of the morphia may pass over, and that would account for a good deal, but at the same time smoking *chandu* never produced the slightest effect upon me any more than if I had sucked an unlighted straw. "I have, therefore, always presumed that the morphia in 'the amukable extract of opium' is all decomposed in the flame of the lamp at which the opium pipe is lighted, before the smoke from it reaches the lungs. This, however, is only a presumption, and in one case, examined by Professor Atfield, morphia was found in the ashes of an opium pipe used by a smoker in the East End of London. But be this as it may, we find in China, as in India, that nowhere are the native populations so robust, industrious, and thriving as in the principal opium-producing provinces of the Empire." Of course I am not speaking here from my own experience, I am speaking on the authority of the Reports of Dr. Ayres (on the "Jails and Hospitals of Hong-Kong," a most valuable report), of Mr. Donald Spence, Acting Consul at Ichang, Mr. J. G. Scott, C.I.E. (in his "Report on the Administration of the Northern Shan States"), and others.

1162. (Chairman.) Is Professor Ayres' Report a Parliamentary Paper?—It is a Colonial Office Paper. "I well know the Bombay den kept in my time by a Chinese 'gentle convertite' to Christianity. It was the one den in a city with a population second, in the whole British Empire, only to that of London. "Yet I never saw"—

1163. (Sir W. Roberts.) May I ask what was the date of that observation?—It would be 1865-66 or about that time. "Yet I never saw more than ten or twelve opium smokers there at any time—poor, lost souls, whose miserable, physical, and moral degradation and depravity it would be impossible for even descriptive reporters and sensational photographers to exaggerate. But who were they? The dregs of the lowest outcasts of the greatest emporium of trade in the Old World outside London, and the sink of all the miscellaneous vagabondage of the Indian Ocean. And as for the real causes of their sufferings I will only here say that, so far as I could ever ascertain, they had nothing to do with the opium pipe, which seemed to me to be simply the last palliative of their 'dismal torment,' until enfranchised of it all by death, which generally overtook these cases of complicated and perverted nympholepsy in from three to nine months." The worst cases were those of smokers who had recourse to opium smoking on account of their perverted nympholepsy. The immorality of the young is a comparatively innocent thing, but all old men know that directly the degradation of nerve tissue begins immorality takes the most perverted forms, and these cases of extreme opium smoking were always of men in the extremity of senile nymphomania, and they took to the habit obviously to allay their torment.

1164. May I ask if the condition resembles what sometimes follows in cases of organic disease of the spinal cord?—Exactly.

1165. And yet no disease of the spinal cord has been in existence?—I had nothing to do professionally with the frequenters of the opium dens, but I was always a very curious observer of such things quite independently of my professional work. I saturated myself during my residence in India with the observation and study of native manners, customs, and institutions, and it was simply in the pursuit of this knowledge that I visited the Bombay opium den. "I, on the contrary, holding that its habitual consumption is essential to the health, wealth, and happiness of a vegetarian tropical people, would freely throw the cultivation and manufacture of it open to private enterprise, and raise as large a revenue from its export from India as it would bear." Anything that would tend to deprive the native princes of their revenue from opium would be a political error of capital magnitude. The great difficulty of our position in India is the introduction by us of an expensive scientific government beyond the economic capacity of the country to support. This is particularly hard on the native States, and to deprive them of the one revenue which they can raise without causing any discontent would be, as I have said, a political blunder of the very greatest magnitude. All I have to say in conclusion is on the one point of the

new charge that has recently being brought against opium—that it is conducive to immorality—that, in the language of Dr. Maxwell, “it promotes lust.” I think that is a very heedless charge, because it is one which is so very difficult to answer in the straightforward way in which any answer should be given. I propose to read what I have written on this aspect of the question. “This belief that the use of opium stimulates ‘lust’ has recently been revived in Europe, among ignorant people, by Ferelaers’ novel ‘The Opium Fiend,’ translated from the Dutch into English in 1888 by the Rev. E. T. Venning, M.A. The belief is an immemorially old one and is still popularly held throughout the East from Morocco to Japan. But it has no justification in any body of well-proved fact. The only secretion that opium is held by scientific observers to stimulate is the cutaneous. It has been said by some to stimulate the renal secretion, but this is not generally accepted, while, on the other hand, opium is recognised as diminishing the sensibility of the ureters and bladder. Of course, through its action on the brain, opium may stimulate the reproductive secretion, as also through its action on the heart and the vascular system generally. But there is no proof of this beyond the fact that during healthy maturity everything serves to stimulate the reproductive instinct, and anything may in which faith, as such a stimulant, is encouraged. The classical instance, of Turkish origin, in support of the Old World superstition, is one to which no scientific credit would ever have been given but for its quotation by Calanis in his philosophical work on ‘Man.’ It is that of the 8,000 alleged opium-eating Turks who fell in some forgotten field of glory, and were there found after death in a state of mental rigidity—all the 8,000! The story is too droll for serious consideration; but, as it still has influential currency, I may as well add that the phenomenon recorded constantly occurs in *articulo mortis*, and in my Indian experience of the death of healthy adults by cholera was universal; and the tradition is that it occurred at the death of the Prophet Mahomed.” It is a phenomenon that occurs throughout nature. A friend of mine in Bombay, Mrs. Hough, had in her garden a mango tree, remarkable for flowering every Christmas. She was very anxious to find out why it flowered out of season as well as in season; and I found out that the tree had been blown down about 70 years previously to my inquiries, during a great storm about Christmas time, and that in the agony of threatened death, it at once threw out blossoms. And a similar thing occurred to a number of yuccas growing on the Esplanade at Bombay, where there was a dense row of these plants half-a-mile long. A monsoon tide on one occasion swept the whole of them down, and within three days they all burst into bloom. It was, the creative force of Nature, asserting itself in death. “Sir Astley Cooper, who devoted much study and research to the physiological effects of opium, quotes with acquiescence the statement of a patient, who took opium freely, that it was absolutely anaphrodisiac. The conclusion at which Sir Astley Cooper arrived has now, I believe, the general consent of the medical profession; and it is entirely borne out by the evidence recently placed before the world in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Alleged Chinese Gambling and Immorality*, appointed 20th August 1891, and presented to the New South Wales Parliament by command, and printed at Sydney by Charles Potter, Government printer, 1892. The extracts bearing on the present question are attached to this statement.” [The witness handed in a document.] “The truth is, no popular, that is to say, unprofessional, oriental evidence on this question can be accepted; and simply because of the archaic point from which it is still regarded by the people of the East. They all, including the people of India, regard the reproductive force in man as a part of the divine creative energy, to be cherished in every way, and utilised to the utmost; and their primary division of the *materia medica* is into drugs which warm or exalt this force and drugs which chill, or as they hold, degrade it; that is, into *gums* and *tunds*; and the names they give their popular warming drugs and prescriptions are to Europeans most startling. Thus the roots of the *Atropa Mandragora*—the ‘mandrakes’ of the English authorized version of the Bible, and *Atropa Belladonna*, are named *gir-bolt*, ‘house-upset’; that is, by the procreative rage of the house-father. The Belgian Walnut (*Aleurites triloba*), and the drupes of

Vangueria spinosa and *Raudia dumetorum* are named *madanphul*, popularly contracted to *maniphul*, that is, ‘rage-fruit,’ *madan* here being radically the same word as *mada*, ‘wine,’ *madh*, ‘honey,’ *madyam*, ‘magic,’ and *mathura*, or *madura*, ‘a pleasant woman,’ the name given to the two well-known Indian cities of Malhura and Madura from their traditional association with the free loves of Krishna and the *gopis*. Several other drugs, most of them perfectly inert, are named *madan-must*, literally ‘rage-rage,’ meaning ‘furious-rage’; *must* here being radically connected with the Latin *mustus* and *mustum*. The descriptive, as distinguished from the astral, name of the month of February, in Bombay, is *must-mahina*, ‘sap-month,’ or ‘rage-month,’ on the 14th day of which is held the great phallic festival of the *Maha Siva Ratri*. One of the best known aphrodisiac prescriptions of the Hindus is named *vejai*, ‘victory’; its components being nutmegs, cloves, cubebs, which are spices indeed, and niger seed, celastus seed, cowhage beans, caltropes, ‘pellitory, mastic, safflower, and red oxide of mercury,’ simply because it is red.

1166. There is no opium in it?—No opium in that prescription. “But the great classical Indian aphrodisiac prescription is named *madana Kam-Ishvara*, literally, ‘Rage Love-God,’ and meaning ‘Omnipotent procreative rage,’ and its constituents, besides opium, are musk, nutmegs, cloves, talc, camphor, red oxide of mercury, and safflower. The dose is three grains, each dose containing one-sixth of a grain of opium. Such prescriptions can only act in the way imputed to them through the imagination, and the truth is that the names of these Indian drugs and prescriptions, and the specific virtues attributed to them, are not based on any knowledge of their physiological effects, but simply on the old, exploded doctrine of phallic signatures, whether in form, texture, or colour.” It is a doctrine that was held by all the ancients, and the Hindus are still the ancients of the world, for they have preserved their beliefs and traditions almost intact from the beginning of historic times down to the present day. “A good deal of this superstition is still lying latent in the folklore of the West, but in the East it is in rampant evidence everywhere. I remember at a *darbar* held by Sir Bartle Frere on his remarking to a native Prince who had just introduced a son to him, ‘Have you any other son?’ the Prince at once indignantly protesting, ‘and it is nothing to have this one son,’ and oh, if you only knew the trouble I was at to procure him, and all the prescriptions I took’; and so he went on, without any possibility of stopping him, before the whole *darbar*, loudly detailing all the philters he had had to swallow before his one and only son was born to him. Sanskrit scholars hold that aphrodisiacs played an important part in Indian mythology and literature from the oldest times. The antithesis of the ideas of the East to those of the West on the present point and which should be carefully kept in view in inquiries such as will engage the attention of the Royal Commission on Opium, is still more emphatically illustrated by one of my earliest professional experiences, and every medical man who has practised will have had some similar experience. I was attending a very high-caste Hindoo, suffering from a specific local sore. I was permitted to see it, but on proceeding to approach it for the purpose of cauterising it, he at once started back in pious horror, thrusting out his arms with outspread palms against me, and exclaiming ‘*Ishvara, Ishvara!*’—the God, the God!—meaning ‘Stand off, stand off, oh profane one!’ In almost the same breath he called out for his daughter, who, on coming in from the front garden, was directed by the father to make the simple manipulations which enabled me to properly apply the lunar caustic.”

In regard to the question of the abolition of the opium trade, supposing this was accomplished, what would happen? Already I see, in the last number of the “*Bombay Gazette*,” the effect of the restriction on the output of the monopoly of opium has been, to increase the exports into British Indian territory from the native States. The import of Persian opium into China has also increased; while China has actually commenced exporting opium into the Shan States and the Straits Settlements. And another very interesting fact is brought out in connexion with the shutting of the *okandis* shops in Bombay. It was a proper thing to do, and I only wish the Government here would do the same with the corner public-houses in

Sir
G. Birdwood.
15 Sept. 1888.

Sir
Burdwood.
Sept. 1893.

London; but the effect of shutting those few *chandu* shops has been to establish (and there is a gentleman in this room who can confirm this from letters he has received from Bombay) about 100 private clubs for opium smoking in Bombay, which, of course, has given an immense impetus to opium smoking.

1167. (Sir W. Roberts.) Have you anything further to say?—No. I rely, as a scientific man, only on the facts that have come within my own observation, and which I have detailed to you. I wish no weight whatever to be attached to my speculations and opinions; they are interesting to me personally, but as a scientific observer I regard them as of no value.

1168. (Mr. Wilson.) I understood you to say, generally, that you thought it quite harmless, as harmless as unlighted straw, I think was your expression?—I mean to say, as far as I am personally concerned. I do not understand how opium smoking can be injurious. I believe the statement is made that the Chinese are injured by it. This is to me a very interesting puzzle, and I would like to have it cleared up; and it would be a great thing to this end to have analyses made of the *chandu* smoked in different parts of the East.

1169. Yes, that may be very interesting as regards yourself, but we are speaking about the people of India and China. You do not, I suppose, suggest that it produces no more effect upon them than an unlighted straw?—Well, I do not know anything about the Chinese; but here I have Spence's evidence, and Scott's, and Ayres'. Ayres says: "As a habit I cannot find it so injurious as tobacco smoking is in some cases. I am an inveterate tobacco smoker myself, and as far as I am concerned, it has never done me any harm, but I have seen many cases of its evil effects on other people. I have not been able to find even this much in the case of the opium smoker." This is written by a man who has been in charge of the hospitals and jails of Hong Kong, for, I believe, 20 years. "Very few people have got through their first pipe or cigar without feeling very sick, even if they have not had a violent attack of vomiting; but I have tried opium smoking on many novices, and could find nothing approaching the effect of tobacco; though the smoker does not inhale the smoke of tobacco, the effect of the nicotine in the case of a novice is visible to anyone. But though the opium smoke is always inhaled deep into the lungs, no effects of morphia are visible at all, and I doubt very much if this principle ever reaches the lungs at all. As will be seen in Mr. McCallum's report, there is about 6 to 7 per cent. of morphia in the opium sent out by the opium farmer, yet the old opium smoker, who has had the habit for over 30 years, and was one of the best Chinese Government servants in my department, could not detect the difference between the opium farmer's opium, containing 7 per cent. of morphia, the same opium with an additional 15 per cent. of morphia added, and the opium farmer's opium with all the morphia abstracted." Now I only saw that to-day; but it exactly confirms my suspicion that the morphia is decomposed before the smoke enters the lungs, or is to a great extent decomposed.

1170. I only wanted to be sure if I had properly condensed the general effect of your evidence—that opium smoking is harmless. You do not go so far as to say that it is beneficial, but you say it is harmless?—Yes, that is what I say. I would add that opium smoking in Bombay is only indulged in by riff-raff Chinese and others—who come from abroad, at least that was my personal experience there. In my time there was only one opium smoking shop there—since then the number may have increased—and it was only the lowest of the people who used it for opium smoking.

1171. I only want to ask you one other question. You spoke of the good conduct of native troops on the march. It is a fact, I believe, that opium smoking shops have to be shut up whenever a regiment passes. Do you know why that is?—I do not know how that may be. I know nothing about the licensing system in India—it is a matter in which I take no interest. I speak as a sociologist and a medical man.

1172. But you spoke about the contrast between the British troops and the native troops?—Yes, the contrast presented on the line of march respectively by spirit drinking and opium eating habits. The British troops were a source of all sorts of anxiety and trouble

to their officers; whereas the native troops on the march were never a source of any anxiety whatever.

1173. You do not know anything about those opium shops being shut when the regiments were passing through?—Not up-country. I never heard of such a regulation.

1174. (Mr. Mowbray.) Do your remarks apply equally to opium eating as to opium smoking?—Oh, no, I draw a distinction between the two. I was only speaking of opium smoking when I said the opium habit was, in my experience, absolutely harmless. Opium eating, of course, one can easily understand may be harmful, undoubtedly so; all I am saying in regard to it is that the opium habit in India is not nearly so harmful to the people as the alcohol habit in this country.

1175. But could you give us your opinion as to the effect on the Indian people of opium eating?—It has no bad effect within my observation. The healthiest people I knew, the best people, the wholesomest people, and those you trusted most in their work, were always the opium eaters: invariably.

1176. But you consider that eating opium is a stronger form of taking the drug than smoking it?—Quite so, because of the morphia it contains. Nothing can be more hurtful, for instance, than the morphia habit now so prevalent in America. Of course, in speaking of the effects of a drug or any substance, one must remember that the least difference in composition, or even in structure, makes the greatest differences in its physiological action. For instance, water, crystallised as snow, instead of allaying thirst aggravates it.

1177. But your general opinion is that in neither form does it do any harm?—Well, I will tell you what my opinion is: I would like everybody to lead an ideal life, to live upon the fruits of the earth, and to take no stimulants whatever but water and milk; but taking human nature as it is, I would not for the world disturb the opium habit of the Indian people, because I know that if they ceased to use opium our merchants would pour alcohol into the country in its place. Our distillers would be quick to see their new market, and would rush and make it all their own; and you would not dare to prevent them; and, in times of epidemic or famine, alcohol would decimate the people of India before you were aware of it.

1178. (Sir W. Roberts.) Referring to that singular observation of yours about the opium pipe, I dare say you have seen it stated that, even with regard to the nicotine of tobacco, which is volatile at a high temperature, it is not nicotine which reaches the lungs, but two allied alkaloids derived from it?—Yes, formed in transit. That is a very interesting scientific point, and with reference to opium can be determined only by an analysis of the smokeable extract, or *chandu*.

1179. (Mr. Pease.) You are of course aware that the policy of the Indian Government has been to keep down the consumption of opium, and still to endeavour to maintain the revenue?—I think the Indian Government has acted very weakly, with criminal weakness, in yielding to the pressure put upon them by the Anti-Opium Society through Parliament. I have no right to criticise them, but I utterly disapprove of their want of conviction, or it may be of courage in this respect.

1180. Indeed, I believe you have expressed the opinion that you would personally approve of the opium trade being thrown open to private enterprise?—Yes.

1181. I suppose you are aware that witnesses have stated that opium eating is a very deteriorating vice, and shows marked effects on the consumer?—That may be so in China, but within my own personal observation most assuredly that is not the case, and as I have said, I believe there is no European who knows all classes of the natives in India more intimately than I do.

1182. (Chairman.) To sum it all up, as regards the effect of the use of opium, I presume it is like other things a question of quantity, and you hold that the moderate use is not injurious, indeed I think you say it is beneficial; but that an excessive use of it will have a pernicious effect?—It may be so, but I have never seen any pernicious effect from the habitual use of opium in any form. We have most of us seen how rapidly the use of alcohol leads to its abuse, but I never in India knew any case in which the habitual use of opium had proved injurious.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. H. N. LAY, C.B., called in and examined.

1183. (Chairman.) You were for many years resident in China, were you not?—Yes.

1184. How many years were you there?—Seventeen.

1185. And during that time what posts did you fill?—I entered the Consular service as supernumerary interpreter. I was for some time attached to the Magistracy at Hong Kong as interpreter in the Cantonese dialect; I then became an assistant in the Consulate at Canton; and afterwards interpreter and vice-consul at Shanghai. I was then appointed British Inspector of Customs in succession to Mr. (now Sir Thomas) Wade, and in 1858 I was attached to Lord Elgin's Mission, and by Lord Elgin's express wish became Inspector-General of Chinese Customs.

1186. How many years were you in the service of the Chinese Government?—Nine years. I was in intimate relations with the highest officials of the Empire at a time when they were in great distress and difficulty, and when they did not know what to do; I was in fact really their adviser.

1187. Well, you have had many opportunities of forming an opinion with regard to the question which is before us?—Yes, my Lord, I think I have.

1188. Sir James Lyall has kindly undertaken to conduct your examination.

1189. (Sir J. Lyall.) You have written a note, Mr. Lay, entitled "Note on the Opium Question, and Brief Survey of our Relations with China." So long ago as 1869, and again in 1815, opium appears in Chinese tariffs as an article paying import duty?—Yes.

1190. Have you seen those papers (the tariffs), or on what authority have you made that statement?—Yes, I have seen the tariffs, and the very use of the word "opium" (which in Chinese is called "a foo yong," derived from the Arabic word U-fyun) proves that we did not introduce opium into China, but that the Turks did so in the first instance. Opium was introduced into China in the eighth or ninth century from Persia, Syria, and Turkey, under the term "afuyung," which was corrupted into "opium."

1191. I think Indian opium was first introduced by the Portuguese, was it not?—I believe it was.

1192. I see you say in your note, also, that in 1723 an import duty on opium was fixed by Imperial Decree?—Yes.

1193. On what authority is that statement made?—The authority is the Blue Book, where it is distinctly stated, and further on in my note I think I can quote you a passage where the fact is recorded.

1194. Again you say that this duty continued to be collected from that time, and that the import of opium was first prohibited by Imperial Decree in 1799?—Yes; but it was carried on just as before, notwithstanding the decree.

1195. Have you seen that decree of 1799?—No, I have not. I have seen the tariff of 1723, in which the article is admitted as an import, and a duty is fixed of three taels (or 1*l.* sterling) per picul (133*½* lbs), but I have not seen the decree of 1799.

1196. You further say in your note that the motive of the decree of prohibition in 1799 was in consequence of the drain of silver from the country. On what authority is that?—That is also to be found in the Blue Books.

1197. Yes, but how did you ascertain that it was in order to prevent the drain of silver from the country, and not on moral grounds, that the decree was passed?—Because it omits any reference to moral grounds.

1198. What, the decree?—Yes, the decree does not contain any reference to moral grounds.

1199. I thought you said you had not seen the decree?—I have seen the reference to it in the Blue Book. I have seen all the Blue Books on the subject. I get my information here mainly from the Blue Books.

1200. The old Blue Books?—Yes, between 1809 and 1840.

1201. A Blue Book, probably, would not mention any moral ground, would it, upon which the Government of China might have acted?—No, but it would quote the decree—portions of it, at all events, or possibly the whole of it. I have not the books here.

• 80970.

1202. You say that after the decree of 1799, and down to the events preceding the war of 1840-41, the opium trade was allowed to continue, as before, by the Chinese governors and mandarins, and that no article paid its import fees more regularly than opium did?—Those are the words of Captain Elliott.

1203. Do you understand by the word "fees" that the Imperial duty fixed in 1723 continued to be levied, or that the mandarins exacted other fees, such, for instance, as transit duties?—I think they always, from the first, exacted more than the legitimate fees.

1204. Do I understand that, in spite of the prohibition of 1799, the Imperial duty fixed in 1723 continued to be collected?—I have no doubt of it myself, but I have, of course, no evidence that such was the case; but if you will refer, sir, to my note dealing with the year 1725, you will find that "the first Customs tariff for foreign trade was proclaimed. Yung Ching, the reigning Emperor, directed it to be strictly observed by the local authorities. Those directions were disregarded. Arbitrary and excessive charges were imposed by the authorities, who, moreover, sought to obtain heavy bribes by the arrest and imprisonment of merchants, and the vexatious detention of shipping."

1205. If the import trade in opium continued, unaffected by the prohibition, and fees or duties were levied quite regularly, how do you account for the coming up of the smuggling trade which you mention sprang up?—Well, the term "smuggling trade" is really, as we understand it, a misnomer. There never was any opium smuggled into Canton at all, the smuggling took place upon the Canton River, between Lintin and Canton, after the admission of the opium.

1206. Well, was the port at Lintin then?—No, the port was at Canton.

1207. Is Lintin above Canton?—No, some distance from Canton. The river is 90 miles long.

1208. Is it, I mean, below Canton or above it?—Below Canton. My note on this part of the subject says: "In consequence of the exactions levied upon opium after its admission, a smuggling trade had sprung up at points upon the Canton River, which is nearly 90 miles in length. Upon the Viceroy's recommendation a decree was issued from Peking in 1834, enacting the severest penalties for its repression. Thus we have the importation of opium expressly recognised by the Imperial Government no less than 35 years after the interdictory decree of 1799."

1209. I do not quite understand, and I should like you to explain, if you can, why, if opium continued to be quietly imported as before, and duties or fees paid on it, there should be any smuggling trade. What kind of smuggling trade was it; what was the object of the smuggling trade?—The object was to avoid the excessive charges put upon opium by the authorities. They added very much more than 1*l.* per picul—perhaps multiplied the duty a hundred times, or a thousand times. It thus became a constant struggle to get the opium into Canton from Lintin, free of these excessive charges.

1210. Get it into Canton, or into the country generally?—Get it into Canton; it all went to Canton.

1211. The difficulty was to get it into Canton without paying the "squeeze"?—Without paying the "squeeze" to the local officials.

1212. The "squeezes" were all paid outside Canton?—Within the limits of the port, but some distance from Canton.

1213. And this smuggling trade was carried on by Chinese, and I understand also by English, or other foreigners?—Principally by Chinese, but of course there may have been here and there a European watching his own opium. Everyone would cheerfully have paid a small, moderate fee of 1*l.* sterling per picul, or 133*½* lbs. Anyone would have paid that without demur, but excessive charges were imposed. The Emperor instructs the authorities to get these charges. As Captain Elliott observes, the officials at Peking and the officials at Canton divided the profits, and the decree in question was a positive recognition of the trade.

1214. This river smuggling greatly promoted piracy—that is, river piracy—piracy of other kinds too, I suppose?—I should doubt it. There was no inducement to piracy so far as foreigners went, and I never

L

Mr.
H. N. Lay,
C.B.

14 Sept. 1895.

Mr.
H. N. Lay,
C.B.

14 Sept. 1893.

heard of any of our people being engaged in piracy, at all, there was no motive whatever for it.

1215. I suppose a lot of armed boats fighting with the mandarins and police of the country, and perhaps very often successfully fighting with them, was very likely to lead to a kind of piracy, was it not?—It is not recorded, even in the "Middle Kingdom," a book by which all the anti-opiumists have been utterly misled. This book was written by an American. The Americans of that day were very hostile to us, and we were not as wise then as we are now, and did not attach the same value to a friendly feeling between the two peoples; and this book, from which the anti-opiumists derive all, or the greater part, of their arguments, is full of contradictions and mis-statements. It does not give a true account at all. This note is from the official documents on record, without omitting any.

1216. You say in the note, I see, that in 1830 the cultivation of the poppy was already widespread?—Yes.

1217. "Half the province of Che-kiang was covered with the poppy, which was also extensively grown in the provinces of Kwei-chow and Ynn-nan." But that is rather contrary to some of the evidence which we heard yesterday and the day before from some of the Chinese missionaries—contrary to their impressions. I should like to know what is your authority for those statements?—The authority is the Blue Books; you will find it in the Blue Books between 1809 and 1840.

1218. (Chairman.) Of course the conditions might be different to-day from what they were at that time?—The conditions are very largely different to-day; but they had begun to grow opium years before—I believe concurrently with the early introduction of opium into China. This is admitted again and again by Chinese officials.

1219. (Sir J. Lyall.) I suppose Cheh-kiang is a province quite close to the sea, is it not?—Yes.

1220. I suppose if the province of Cheh-kiang was growing opium in 1830, and it was not doing so at a subsequent time, it must have been repressed by some Government order?—I do not think so. The Chinese Government have nominally repressed the cultivation of opium, but practically they have allowed it to go on. I shall submit evidence to you presently that it is now cultivated in every province in the Empire, and was cultivated in every province so long ago as 1864. I visited Peking for the last time in 1869, and saw poppy-fields in flower right up to the wall of the city.

1221. In the Tai-ping Rebellion did not the rebels attempt the suppression of the opium cultivation; they stamped it out for a time, did they not?—No, they never had sufficient mastery of the country. The Chinese Government, at the time of the Tai-ping Rebellion, tried to put down opium cultivation, in order that they might get a large importation of Indian opium, because, whereas Indian opium paid (since our treaty at all events) 30 taels per picul, native opium paid much less because it was so easily smuggled; it was not like millet, grain, or rice, but being portable in small parcels, the Customs barriers could easily be evaded.

1222. Has it not been stated that the policy of the rebels was to put down opium cultivation?—Well, I saw a good deal of the rebels, and I never heard any of them put that forward. There are a good many arguments put into the mouths of the rebels, and of the officials, which were never employed. You asked me just now, sir, about the Imperial duty fixed on opium in 1722. At page 4 of my note, September 7, 1836, you will find it stated that: "In the reigns of Yung Ching" and K'ienlung (1722 to 1736) it was included in the "tariff of maritime duties, under the head of medicinal drugs, and there was then no regulation against purchasing it or inhaling it."

1223. The general purport of your note seems to be that the Chinese Government declared war first in 1839, and forced on the war?—Certainly. The war has been misnamed an "opium war"—altogether misnamed. The war arose out of the hostilities of Lin, commenced four months after his demands had been met, and continued for five months when he declared war. He seized the opium in March 1839; it was not till April 1840 that Lord Palmerston took action.

1224. You quote in your note something which Captain Elliott said to the effect that the foreign smugglers were becoming so desperate and lawless as to force the Chinese Government to take some strong action?—Where is that?

1225. I read it just now somewhere in your paper, quoting Captain Elliott, I think?—Yes, sir, I have it. It is at page 6: "The manner of the rash course of 'traffic' (meaning the opium trade on the river, sir, as I said, not the forced introduction of the article from abroad) within the river had probably contributed most of all to impress on the Chinese Government the urgent necessity of suppressing the growing audacity of the foreign smugglers, and preventing their associating themselves with the desperate and lawless of their own city. It was the opium trade within the Boats Tigris; not the mere existence of the trade, which had exasperated the Peking Government." The fees which were levied on opium were very large indeed. Opium was extremely valuable, and they mulcted it to an extraordinary extent in those days. The authorities used to charge it *ad libitum*. In 1837 (at page 5, second paragraph) the Chinese Government determined to legalise opium of their own accord.

1226. That was in what year?—1837. Opium was legalised throughout the year 1837.

1227. What was Lord Palmerston's attitude in 1838 to 1840 with regard to the prohibition of the opium trade?—At the end of 1837 the Chinese Government again altered their policy. They had been wavering for a long time between forbidding the import of opium and interdicting the export of the precious metals. They were actuated purely by fiscal considerations, not by any moral sentiments. Opium further served as a handy weapon against the foreigner, whom they hated; but, if you look at all the despatches, the real point is the interdiction of the export of silver. They would have continued to let opium in but for the drain of the Sycee silver. Captain Elliott informed Lord Palmerston that at last the Chinese Government had made up their minds to re-enact the prohibition against opium, and upon the receipt of that information Lord Palmerston on June 15, 1838, wrote: "Her Majesty's Government cannot interfere for the purpose of enabling British subjects to violate the laws of the country in which they trade. Any loss, therefore, which such persons suffer in consequence of the more effectual execution of the Chinese laws on this subject must be borne by the parties who have brought that loss on themselves by their own acts." Upon this I say in my note: "This despatch, standing alone, refutes the charge made that England has forced opium on China. The moment Chinese prohibition is announced, instructions are issued to respect it." And those instructions were implicitly obeyed by Captain Elliott throughout.

1228. Then what was the reason that the war actually did break out, if it was not upon the opium question?—"The Special Commissioner, Lin" (I am reading from page 6 of my note), "arrived to carry out the change of policy. Ignoring her Majesty's Minister, Lin addressed the foreign merchants at Canton direct, requiring them to surrender every particle of opium on board their 'storeships.'" He laid hands upon Captain Elliott, who was Her Majesty's Minister, he barricaded the factories, took away all servants, and cut off provisions. That was on March 15th, 1839, and within 14 days Captain Elliott had surrendered all that we had, and the transaction was closed. Lin violated his promise that when the opium was given up permits for ships and subjects should be given. Captain Elliott gave up the opium on March 28th. On that date he sends Lin delivery order for 20,283 chests of opium, and asks to be set at liberty according to his promise. Lin replies same day, declining to accede to his request." Captain Elliott was detained a prisoner for seven weeks. On April 6th Captain Elliott tells Lord Palmerston: "The late frequent changes of policy of the Government in relation to this trade left it a matter of perfect doubt to the very day before the Commissioner's first edict appeared, whether the avowed purposes were to be depended upon or not, or whether the object was merely the extensive check of the trade by subjecting it to heightened temporary inconveniences, and exacting some considerable fees as the price of its future relaxation." He mentions the great impulse it had so lately received by the public preparations of the Imperial Government to legalise it, and adds: "Up to a very late date, my Lord, no portion of this trade to China has so regularly paid its fees to the officers of this and the neighbouring provinces, high and low, as that of opium; and under all the circumstances I am warranted in describing the late measures to be those of public robbery, and of wanton violence on the

"Queen's officers and subjects." The utmost conceivable encouragement, direct and indirect, upon the one hand, and sudden violent spoliation on the other, are the characteristics of the Chinese measures concerning opium.

1229. Well, I mean to say, what was the actual cause of war, if Lord Palmerston was determined not to support the opium business. Was it because the merchants were imprisoned, or was there anything else?—No. The opium had been surrendered in March, and Captain Elliott had been released in May. On June 21st, Captain Elliott addressed a letter of remonstrance to Lin for his breaches of faith, which Lin answered by organising a force to drive Captain Elliott out of the Portuguese settlement of Macao, whither he had retired. Lin directed Captain Elliott's expulsion, and a second time cut off his supplies and withdrew his native servants. (In those days the Chinese officials had much more power over the natives than they have now, at all events in the place where Captain Elliott then was.) In the meantime Captain Elliott kept writing to Lin entreating him to enter into friendly relations with him, but Lin declined, and having threatened Macao at the head of 2,000 men, compelled Captain Elliott's retirement to Hong-Kong, whence he wrote, September 24, to Lin, detailing elaborate recommendations for the prevention of the introduction of opium into China, and offering his assistance to effect that object. He says: "All opium has been delivered up, all vessels engaged in the trade have been required to depart. The flag of his country does not fly in the protection of a traffic declared to be unlawful by the great Emperor, and therefore, whenever Chinese officers desire to examine all or every particular ship or vessel suspected to have opium on board, Elliott will take care that they are accompanied by officers of his establishment, and if after strict search any be found, assuredly Elliott will not presume to offer the least objection, though the whole cargo be immediately seized and confiscated. He will not oppose expulsion from the country of offending merchants." He proposes that no English firm shall in future be permitted to transact business, or to reside in China, till Elliott shall have forwarded to the high officers a plain declaration signed by each member thereof, and countersigned and sealed by officers of the English nation, setting forth their solemn determination to have no concern, direct or indirect, with the opium traffic, neither to permit or knowingly sanction any persons under their control to have any, and further, their full knowledge of the new regulation" (you observe, it is "the new regulation") "that they will be forthwith expelled from the Empire if it shall be proved to the satisfaction of Chinese and English officials that they have broken faith in the least degree. Every vessel arriving shall make solemn declaration that she has no opium on board, otherwise she shall not be permitted to trade, &c."

1230. Then Lin refused that, and declared all trade closed, did he not?—Yes; that was in December. He ignored that proposition altogether. On October 9th, Captain Elliott again appeals to Lin that British subjects may be allowed to return to Macao; in reply to which he issued orders to attack some of our ships.

1231. What was Lin's object in refusing Captain Elliott's overtures?—Hatred of the barbarian.

1232. He wanted to expel us altogether?—He wanted to expel us altogether. The moment you prostrate yourself before a Chinese, his answer is the knife. It is no use whatever giving way to them; you must insist on an equal and a proper footing with them, and the moment you depart from that attitude they become aggressive and overbearing.

1233. I see that after this war of 1840-41, in the Treaty of Nankin, opium was not mentioned?—No, sir; there is no mention of it in either of our treaties of 1842-3 or tariff of 1843. I should say that in reply to Lin's communication to British merchants, calling upon them to deliver up the opium, they said: "If you do not wish to have it, we will pledge ourselves not to bring in any opium in future." That was on the 25th March 1839.

1234. 1839, just before the war?—Long before the war—12 months. War was not declared by us till April 1840.

1235. I suppose one reason why the Chinese preferred not to have opium mentioned in the treaty was that it

was understood among the Chinese people that the war arose about opium?—No; I think not at all.

1236. You think not?—Not at all. They had broken faith with Sir Henry Pottinger in the first instance, and been guilty of great treachery. When he introduced the subject of opium the Chinese Commissioners professed their disinclination to enter upon the subject; they were perfectly indifferent to the importation of opium. That is proved by the fact that in the following year, 1844, they entered into a treaty with the United States Government, who fancying it would please them, added a clause making opium contraband. The Chinese never gave effect to the stipulation, though the Americans were as great importers of opium as we were.

1237. Does not the fact that the Americans entered into that undertaking seem to show that they thought it would be gratifying to the Chinese?—Yes; the surmise was that it would be—it was intended as a slap in the face for the English.

1238. Do you think that if the Chinese Government had considered, at the Treaty of Nankin, that they could safely, and without danger of getting into further quarrels, and possibly war, with ourselves, have prohibited the import of opium, they would not have done it?—No; I think they were utterly indifferent; they did not care one jot about it.

1239. You think they cared about the loss of their "squeezes" and duties on the opium smuggled up the river, but they did not care about the prohibition of the import of opium?—Yes. That Lord Palmerston was inspired by the most friendly intentions towards China is proved by the precise instructions he gave Lord Napier in 1834, as is confessed in this book, "The Middle Kingdom" (Vol. II., p. 470): "You will adopt no proceedings but such as may have a general tendency to convince the Chinese authorities of the sincere desire of the King to cultivate the most friendly relations with the Emperor of China, and to join with him in any measures likely to promote the happiness and prosperity of their respective subjects." If, therefore, the Canton authorities had met Lord Napier in a proper way, if they had ever spoken a word against opium, their representations would have received immediate attention, there is no doubt. During the whole time of my official connexion with China I never heard any Chinese official or otherwise complain of our action in regard to opium. Of course if you go to a Chinese—it takes a man seven or ten years to acquire the language sufficiently to be able to get at or near the mind of a Chinese—if you say to him, "Opium is a dreadful thing," he will say, "Oh, yes, opium is a dreadful thing." But if you say to him, "Why, you grew it years and years before we imported it; you have been growing it for 200 years," he will, it is safe to say, answer, "Oh, it is all fudge about opium being a dreadful thing; these people like to ask us that question and get the answer suited to their own views, and to please them we give it."

1240. I think that is a common characteristic of all Oriental peoples?—Yes, with all Orientals. It requires some skill to know what is really in their minds.

1241. I understand that after the war and after the Treaty of Nankin the trade in opium continued quite quietly down to the beginning of the next war, the time of the seizure of the "Arrow"?—Yes, till the seizure of the "Arrow." But first there is a passage which I would like to read from, "The Middle Kingdom," which confirms what I have been saying. It is in Vol. II., p. 500: "No one was more desirous of putting a stop to this destructive traffic than Captain Elliott, but knowing the impossibility of checking it by laws he naturally wished to see the many political and commercial evils growing out of smuggling done away. It was, indeed, much to be desired, that the Chinese would take this course; and it is very remarkable that the great reason why the Emperor and his advisers did not do so was because it would be detrimental to the people." The Chinese are thus avouched to have acted with open eyes and without constraint. The amount of fairness which this book deals out to us is illustrated by its perverse animadversion upon Lord Palmerston who, the moment he heard that the Chinese Government wished to stop opium, issued positive instructions, which Captain Elliott carried out.

Mr.
H. N. Lay,
C.B.
14 Sept. 1898.

Mr.
N. Lay,
C.B.
Sept. 1893.

1242. That is going back to the old war?—At page 502, Lord Palmerston's despatch of June 15th, 1838, is instanced as "a most paradoxical but convenient" position for this 'honourable' officer of the English "Government to assume!" An utterly prejudiced comment, I submit.

1243. Then what was the cause of the second war?—The cause of the second war was the question of the seizure of the "Arrow." It had no relation to opium at all. One of the man-of-war brigs had left a few days before. The "Arrow" carried the British flag, as she was entitled to do. After she had been lying there for eight days—

1244. I do not think we need go into that?—Very well, sir. She had nothing whatever to do with opium; she was not an opium ship, nor was she carrying a pound of opium. No apology could be obtained from the Viceroy by our Consul, and the matter was put into the hands of the Admiral, Sir Michael Seymour. Hostilities then ensued, into the details of which I need not, perhaps, enter.

1245. Opium, then, was formally recognised in the tariff that was drawn up after that war?—Yes. Lord Elgin went up to the north, and at Tientsin a treaty was concluded. The word opium was never mentioned at Tientsin upon our side or upon the Chinese side, although at that very time the American Minister was, as he told us afterwards, at Shanghai, offering the armed assistance of the United States to put down the traffic. The United States adopted that line, as they did a similar course when they made opium contraband by treaty in 1844, to curry favour with the Chinese. But what was the result? The omission in the new treaty of the provision of the treaty of 1844! In our treaty, the 26th and 27th articles, it was agreed that the tariff should be revised, and that an officer of the Board of Revenue should be deputed on behalf of the Chinese Government to meet officers deputed on behalf of the British Government. The only remark I would make here is this: An officer of the Board of Revenue! If our motive had been to force opium on China we should have dealt with the Imperial Commissioners themselves; but this fact proves that we had no such intention—that all we cared for was to have someone (any official they pleased) sent down to Shanghai to consider the tariff with us.

1246. Lord Elgin's instructions, I suppose, were that you were not to raise the question of opium?—He never gave me any such instructions, and throughout the whole course of my connexion with the treaty negotiations opium was never mentioned.

1247. But in drawing up the tariff you must have thought of opium—such an article as opium could not have been altogether absent from your mind?—Yes, but that was five months after the conclusion of the treaty. The treaty was signed at Tientsin on June 26th, the tariff was considered at Shanghai five months later, when the forces were all withdrawn.

1248. Yes, quite so; what I meant was that with regard to the tariff it would have been impossible to have overlooked the subject of opium at Shanghai?—Yes. The 27th article of our treaty reads: "it is agreed that either of the high contracting parties to this treaty may demand a further revision of the tariff, and of the commercial articles of this treaty, at the end of 10 years; but if no demand be made on either side within six months after the end of the first ten years then the tariff shall remain in force for ten years more, reckoned from the end of the preceding ten years; and so it shall be at the end of each successive ten years." Now, the point of that is that our treaty having been made in 1858, the Chinese were entitled to revision of the tariff in 1868, 1878, and 1888. Why did they not ask for it?

1249. Well, I see you say they did not raise any question about opium, but I think I have seen somewhere that at an interview with Sir Rutherford Alcock that question was brought forward, and that rather a moving appeal, as he said, was made by the Chinese Commissioners on the subject of omitting opium from the tariff schedule, to prohibit altogether its import?—They made no appeal whatever in 1858. In 1898 they sent Mr. Burlingame (the United States Minister at Peking) home to this country as the chosen exponent of their views and sentiments, and he never mentioned opium at all. In the following year we find Sir Rutherford Alcock suggesting, I suppose, to the Chinese Ministers to address him on the subject, the result of which was that he undertook, I believe, a

self-imposed mission to the Government of India on the subject. That was in July 1860; they wrote a letter to Sir Rutherford Alcock, in which they say—

1250. (Mr. Pease.) Who are "they" who write?—The Chinese Ministers—the members of the Foreign Board, Prince Kung and others. There are a number of them. "The writers hope that his Excellency will memorialise his Government to give orders in India and elsewhere to substitute the cultivation of cereals or cotton. Day and night, therefore, the writers give to this matter most earnest thought, and overpowering is the distress and anxiety it occasions them." But the distress and anxiety notwithstanding, within three months they sign a Convention (which I hand in) with Sir Rutherford Alcock, under which they obtain an increase of the tariff duty on opium equal to 60 per cent., showing the reality of the Chinese objections.

1251. (Sir J. Lyall.) Well, but from Sir Rutherford Alcock's account I understand that the British Commissioners as it were received this in a way which showed that they did not at all like the proposal?—Which Commissioners?

1252. The Englishmen who were meeting the Chinese Commissioners. When this proposal was put forward by the Chinese Commissioners they were silent, and showed that they did not like it?—There could have been no reality on the part of the Chinese in penning such a letter, when three months afterwards the duty was increased 66 per cent.

1253. It shows that they were not very earnest, but it shows that if they could not get one thing they would take the other, does it not?—It was all fustian, their objection was manufactured to meet a supposed invitation for it. The treaty concluded with the United States, 11 years before this date, attests incontrovertibly the real views of the Chinese Government. The United States Minister offered armed assistance to stop the import of opium. What was the Chinese reply? To deliberately omit from the Treaty of 1858 the provision of the Treaty of 1844, which had declared opium contraband.

1254. Another thing a good many witnesses who have appeared before us have said is that at that very time the Chinese Commissioners hinted broadly that if that was not done (that is, if the British Government did not join with them in putting down the Indian opium,) the Chinese Government would be driven to a policy of withdrawing all the restrictions on the growth of the poppy and the manufacture of opium in China, in order to kill out the import there and then deal with the other trade with a free hand. Do you think that that is correct?—No, I think that is an utterly untrue assertion. There is no evidence whatever to support it. In 1864 (that is eight years after the treaty of 1858) we have the Inspector-General, my successor, addressing the Commissioners at the several ports and asking them as to the growth of the native drug.

1255. Which year is that?—1864, five years before the date under consideration. It was grown, you will find from the return made to him in that year, in every one of the provinces. In my note I say it was grown, in 1858, in 16 out of the 18 provinces. That was due to no interposition on our part; we had no voice in the matter at all. I will lay that return before the Commission if you please. I should like, were I to be allowed to comment on one of the documents in the "Friend of China." I think it is a good sample of the sort of evidence presented by them.

1256. Whom do you mean by "they"?—The Anti-Opium Society. They have continually assailed us; they have been reckless in their mis-statements with regard to our action on the opium question. There were no men of higher character than Sir Henry Pottinger or Mr. John Robert Morrison. Then there was Lord Elgin, and as to the subordinates under him, not one had any wish whatever to support opium; and the anti-opiumists have no right to use language like the following, which I offer as an illustration of the kind of statements they make: "The foulest stain upon our Imperial history is the way in which, at the point of the bayonet and at the mouth of the cannon, we have forced the Indian poison upon the unhappy Chinese. No words are strong enough to describe the cowardice and diabolical cruelty of our wars with China." This language is as disgracefully unjust as it is utterly false.

1257. (Mr. Pease.) Where is that statement made, may I ask?—It is in the "Methodist Times," written,

I suppose, by Mr. Hugh Price Hughes, who seems to have taken up the championship of the anti-opiumists for the last four or five years.

1258. (Sir J. Lyall.) Is there anything more you wish to say as to the history of opium in China? We have now brought it down to the attempt to revise the treaty in 1868?—I may observe that when Mr. Burlingame came to England in 1868, it is a very singular thing that, if the Chinese had felt this strong pressure alleged to have been exercised by us in the matter of opium, they did not charge Mr. Burlingame to complain to Lord Clarendon. Mr. Burlingame was silent on the subject. He negotiated a treaty with the United States, the articles of which I lay on the table, but in that treaty there is no allusion to opium.

1259. What did Mr. Burlingame come here for?—As Chinese Minister, to represent Chinese views, and to announce that "China finds that she must come into relations with this civilisation that is pressing up around her; feeling that she does not wait, but comes out to you, and extends her hand."

1260. The object was to fulfil the conditions of the Treaty of Tientsin, was it not?—Yes; they appealed to Lord Clarendon to give them time; but that was mere pretence. Why did not Mr. Burlingame think of opium? There is a pile of evidence to prove that we never at any time forced opium, or used the slightest pressure whatsoever with respect to it; and I should like to be cross-examined so that I might bring out the evidence I am able to produce.

1261. (Chairman.) I think your general statement will be sufficient. Under the Order of Reference under which the Commission is constituted we are not called upon to pronounce a judgment upon the matters which have arisen in issue between you and the writers to whom you have been referring; and it will be sufficient for our purpose to hear what you have said in general terms. I do not think we should go into any greater detail?—Quite so, my Lord; but is it not of the highest importance to our national credit that we should be delivered from the stigma unjustly fixed upon us?

1262. You have had the opportunity of tracing the history of these questions in the statements that you have been making to Sir James Lyall, and we accept what you have said as a statement of your views of the real course of policy which has been pursued?—There is one omission which I should like to supply. The Le Hungchang states, in answer to the Anti-Opium Society, "China views the whole question from a moral standpoint; England from a fiscal" (which is a downright misrepresentation). "The ruling motive with China is to repress opium by heavy taxation everywhere; whereas with England the manifest object is to make opium cheaper, and thus increase and stimulate the demand in China." 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. In the Agreement of 1876 they ask Sir Thomas Wade to move his Government to agree to an arrangement the effect of which was to increase enormously the charges on Indian opium, and yet in the face of this affirm that they act from a moral standpoint while we act from a fiscal standpoint, whereas it is from a fiscal point of view alone that the Chinese Government have treated the article from first to last, as the evidence is cumulative.

1263. That is all the evidence you have to give?—That is all the evidence I am permitted to give. There is one matter I should like to produce, and that is the evidence of Mr. Selby, a missionary, who writes in the "Methodist Times" of the 8th June last. "He is hopeful that if the Indian growth was forthwith suppressed, China would be glad to carry out her own proposal." Where is her proposal? Has she ever addressed a proper proposal to our Government?

1264. (Sir J. Lyall.) You mean a proper form of proposal?—Yes; to join in putting a stop to it.

1265. May I ask what you think would be the result if we made a proposal now to China?—It has come 200 years too late.

1266. As a man of great knowledge and experience of Chinese officials, what do you think would be the result?—Nil. They would do nothing. It is grown in every province, and they would do nothing.

1267. But supposing we offered to prohibit the import of opium?—They have declared they would not

entertain it. You will see what they said in answer to Sir Thomas Wade (p. 16 of my note): "Meantime, in 1881, Sir Thomas Wade made a special application to the members of the Chinese Government for a declaration of their policy in regard to opium. The Minister addressed, Sir Thomas Wade states, replied 'that the question was not an easy one to answer; he did not think that the central Government had gone so far as to formulate a policy at all.' This so recently as 1881, after all the talk of their having been forced to take our opium! 'Speaking from a general point of view, however, he might say that if the habit of opium smoking could be universally and at once abolished, the Chinese Government would be ready and willing to sacrifice the revenue that was at present derived from opium. All sensible men were nevertheless agreed that this was an impossibility. The habit of opium smoking was beyond the reach of prohibition, and the idea was how to turn it to account; the only way in which it could be turned to account was by making it a source of revenue, and the revenue thus derived was indispensable. There were, moreover, so many other matters that needed reform before the opium question was taken in hand, that it might safely be said that the abolition of opium had not entered the minds of those entrusted with the Government of the Empire.' Sir Thomas Wade then put the question 'whether a gradual diminution of opium import from India, until the trade was abolished altogether, would meet with the approval of the Chinese Government.' The Minister addressed, who again protested that the question was a difficult one to answer, replied that in his opinion 'such a plan would be useless; as long as the habit existed, opium would be procured somehow, and if it did not come from India it would be procured elsewhere.'"

1268. It is rather inconsistent with your view, is it not, that certain leading Chinese officials have appeared who have taken very strong measures indeed to stop the growth of opium?—I am not aware that they have.

1269. Did not that man who reconquered Kashgar take such measures? It has been stated so in evidence to us?—It may be so, just locally; but as a Government they have never done anything of the sort. I was in the most intimate relations with the Chinese Government, and if they had said to us, "Can you not help us in the matter of opium?" I should have told Lord Elgin, who would doubtless have made an attempt to meet their wishes; but they never mentioned it at all. This gentleman (Mr. Selby) adds correctly: "The grounds for that hope" (the hope that China would suppress the poppy in her own territories) "are not satisfactory, for the Emperor has given his sanction to the cultivation of the poppy."

1270. (Mr. Pease.) You, no doubt, are acquainted with this Yellow Book of 1889: "Opium: Historical Note, or The Poppy in China"?—I do not know, I am sure, whether I have seen it or not.

1271. There is a statement in it that the first prohibition was in 1729, and that moral grounds were assigned for the prohibition?—(On being shown the pamphlet) I have not seen it.

1272. This Yellow Book says, at page 35, "In the year A.D. 1729 an edict was issued on opium smoking, prohibiting the sale of opium." This is Dr. Edkins' Yellow Book, published at Shanghai in 1889?—Well, it is contradicted by this statement, in page 4 of my book, copied from the Blue Book: "In the reigns of Yung Ching and K'ienlung (1722 to 1736) it was included in the tariff of maritime duties, under the head of medicinal drugs, and there was then no regulation against purchasing or inhaling it."

1273. It is also stated in an article by Dr. Legge, in the "Pall Mall Gazette" of August 16th, 1893, that the importation of the article was stopped in 1764. He says, "We find the following case in Auber's 'China,' pp. 176, 177: His Majesty's ship 'Argo' arrived in the Canton Waters in 1764 with treasure, and it was suspected with opium also. In consequence of the disputes which arose between the mandarins and the captain the trade was stopped for four months. With reference to this collision the Court wrote for information. 'They had been informed that opium had been shipped on her, and other private trade, and desired a full account to be sent home of the matter, as opium was prohibited, and the importation might be most detri-

Mr.
H. N. Lay,
C.B.
14 Sept. 1898.

Mr.
H. N. Lay,
C.B.

14 Sept. 1893.

" ' mental to the company's interests ' " P.—I have never seen that article.

1274. In 1782, Mr. Fitz Hugh, a merchant of Canton, wrote remonstrating against the East India Company engaging in the smuggling trade?—No, I have not seen the letter.

1275. You have stated that various incorrect charges have been made against you by the Anti-Opium Society, and you gave one instance, which proved to be a statement not made by them at all. I do not know whether you have any others?—They have declared that we have engaged in two cruel and unjust wars in order to force opium upon the Chinese. Both secretaries of the Anti-Opium Society have stated that in the press, and Mr. Storrs Turner stated that in 1880 we were then engaged in forcing opium on China. As I was responsible under Lord Elgin for the insertion of opium in our tariff with the voluntary assent, I may add, of the Chinese Minister, I consider that it is gross defamation of the characters of officials to advance charges so untrue.

1276. Well, we have statements made by the Chinese authorities, but those, you say, were fustian?—I did not say the documents you have just referred to were fustian.

1277. No, but the statements made by the Chinese authorities?—The pretence that we have forced opium on the Chinese is fustian, and they are only making those statements for the purpose of damaging the English. There is no solidity or substance in their complaints, and that can be proved to the hilt.

1278. The matter arises as to the credibility of statements made by different persons, and the respective value of their opinions?—No, it is a question of historic evidence entirely, and my opinion, or that of anyone else, is a matter of no moment whatever. It is the historic facts from which they cannot escape, and they must order their utterances now in accordance with those facts, which we can prove.

1279. Then there has been another suggestion made, that the Chinese Government are rather afraid to open this question, because they think that the Indian Government will not be prepared to relinquish so important a source of revenue, and that therefore, if they enter into negotiations with the idea of giving up that source of revenue they would do so with the idea of getting that recouped in some other way, which the Chinese Government would object to still more. Do you think that that is the case?—No, sir, I do not. They had an excellent opportunity of dealing with the question at Tientsin, when the American Minister made his offer of assistance. Dr. Williams, the author of the "Middle Kingdom," who was stubbornly anti-English and pro-Chinese in his views, was present as Chinese

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

At the House of Lords, Westminster.

FIFTH DAY.

Friday, 15th September 1893.

PRESENT:

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B., (CHAIRMAN, PRESIDING).

Sir JAMES B. LYALL, G.C.I.E.
Sir WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D.
Mr. R. G. O. MOWBRAY, M.P.

Mr. ARTHUR PEASE.
Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P.

Sir CHARLES E. BERNARD, K.C.S.I.
Acting Secretary.

Sir
T. F. Wade,
G.C.M.G.,
K.C.B.

15 Sept. 1893.

Sir THOMAS F. WADE, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., called in and examined.

1283. (Chairman.) Sir Thomas Wade, it is a matter of common knowledge that you have spent many years in China?—40 years.

1284. And during the latter portion of your service you were British Minister at Peking?—Yes.

Secretary to Mr. Reed, who concluded a separate Convention with the Chinese formally legalising opium, and said it had received their willing assent. Why did they not impart to their friends then that they were opposed to opium?—Why, Mr. Reed would have come to us at once. Mr. Reed was bitterly opposed to us under the influence of false impressions, and he kept us at arms' length at Tientsin; but when he came to Shanghai he became most friendly. He came to understand us and the Chinese better. There are many of our friends the missionaries who do not understand the Chinese in the least, and they go upon all sorts of rubbishy evidence which men who know the facts laugh at.

1280. (Sir W. Roberts.) I was only thinking of asking you if you have observed what are the effects of opium smoking on the Chinese, with regard to their morals and health?—Well, I think most extravagant charges are made as to that. In my first introduction to Hong-Kong I was a pupil of Dr. Gutzlaff's, who had a number of men who wished to be Christians. I should think about 250 to 300 of them, and from them my "teachers," as they were called, were taken. They were all opium smokers, with rare exceptions, and they did not appear to suffer at all from it when taken in moderation. I had other teachers later on; they suffered when they smoked to excess—certainly it makes a man suffer when immoderately indulged in; a powerful narcotic, taken in excess, must have a weakening effect on the system, I should say.

1281. Generally speaking, do the Chinese use opium smoking in what I may call persistent moderation?—Yes, a good many do. There is no finer race, in physique, than the Chinese. They are beating, as the Americans and Australians have found, the white people altogether. In the mid-provinces and the southern provinces there is a great deal of malaria. There a man's food consists entirely of a vegetable diet, and the ground is manured by human ordure, the odour from which is terribly offensive. The people live not in the hill country but in the low country. There is a large boat population too whose lives are spent over bilge water; but for opium as a febrifuge, they could not live. I never heard from any officials or others who smoked opium that they suffered evil effects from the habit.

1282. (Chairman.) Now, to sum it up in a sentence, I suppose you would wish it to be considered that the general purport of your evidence may be taken to be this: that in all the negotiations with which you were concerned in China, and the wars which occurred during your residence in China, it was not the object of the British Government to force the Chinese authorities against their will to receive importations of opium from India?—Quite so: emphatically so.

1285. You are doubtless aware that this Commission was appointed primarily to consider the opium question as it affects India, but we have been allowed to exercise our discretion with reference to the question as it affects China, and we have thought it our duty

to receive some evidence from those who are chiefly interested in the opium question as it affects China. I may say that much has been urged before us by the witnesses who have appeared before us from China, which goes to show that the excessive use of opium is a widely extending vice in China, and is doing great injury to the population. I do not know that I can convey to you better what has been put before us by the witnesses to whom I refer than by reading to you a passage from the memorial recently addressed by the Anti-Opium Association to the Earl of Kimberley. In that memorial the following passage occurs. "In China, the results to be anticipated from the stoppage of the export trade in opium from Calcutta and Bombay are thus stated in a letter received by us, about a year ago, from one of the most competent and experienced observers, the Rev. Griffith John, D.D., of the London Missionary Society, who has been for upwards of 35 years a missionary in the great commercial centre of Hankow." Mr. John writes "Let China see that we are capable of sacrificing millions of pounds annually for her good, and that of our own free will, in obedience to the dictates of conscience, and from a sense of humanity, and she will not be slow to acknowledge the worth and dignity of the act. Nay more she may begin to glorify God in us. Our intercourse with the people will become more friendly. Commerce will extend and develop, one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of Christ's kingdom in the land would be removed." Then he proceeds to ask, "Have the Chinese the ability to put down the vice," and then he urges, "As long as the Indian trade in opium exists, the hands of the Chinese Government are tied and paralysed. They can simply do nothing, but allow things to go on from bad to worse. Their best efforts, however sincere and energetic, would prove abortive. If the Indian trade in the drug were abandoned, the Chinese would, I firmly believe, make an honest effort to stop the native growth, and the event would eventuate at once in a diminution of the evil. It might eventuate ultimately in its complete suppression. But whether the Chinese Government can put down the native growth or not, our path as a Christian nation is plain enough. It is for us to wash our hands clean of the iniquity." I have read that passage to you, Sir Thomas Wade, that you may have a general impression of the testimony which has been put before us by those who have appeared as missionaries in China and of the arguments by which their recommendations have been supported. Having heard so much on this subject, we felt that we should not be discharging our duty if we did not seek the counsel and information which we know you are so competent to give us. Can you give us a general view as to the history of the introduction of opium smoking in China, and can you give us what you know of the antiquity of the use of opium, and generally speak to us on that aspect of the question?—I should like to premise that I find myself in a very disagreeable position in relation to this question. No man who has lived the time that I have in China, and who has been in contact with Chinese of all kinds, can deny that the excessive use of opium in that country is an exceeding misfortune to that country, and I myself have stated that proposition, perhaps more positively years ago than I should be prepared to do at this moment. That is to say, that without at all pretending to abate the statement that many people,—many thousands of people—do suffer from the excessive use of opium, it is to a great number of people precisely what the use of alcoholic stimulants to people in our country, taken moderately, is; that is to say, that it will cheer the workman just as our workman is cheered by his glass of beer. You will find people who are engaged in the most intellectual employments, and people who are engaged in the very commonest employments, using opium with impunity, and using it for years with impunity; and the difficulty I refer to is this,—that without being at all a dreamer, I hope being really disposed to do all that in me lies, and to see my countrymen do all that in them may lie, to abate what evil there is, the treatment of the question by the Anti-Opium Association engages me on the other side.

I think there are various contentions of the anti-opium people to be combated. And first, as regards the question which your Lordship has just put to me, that is most completely answered by the work of a most respected missionary, Dr. Edkins, who by desire of Sir Robert Hart, of whose literary staff he is a

member, prepared a historical review of the subject by collecting a number of extracts from the greater histories of China and from lesser works. From this, to make short work of it, it will be seen that the introduction of opium is not, as the anti-opiumists,—several of them,—I have heard, frequently contend it is, to be set down to our charge, but to the charge of Asiatic neighbours and Asiatic merchants. Without assuming with Dr. Edkins that they were directly beholden to the Arab and the Persian, it is incontestible that they became acquainted with the poppy—as a medicine—very early in their history; as much as, say, ten centuries ago; and as for the practice of smoking it, according to Dr. Edkins's data, this was very possibly introduced from Manilla and Formosa; and that, at a comparatively recent date, I will not say before our trade commenced, for I should be afraid to assign a precise date to the commencement of that trade, but certainly before our trade had at all developed itself. From early in the last century, they were beholden to their own production of opium even for a supply, which they in the opinion of the Government, or of certain Government officials, so abused as to call forth interdicts on the part of the Government, or those officials. All that you will find in Dr. Edkins's statements. But as regards the introduction of opium, we have a further corroboration of my statement that it was not introduced first by us from a source which is certainly unassailable, the testimony of the Grand Secretary Tso Tsung-tang, the Chinese official who was credited with the reconquest of the far west dominion in China, that is to say who reconquered that country, after Yakub Khan had been poisoned. He was in the first place a furious anti-opiumist himself; he took the credit of having suppressed all poppy cultivation in the west of China; a sheer fiction; he was a furious hater of English and French, though he patronised some other foreigners in his employ. He told my German colleague, in 1881, that it was brought in by the Portuguese towards the close of the Ming dynasty; that is before the middle of the 17th century. The Ming dynasty expired in 1644. As regards our own connexion with the supply at all, I will not trouble you with a reference to the statistical tables which all those interested in it would find easy of access; but at the time that we began to send anything like thousands of chests from India, we were even then supplying so small an amount that it could not have supplied one per cent. of the population with opium if they had been all opium smokers; and further on, later, whilst I was in China, I read in a published paper by a missionary—I do not mention his name, because I am not perfectly sure that it was he—that the then— it must be between 30 and 40 years ago—that the then supply would not be sufficient for 2 per cent. of the whole Chinese population, whom we are reported to have been poisoning for all these years. Now the use of opium to the disadvantage of the population from their own supplies was noted long before our opium troubles began. You will find in the State Papers forwarded by Captain Elliot, magistrates complaining that it is in use, and one censor declaring, that it was then grown in four or five provinces. (See Blue Book 1840. Correspondence relating to China, p. 171.) I had not in my early days studied these Blue Books, as I have since, and without any knowledge of what any Chinese official authority had said to the above effect, I set to work myself, in 1847, when I was studying at Canton, to acquire information on the subject. I was aided by a young Chinaman of a most respectable family, who was much connected with trade,—no opium smoker himself, indeed a strict Roman Catholic—he obtained for me information from various mercantile friends of his, which showed that the poppy was being cultivated in no less than 10 provinces of China. Now remember that was in 1847. Our war with China, our first war, came to an end in 1842. For many years before that time we had had no access, except during the troubles contraband access, we had had no access as a trading people to any port in the empire but Canton. Now one of the quotations I had heard, and that so far back as 1842 or 1843, was a quotation of the extent and value of the opium—I mean its value as a drug, not its pecuniary value, its power,—one of the quotations was from the far north-west of China, certainly 3,000 miles from Canton, where the opium was quoted as being very nearly as good as Indian opium, very nearly as powerful. But the fact that it was then cultivated in 10 provinces is certainly worth remembering, the more so that my friend gave me—I have the paper here which I compiled from his data—

Sir
T. F. Wade,
G. C. M. G.,
K. C. B.

15 Sept. 1893.

Sir
T. F. Wade,
G. C. M. G.,
K. C. B.
15 Sept. 1898.

my friend gave me all the data for its preparation and its value in the market.

1286. Perhaps you would like to put that document in P.—With great pleasure.* (*Memorandum was handed to Chairman.*) Farther, and as Captain Elliot observed, so far back as 1837 (See Blue Book 1840, p. 154. Captain Elliot to Viscount Palmerston, 2 February 1837. See also on true position of opium trade, pp. 137-138.) it was as regularly taxed in certain localities as any other import, which was brought in, in the regular native trade; and without then having seen Captain Elliot's observation above quoted, I made precisely the same remark to Lord Elgin when he first contemplated approaching the question. I think that as far as relates to our connexion with the introduction of opium you will consider that I have said enough, and as regards the native supply I do not think it would be necessary for me to add more. As regards the nature and the extent of its effects upon smokers, I also said sufficient perhaps in my preliminary remarks. I have known people of every degree, I may say, using it with impunity. I have seen most deplorable victims of it in every degree just as I have in my own country of the use of alcohol. I have seen for instance, in the Army, brother officers driven from the Service by the use of drink; and I have seen the unhappy private brought to punishment by the same cause. I have been into an opium den and I have been, on rare occasions, into a gin-palace, and the spectacles of the two are singularly alike. I do not say that the one is to excuse the other. I do not say that our having such a vice as general drinking, and the deplorable scenes that one has witnessed in the gin-palace, are in any way to excuse the other thing; but, in my opinion, experience of that sort should bar gentlemen from turning upon their own countrymen to denounce this or that particular practice, or this or that particular prosecution of a particular trade as if it was a thing exceptional and so frightful a sin that we are bound at once to make the kind of expiation for it that we did, say, for the negro traffic. And I am bound to add this, that when I find statements and arguments on the part of the anti-opiumist people, orally sometimes, sometimes in the little periodical which they publish, neither more nor less than what I must characterise as exaggerated, and when I find them putting in doubt the truth of men like myself, or other people giving testimony, I am compelled to think that a cause that requires any such propping up cannot have under it so secure a basis as these gentlemen are disposed to imagine.

1287. You have given us a very interesting sketch of this question in relation to the antiquity of the user of opium in China, and you have given us your general view as to the nature and the extent of the effect of opium smoking upon those who have indulged themselves in that habit. Does that exhaust what you wish to say in your evidence-in-chief on that subject?—I think so.

1288. Well, then, Sir Thomas, you have had, as we all know, a very intimate connexion with the negotiations which were carried on for many years between our Government and the Chinese Government with reference to this and other matters, and you were serving in China for many years at a time when our relations with China were far less friendly than they are at present; and, therefore, you are in a good position to tell us how far our wars with China were connected with the opium question. We shall be glad to hear your view on that point?—Well, it is a point which I naturally could not pass by, for I know no point upon which what I am compelled to consider exaggeration on the part of the anti-opiumist pleaders is more conspicuous. You will hear,—at least I have heard more than once on public occasions,—gentlemen talking of the first opium war, and the second opium war, and then the third opium war. The first war, unhappily, will always inevitably be described as the opium war, for the seizure of the opium by Commissioner Lin was an act which led to the disappearance from Canton of our then representative, the superintendent of trade, Captain Elliot, and of the English community. In their absence from Canton there was a collision out in the outer waters,—a collision, perhaps, in itself insignificant; for I fancy it was a drunken brawl of sailors—in which a Chinese was killed; and you had following upon that the persistence of the High Commissioner Lin in a demand for A. or B.—it did not matter which,—of six people, who were supposed to

have been present, who were indeed found to have been present on this occasion, but to not one of whom was the homicide traceable. The upshot of that certainly was a declaration of hostilities, and the result of it,—seeing that the Chinese negotiators who treated with us came forward and went backward and re-treated more than once from agreements which were supposed to have been concluded,—was that the war was prolonged, you may say, up to its termination in August, 1842, when the Treaty was signed at Nanking. But I consider,—reading the whole of the history of our relations, say from the middle of the last century, but at all events for the period immediately preceding this which is known as the opium war,—I consider that those wars were directly traceable to the insolence and injustice of the Chinese in their,—I was going to say, relations with us, but I should more correctly say in their determination to ignore relations with us altogether. I am sorry to have to go so far into historical detail; but it must be remembered that when our Government had made up its mind to abolish the East India monopoly, in 1834, the Chinese were given to understand in 1831 that it was about to be abolished; and that thereupon there came from the Chinese chief authority at Canton a communication on that subject. In those days he issued edicts. His only relation with the East India Company's officials was as if they were below his servants. He issued an edict to the effect that if the British Government was going to undo the East India Company's establishment it must send someone to control British subjects who might be in China. That "someone" was sent in the person of Lord Napier, in 1834, but the local government declined to have anything to do with him—declined to recognise him as a public servant; went out of its way, in the petty Chinese fashion, (which is even yet not impossible, I am sorry to say) to belittle him by using offensive characters for his name, and in other ways to insult him. Lord Napier,—read his despatches to Lord Palmerston,—Lord Napier was ready at once to proceed to hostilities. If he had had a force he would have proceeded to hostilities. For what purpose? Not in the interests of the opium trade,—not in the interests of trade at all,—but in order to put relations on a footing which would be tolerable. He had no force to support him. He was, you may say, fairly driven out of Canton, and dying sick and broken-hearted, he was replaced, first of all by Sir John Davis, whose name must be known to everybody interested in China, and later on by Sir Charles Elliot, who for three or four years certainly strove hard if ever a man strove hard to avoid war; to avoid a quarrel. You will find throughout that period that whenever the question of opium crops up,—his word, if anything, is against it. Sir Charles Elliot, it should be remembered, was simply a species of chief magistrate,—for we had our experience to acquire,—he was chief magistrate for the Port of Canton; and to the best of his ability he did endeavour to keep down all irregularities in that port. Powers to go beyond, or force to go beyond, he certainly had not; but he strove to repress irregularities within his jurisdiction. He condescended,—for it was a condescension and nothing else,—he condescended to accept a continuance of correspondence with the chief authority in Canton, which placed him in the same position as that in which the East India Company's servants had formerly been placed. You will find that his chief, Lord Palmerston,—reputed a most belligerent Foreign Minister,—not only reprobates the trade in opium; he not only reminds Sir Charles Elliot that those who engage in it are accepting entirely their own risk; but you will even find later on that when, amongst other insults which they were then in the habit of heaping upon the community, the Chinese had brought down an opium smoker and strangled him in front of the British factories as a simple insult to that community, Lord Palmerston does not recognise it as an insult. He wishes to be "informed whether the foreigners to whom you allude in your despatch as having resisted the intention of the Chinese authorities to put a criminal to death in the immediate front of the factories were British subjects only, or the subjects and citizens of other countries also. I also wish to know upon what alleged ground of right these persons considered themselves entitled to interfere with the arrangements made by the Chinese officers of justice for carrying into effect in a Chinese town the orders of the superior authorities." (See Viscount Palmerston to Captain Elliot, 15 April 1839. Blue Book 1840, p. 325. But see also p. 183* his Lordship's Despatch 20 September 1837 and of p. 258 Despatch of 15 June 1838.) You will by-and-by find, my Lord,

* See Appendix VI, for this Memorandum.

Lord Palmerston holding very different language. And why? Because it was borne in upon him that the relations of the British representative with the Chinese authority were simply intolerable. But now that hostilities, one may say that war, had really begun, what was the announcement from the Throne in 1840? What was the scope of our expedition as defined by Lord John Russell? "It was to obtain reparation for the insults and injuries offered to Her Majesty's superintendent and Her Majesty's subjects by the Chinese Government; and in the second place, it was to obtain for the merchants trading in China an indemnification for the loss of their property incurred by threats of violence offered by persons under the direction of the Chinese Government; and in the last place it was to obtain a certain security that persons and property in future trade with China shall be protected from insult and injury, and that their trade and commerce be maintained upon a proper footing." You must remember that when Captain Elliot was compelled, in order to save the lives and to secure the persons of the British community at Canton, to surrender the opium, he protested throughout against the violence that was employed and the general treatment of the community. I contend that the war even of 1839,—the misunderstanding which led up to it,—would never have occurred had there been relations, even such relations as Sir Henry Pottinger subsequently obtained. We had no access whatever of an official character to the Chinese authorities at Canton. The only channel was the association of the Hong monopolists, many of them hostile to us, many of them our bankrupt debtors, having an eye to securing the monopoly of their trade, but also having an eye to that which was so dear to the Chinese mind as then informed,—having an eye to the fact that the barbarian was a barbarian and that he must be kept under control. I say that it was owing entirely to that disposition that the first war came about. There were no means of negotiation or adjustment. What was more, as Captain Elliot, (with the sincerest desire to prevent all irregularities,) complains in one of his letters to Lord Palmerston, it was vain to call it smuggling opium. And why? Because all the officials were engaged in it. Now, remember, that there is a wide difference between that position, whether of a trading community or of its official chief, and the position of people who are endeavouring to force a trade into a country *vi et armis*, as it has been alleged we did in the first war, and have been doing ever since. As I said before, the seizure of the opium is the salient incident of that war. But it is by no means the whole war, it is but an incident of it, and in support of that I quote a gentleman not likely unduly to favour England. In the year 1841, John Quincy Adams, a sufficiently well-known name, a distinguished member of a distinguished political family in America—

1289. What volume are you quoting from, Sir Thomas?—This is a missionary publication, the "Chinese Repository," which ran for 20 years in Canton, and was, at the time I speak of, edited by Dr. Elijah Bridgman, an excellent American missionary, who gives Mr. Adams's lecture *in extenso*. I shall read a short extract. There are also some notes of his, the editor's own, which I wish to read. He printed Mr. Adams's lecture in 1842, but it was delivered before the Historical Society at Massachusetts in December 1841. It is hardly necessary to quote more than a short passage of it. After tracing historically what had occurred up to the year 1841, he says:—"And here I might pause—Do I hear you inquire what is all this to the opium question or the taking of Canton? These I answer are but incidents in that movement of mind on this globe of earth of which the war between Great Britain and China is now the leading star. . . . The justice of the cause between the two parties—which has the righteous cause? You have perhaps been surprised to hear me answer Britain—Britain has the righteous cause. But to prove it I have been obliged to show that the opium question is not the cause of the war. My demonstration is not yet complete. The cause of the war is the *kotow*!" I do not mean to say that anybody was asked to *kotow*; pray let me impress that upon gentlemen who are very exacting of verbal accuracy; but that the cause of the war was the *kotow*, "the arrogant and insupportable pretensions of China that she will hold commercial intercourse with the rest of mankind, not upon terms of equal reciprocity, but upon the insulting and degrading forms of the relation between lord and vassal."

2070.

Dr. Bridgman, after an ample recognition of the title of a man of Mr. Adams's experience, proceeds judicially with the following comments:—"While, however, we differ from the lecturer with regard to the influence the opium trade has had upon the war, for it has been without doubt the great proximate cause, we mainly agree with him as to the effect that other remoter causes springing from Chinese assumption, conceit, and ignorance have also had upon it. . . . We do not see how the war could have arisen had not the opium trade been a smuggling trade. We think it would never have gone on as it has, were the Chinese better acquainted with their own and others' rights. . . . "Chinese Repository," Vol. XI., pp. 288-9. Dr. Bridgman cannot, of course, be expected to take so lenient a view of the opium trade as Mr. Quincy Adams; that I do not in the least wonder at. Dr. Bridgman had been resident for many years in Canton and Macao and he had had a personal experience of the evil attending the excessive use of opium which Mr. Quincy Adams could not have had. But when he urges that but for the opium the war would not have arisen, my view, I confess, is more nearly Mr. Adams's. The origin of the war lay in the fact that we had no relations. The origin of succeeding wars lay in the fact that our relations were very imperfect, and still needed perfecting. How many wars have we had with China? We had the war known as the opium war terminating in 1842. We immediately established ourselves within the walls at the different ports, but at Canton we were still not admitted into the city. It was the only place at which there was a high authority to whom the British Plenipotentiary could appeal. This was an Imperial Commissioner sent down to Canton to reside there *vis-à-vis* our Minister Plenipotentiary, who resided at Hong Kong. He was inaccessible to our Minister. We were not admitted into the city, and the promise that we should eventually be admitted was put off and put off, and a succession of outrages occurred during the five years succeeding the peace of 1842, the consequence of which was that Sir John Davis, perhaps with more zeal than discretion, in the spring of 1847, went up with a few ships of war and demanded a settlement of the city question. Kiating, the then Imperial Commissioner engaged that it should be settled in two years. In 1849, accordingly, the two-years' term having expired, Sir George Bonham approached Kiating's successor. The high authorities at Canton said they must refer to the Emperor. They ascertained that we were not going to strike, and then came a grand fulmination from the Emperor and a grand approval of the attitude of the Cantonese; and we were shut out of Canton once more. Throughout those events, if there was anything to find fault with on our side, it certainly was the weakness we displayed; but as regards the charge I am endeavouring to rebut, be it remembered that not one of our grievances had anything whatever to say to opium. This decree of exclusion from the city was issued in 1849. After an interval of some few years, we established at Hong Kong,—which had of late considerably developed itself in consequence of the influx of Chinese, driven thither by their own rebellion or trouble of one form and another,—we had established a system of registering vessels of Colonial build, of Chinese make, which should run between Hong Kong and the open ports. One of these vessels, the "Arrow," had entered the Port of Canton. Allow me to say, first, that a Chinese translation of the Ordinance which was passed for the purpose of empowering the Colony to give papers to vessels of this kind had been forwarded by Sir John Bowring, then Governor of Hong Kong, and Minister Plenipotentiary, to the then High Commissioner, Yeh, months before. The whole Ordinance was forwarded to him; he was perfectly in a position, if he liked, to protest against it as an order of proceeding possibly likely to interfere with the arrangements of the Empire. He simply took no notice of it whatever; but early in October—

1290. Of what year?—Of 1856. I beg your pardon. Early in October of 1856, on the 6th of October, 1856, one of these vessels, by name the "Arrow," having gone into the Port of Canton, having been duly entered by the Consul (Mr. Parkes), had lain there for eight days. On the eighth day, the day unfortunately that Her Majesty's brig "Bittern" disappeared on a cruise from the inner waters, the Imperial Commissioner's executive pounced upon that vessel, tore down the flag, carried the people into the city, and alleging that they were pirates refused to return them. Of course this brought on a very hot discussion; and though at an

Sir
T. F. Wade,
G.C.M.G.,
K.C.B.
15 Sept. 1893.

M

Sir
F. Wade,
G.C.M.G.,
K.C.B.

5 Sept. 1893.

early stage of this, he ceded in part, and finally went to greater lengths, Sir John Bowring insisted upon the opening of the city as a guarantee of better relations. His plea implied or expressed was simply that we had no access to the one authority appointed by the Emperor to deal with foreign affairs. If anything occurred at one of the ports it had to be referred down to Canton through the Plenipotentiary. I may say, except a visit of ceremony on his arrival, the Plenipotentiary never had a chance of seeing this great man. Our Plenipotentiaries went up or sent up, on more occasions than one, to the mouth of the Pei-ho to communicate with Peking to endeavour to establish a better order of things. What did the Court of Peking say? "Go back to Canton; consult the Imperial Commissioner,"—whom we could never see. That was our position; and in the usual way this led to a collision which, in the usual way, was largely misunderstood and misrepresented.

1291. It was not a war arising out of a desire to force opium upon the Chinese?—The opium had nothing earthly to do with it; no more than tobacco. But I will be candid. It is very possible that these men were precisely what the Imperial Commissioner described them as being. In the drifting population of Hong Kong, through which, at that time even, some 200,000 people came and went annually, who did not reside there,—with a coast such as is opposite Hong Kong,—you could not fail to have piracy in all directions, and at one time piracy was rife, and we were continually engaged in putting it down; because the Chinese would do nothing whatever. There is another thing I should be prepared to admit. There had been very possibly some smuggling of salt, which was and is a prohibited import. All these things may be admitted. But the great fact remains that Mr. Quincey Adams had insisted on as the cause of the first war, and which I contend was equally the cause of the second war. What was wanting was *relations*. There was no possibility of getting grievances redressed, or of coming to an understanding upon any given point. The result of that was war. Though there was no declaration of war, there were hostilities which were as like a war in character as hostilities could be; and the result of that was Lord Elgin's mission to China, and, of course, the discrediting of Sir John Bowring. Now, it has been said that Lord Elgin received instructions from Lord Clarendon to do I do not know what with the opium question; but I have heard the statement made as part of an argument that this war, like other wars, was for the purpose of pushing trade, and particularly the opium trade. The instructions, if read at length, it will be seen, point particularly to residence at Peking; they point particularly to the improvement of relations. When they come to opium, which it would be scarcely possible to avoid coming to, with the knowledge of the extensive irregular traffic that was being carried on,—what does Lord Clarendon say?—"It will be for Your Excellency when discussing commercial arrangements with any Chinese Plenipotentiaries to ascertain whether the Government of China would revoke its prohibition of the opium trade which the high officers of the Chinese Government never practically enforce. Whether the legalisation of the trade would tend to augment that trade may be doubtful as it seems to be carried on to the full extent of the demand in China with the sanction and connivance of the local authorities. But there would be obvious advantages in placing the trade upon a legal footing by the imposition of a duty instead of its being carried on in the present irregular manner." That is the sole allusion in Lord Clarendon's instructions to Lord Elgin. I was attached to Lord Elgin from the moment that he arrived in China, in the summer of 1857, and until the spring of 1859. I may say I was almost in daily contact with him; indeed, except for two or three broken months, I was always on board the same ship with him; and it is very natural that with a person attached to him in the capacity of Chinese secretary, which was my position, he should talk very freely about everything. I can safely say that for the first eight, nine, or ten months he never referred to opium as a possible item of negotiation at all. He referred to it as a thing deplorable, from what he saw,—from what he saw in the streets; from the emaciation and wretchedness of the opium smokers he came across. He could not understand.—I remember his observation on one occasion,—he could not understand how it was that such a practice should be so general and yet not universal, because while he saw very respectable people who did

not smoke at all, he saw also some who did smoke who were perfectly respectable too. But to the best of my recollection he never alluded, during the whole time that I speak of, until a date which I shall mention,—which was rather more than a year after his arrival,—he never alluded to it as a subject of negotiation. We left Shanghai for the mouth of Pei-ho in April 1858, and after a collision we got up to Tientsin, and at Tientsin we and the French and the Americans and the Russians concluded Treaties. Mr. Reid, the American, withdrew from his Treaty a certain clause prohibitory of the opium trade which had been in the earlier American Treaty of 1845; he withdrew this clause to oblige Lord Elgin. (See Mr. Reid's letter in Blue Book, China and Japan 1857-1859, p. 394.) I forget precisely how any discussion led up to this act on his part, but as a fact he certainly did it. But a few months later in the excellent letter above referred to,—this same letter being prompted by a letter from one of the leading American merchants, also given in the Blue Book,—he urged Lord Elgin to regularise the trade, that is to say, to legalise it. And why? For the very same reason that Lord Clarendon gives.—It is an irregular trade, which everybody knows and everybody ignores; and it was upon that, more particularly, that Lord Elgin formulated his propositions regarding the legalization of the opium trade. Now, I think Mr. Lay has remarked, and it is perfectly just, that the one thing that the Chinese showed any real concern about—the one thing they felt any real concern about was the residence of a Foreign Minister in Peking. They had a most distinct objection to that; and as soon as Lord Elgin had gone away from Tientsin in July, they had set to work to undo the concession. Lord Elgin went over to Japan to make a Treaty, and was absent there two or three months; but the moment he returned to Shanghai, the two high officers who had negotiated this Treaty were sent down to Shanghai as Imperial Commissioners, ostensibly to settle tariff and trade regulations. But settlement of the tariff was a kind of work that would not have devolved on two mandarins of their position at all. It had been quite understood that the Chief Superintendent of Customs at Shanghai, who was the mandarin with whom Mr. Lay was associated as Inspector of Customs at Shanghai at the time, was to take it in hand. The coming down of these men boded something else. And what did it bode? It boded revocation of the clause that would establish a resident Minister at Peking; the one important provision, in my opinion, of the whole Treaty. As to the opium duty, when it was proposed, it would be almost a farce to say,—it would be an abuse of words to say,—that there was any negotiation at all. There was certainly no objection raised to its insertion as a dutiable article in the tariff. This was put in the hands of two mandarins of more than ordinary position with Mr. Lay as their natural co-adjutor, he being Inspector of Customs; while, on the other part, Mr. Lawrence Oliphant, Lord Elgin's private secretary, and myself, represented the Ambassador.

1292. (Mr. Pease.) Was Mr. Lay in the Chinese service may I ask?—Yes, Mr. Lay had been Consular interpreter at Shanghai. He was then made Vice-consul, and when in 1855, after nine months, during which the Customs Inspectorate was on its trial under myself and a French and American colleague, I retired, Mr. Lay was put in my place, and for the three years following, that is up to the time of Lord Elgin's arrival, he had been in the above office. At my instance he was attached to Lord Elgin, when the mission went north from Shanghai in April 1858. I have no hesitation in saying I think—it may not be exactly relevant, not in the direct order of these proceedings,—that if it had not been for Mr. Lay's presence, for the confidence that the Chinese naturally had in him as their own employé, and for his own admirable command of the spoken language, I doubt whether Lord Elgin would have got a Treaty at all; at least not a Treaty with the provisions it contains. The more commercial matters which the Chinese conceded, with scarcely verbal deviations to the other Powers, to the Americans and the Russians, and finally to the French, were to them a matter of indifference. What was of real importance, was what we really went to get and what that war of 1850-58 was really about; the improvement of relations with the Chinese. They hesitated, not merely on account of their pharisaical upliftedness, that affection of precedence over all nations, which is one of their greatest misfortunes, but they hesitated, as a Chinese in my confidence informed me, because once we were alongside of them, they would not be able to get away, and

instead of making a buffer of the Imperial Commissioner at the other end of the Empire, whom a Foreign Minister was never to see, they would see us face to face, and be compelled to talk things over. This was humiliating to their pride, no doubt, but they also felt a material inconvenience in the change before them. I contend that without that change we should have been just where we had been before when the insults to Lord Napier were first offered, 20 years before; and that the one thing for which we did make war was the improvement of relations. About the means to that end there were differences of opinion. Lord Elgin was not keen, when he had seen the whole position, for the establishment of a Minister at Peking. Sir Frederick Bruce, who knew orientals both in China and elsewhere, declared that there was nothing else worth having. He said, "Our difficulty has been with these people all along the 'imperfection of relations. What do you mean by 'relations? How are you going to have relations perfect? You cannot have relations perfect (he argued, quoting classical authority), unless there is a recognition of equality. And what really occasioned that war, that lasted from 1856 to 1860, was the fact that there was no equality—that there was no recognition of relations. Well, the following year, Lord Elgin's brother, Sir Frederick Bruce comes out himself, as Minister, and he finds the river blocked. He is not to go, except under impossible conditions, up to Peking. In the interim, what had happened? As I have said, these High Commissioners came down to induce Lord Elgin to revoke the concession of residence, and he did undertake to make residence conditional. He modified the provision to the effect that there should be but an annual visit to Peking, and that so long as the Chinese conducted themselves in a way satisfactory to us, we would not claim the permanent residence there. When we came up in June 1859, it appeared that the admission into Peking for the simple purpose of exchanging ratifications was so limited that it was not to be accepted without humiliation. Mind, the Chinese had a splendid opportunity of proving that we were wrong in that assumption, for we arrived at the Pei-ho with a French and with an American Minister. The French Minister's position was precisely the same as our own. But we said, "We have a right to go in, and go in we will." We did attempt to go in, and we were fired upon and beaten. The French and ourselves were thus thrown back, but the Americans, who remained there as neutrals, and against whom the fire of the forts was consequently never directed, did accept what was offered. Their Minister, Mr. Ward, was taken up to Peking; but under what conditions? Under conditions that were positively, I should say, rather worse than those with which Lord Napier had found himself dealing when he arrived at Macao in 1834. He (Mr. Ward) was carried up to Peking in a common conveyance; while he was in Peking, there were guards placed around his residence; both he and his suite were prevented from going anywhere. As one of the Romish missionaries residing in Peking in disguise at the time, wrote to his Minister, "*humiliissime instruit*"; and he went out as he had come in. Now, if the Chinese had had any sense they would have put us in the wrong by conceding to Mr. Ward a reception that he could not have complained of. But they did not; and they simply let us see that we were perfectly right in insisting upon admission into Peking under circumstances of which we should not be ashamed. The result of their conduct was the third and last war; in order, then to force our way into Peking; in order once more, to secure endurable relations.

1293. That war closed in 1860, did it not?—I was just going to say, sir—

1294. The second war?—Well, I consider the second war, the war which arose out of the "Lorch Arrow" affair—

1295. That was in 1856; Lord Elgin arrived in 1857?—Yes. Hostilities had been going on, you may say, from the moment the Chinese seized the "Lorch Arrow"; at least, from about twenty days after her seizure.

1296. And the close of that war?—I consider the close of that war was when Lord Elgin signed his Treaty in 1860.

1297. (Mr. Mowbray.) The Treaty of Tientsin?—Yes, the Treaty of Tientsin. Then (in the following year) we went up to be admitted into Peking, and we were shut out and defeated.

1298. (Chairman.) And that gave rise to the third war?—That gave rise to the third war; to Sir Hope

Grant's expedition of 1860. We did then make our way up to Peking, the Emperor flying to beyond the Great Wall when we advanced upon Peking. From that day we were established in Peking, from that day to this we have had no more wars.

1299. Well, Sir Thomas Wade, you have given us a very interesting sketch of these unfortunate wars with China, and you have made it clear to us that in your view those wars were largely if not mainly traceable to the insistence of the Chinese in refusing to enter into friendly relations with us, and you contend that those wars were not prompted by a desire to force the Indian opium upon China?—Not even to force trade.

1300. You remained in China a considerable number of years after the last war was brought to a close, and were concerned in the most responsible positions with the many negotiations which were carried out between the British Government and the Chinese Government. Now would you say to us that in those negotiations it was not in the contemplation of the British Government to compel the Chinese authorities to receive importations of opium from India against their will; that in those various negotiations other important matters were in view, but this particular object of forcing the importation of opium was never an object with the British Government?—On the contrary. You may say that the first time that it (opium) came up again at all in formal discussion was in 1868. In a casual way I have myself often talked the opium question over with different high officers,—one of them being a great opium smoker himself; but so far from there being anything like a suggestion that the opium trade, or that the opium taxation, should be re-arranged to our advantage, the first time that it appears after the war of 1860 is when Sir Rutherford Alcock was revising the Treaty in 1868.

1301. And under what circumstances does it re-appear?—A suggestion was made on the part of Sir Rutherford Alcock to the Indian Government to increase the duty upon it. You will find that in the papers recording Sir Rutherford Alcock's revision of Treaty; in fact, it was one of the two causes which broke down his revised Treaty. There were two conditions, one affecting silk and one affecting opium. The Indian Government objected to that affecting opium, and both the French and various of our own merchants objected to that affecting silk. As regarded the opium, that was I think the only time that it came formally before negotiators until I took it up in 1876. And why did I take it up in 1876? Simply because at Shanghai a judgment had been given in respect of the taxation of opium which I considered to be unfair to the Chinese Government, our engagements with it considered. The article agreed to by Lord Elgin supplementary to the tariff which was signed in 1858 says that opium shall be saleable only at the port, and Lord Elgin, I cannot quote his despatch, but I can state his observation, repeated again and again to me, that his opinion of opium was such that he would not be a party to obtaining for it a participation in the favourable conditions of other articles of import. All other articles of import were subject in those days to a great deal of irregular taxation which one clause of his Treaty was intended to regularise; but he said: "I will not be a party to flinging opium broadcast through the Empire," and for that reason he would not claim the transit duty certificate which, by an additional payment of half the tariff duty, was to secure our general import trade against this abnormal taxation inland. It must have been about the year 1874 that a case was tried at Shanghai between the agents charged with collecting opium revenue, or estimating it,—charged consequently with visiting the stocks and estimating the revenue in the interest of the Chinese Government. On the occasion referred to they came into collision with a body raised and paid by foreign residents, the quasi-municipal police, which takes care of Shanghai, greatly to its advantage, and the case being examined into by judicial authority, the judicial authority decided that as according to Lord Elgin's Treaty opium was saleable at the port, therefore we had in fact a right to hawk it about at the port. I held precisely the contrary opinion; Lord Elgin's appeal to the Chinese Government, in 1858, put in a few words, was this: "It is an irregular trade of which you have the fullest cognisance, regularise it, and put what tariff you like upon it; and I will not ask for the limitation of inland duty upon it. Once it passes from British hands we shall have no more to say to it." Well, I consider that that being our engagement,

Sir
T. F. Wade,
G.C.M.G.,
K.C.B.

15 Sept. 1895.

Sir
T. F. Wade,
G.C.M.G.,
K.C.B.
15 Sept. 1898.

a decision which would justify the quasi-municipal police in interfering with the Chinese overseers of opium revenue to the prejudice of the inland duty collection was not fair to the Chinese; and for that reason I volunteered in the Che-foo agreement—an agreement primarily concerned no doubt with what it known as the Yun-nan outrage; but incidentally, as my despatches show, made to include other matters,—I volunteered a suggestion that just as the foreign inspectorate now collects the tariff duty of 30 taels, (30 ounces of silver) upon the drug when imported, so it should be empowered to collect also the abnormal inland revenue to which the Indian opium *in transitu* was liable. Of this we had very imperfect information. We knew that it was exceedingly onerous to all trades, but I knew also that the Central Government was itself very imperfectly informed regarding the amount collected. It was vain therefore to endeavour to get accurate news from the provinces, but what I wanted to accomplish was not simply a regularisation of the trade,—the regularisation of the trade in opium as an import was not my business,—but I did desire to insure to the Chinese Government a defence against the foreign importer; a defence that I consider the Chinese were legitimately entitled to. Thus you will see opium, in my belief, was never alluded to in negotiations, except upon the two occasions that I have referred to; first, in 1868, when Sir Rutherford Alcock was revising his Treaty, and proposing an augmentation of the tariff duty on opium, and last in 1876, when I signed the Che-foo agreement. I will not be absolutely certain, but I believe that Sir Rutherford Alcock's proposition was much of the character of my own in 1876, to wit that the Chinese Government should have secured to them the revenue to which they were by Treaty entitled. Beyond that there has been no pretence to treat; opium taxation has never been, as I say, even alluded to, and I confess that I feel something passing common irritation when I am told that we introduced opium into China, that we taught the Chinese the way to smoke it, that we poisoned the nation,—that we made war in consequence of it, and that we finally forced it upon them with British bayonets in our hands; when I hear, as I heard Mr. Samuel Smith, the Member for Flintshire, inform 200 undergraduates at Cambridge one evening, that at last China overborne was obliged to take to producing it in her own defence. It is scarcely possible for me, I confess, to measure terms when allegations of that sort are made. Think how utterly unfair it is to our own friends, to our own countrymen, what a reflection upon them it is. However, I am not here to entertain you with my irritabilities.

1302. We were very anxious to have the position of the past cleared up, and we have been interested in what you have told us, Sir Thomas; there was one point upon which the Commission would wish to have your opinion, and that is, as to our position at the present moment. We have had brought before us repeatedly in the course of our inquiry an important official statement made by Sir James Ferguson in the House of Commons, which was to this effect, that the fiscal arrangements, the discretion as to the imposition of Customs duties or the discretion, as to the total prohibition, if they thought fit, of importation of opium from India into China, are now entirely free with the Chinese Government; Sir James Ferguson made it clear to the House of Commons that there were no conditions in the Treaties now in existence between ourselves and China which prohibited the Chinese Government, if they thought fit, from dealing in any way which they thought desirable with the opium trade. We understood the statement of Sir James Ferguson was to the effect that if the Chinese Government thought fit to do so, they could, after giving twelve months notice, raise the tariff on the importation of opium from India to China to any amount that they thought fit; or if they thought fit, might prohibit the trade altogether. Now that statement of Sir James Ferguson has not been accepted by all the witnesses who have appeared before us. They have contended that, that statement notwithstanding, the Chinese Government are not free to deal as they may think fit with the opium trade between India and China. Can you tell us how the matter really stands?—Well before referring to negotiations since my day, I wish to premise that partly owing to my own, I will not say *laches*, but still owing to me, the ratification of the Treaty hung fire for a long time. The causes independent of me were, I think these, that the financiers of the Indian Government were naturally alarmed, for I had not prepared them for a proposition regarding

opium at all in 1876; and in the next place, though there was not a formal intimation regarding opium from other Governments, there was evidence enough that they were not disposed to accept arrangements affecting it for different reasons. They were not disposed, some of them, to approve my Agreement at all, and they were in a position to neutralise its opium provisions, because with a very little organisation they could have imported opium and if they had not accepted my arrangement, the Agreement stood in danger of falling through. As regards the statement of Sir James Ferguson, I am not prepared to make answer at this moment. I mean to say that I do not venture to affirm that there is nothing on record to the effect that the Chinese might if they chose raise the duty, or that they might take this step or that regarding opium. With the relations that we now have, no step of the sort, I should imagine, would be undertaken without preliminary negotiations. And allow me to say that I conceive it to be the farthest thing from probability that they will initiate anything of the sort under existing circumstances. In the amount which it was agreed between (I think) Lord Salisbury and the Minister Tseng should be levied, they have got rather more, or certainly at least double what I would have conceded. I had reason to believe (in 1876) that they collected as *li-kin* taking the ports all round, something like 40 ounces of silver in addition to the 30 ounces leviable by tariff; that they collected about 40 ounces upon every picul, every hundred Chinese pounds of opium. Now I would have conceded them more than that, though even of the 40 [which their native collectorate ought to have collected] they were not perfectly secure. I would have conceded them more than that in order to set the question at rest. However, as I say, the settlement hung fire, and Sir Robert Hart did not agree with me that what I thought fair was a sufficient sum to impose upon opium. He said that it would bear a total of 110 ounces taxation, tariff included, without any danger from the smuggler, and in his position of Inspector General of Customs, he was bound I think to advise the Chinese Government in that sense. If the Chinese Government were minded to-morrow to raise the duty 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, we should not refuse any proposition they might make without consideration; but I repeat it is to the last degree improbable that they will do anything of the sort. I should like before I close to supplement my answer to the question which your Lordship put to me just before this one, as to the action taken by the British Government. I said there were two instances in which the question of opium had come up, one in 1868, when Sir Rutherford Alcock was Minister, and one 1876 when I was Minister myself, and I mentioned the two propositions that had been made, both favourable to the Chinese, first by Sir Rutherford Alcock, and then by myself. I omitted, however, to mention a very much more important provision, in my Agreement, and that was that there should be a commission to regularise the trade of Hong Kong. About this naturally the Inspector of Customs was particularly anxious, because Hong Kong, being situated as it is, was in a position to export not only Indian but all native-grown opium right and left along the coast, without paying any duty whatever. We had paid some, without a doubt; but that a large portion of it would go into the pockets of employes, in fact that it would be a branch of irregular trade, no one could doubt for a moment. The Chinese very often argued, always with an allusion, more or less unpleasant, to the peculiar position of Hong Kong,—as they very frequently contended that they were entitled to tax every ounce of opium that came to China, that is to say, geographically speaking, to Hong Kong as well;—and I was prepared to concede, although it was not very pleasant to the Colony, that they were perfectly entitled to watch the trade between Hong Kong and their own shores in order that they might levy the duties that would legitimately accrue to them. For that reason I suggested that there should be a joint commission between the Chinese and ourselves to arrange to regulate the trade, more particularly the opium trade at Hong Kong. The result of that is that Hong Kong is now within the area of the Imperial Customs Inspectorate supervision. Allow me to say that, when we talk of forcing trade upon them with bayonets, those two last concessions in trade are some-

thing to set against any such allegation. If you think that I have taken upon myself, not as Mr. Lay has put it, to increase the war-tax,—to enable the Chinese to levy the war-tax through the hands of the Inspectorate,—but to secure to them that enormous increase of revenue which they now receive, which they never could have touched but a fraction of, had it not been for my intervention; and that I secured to them the regularisation of the trade of Hong Kong, I think that those two acts, on my part alone, may be set against the allegation that we have forced opium into that country at the point of the bayonet.

1303. There is one last question that I should like to ask you. You made an important speech on this subject at the Society of Arts, and that is before us. I take it from you that, so far as it went, that correctly represents your general view as at present entertained on the subject which has been before the Commission. There is one statement which you made in the course of that speech which I should like to hear a word from you upon, and that it is with regard to the attitude of the Central Government of China with reference to this question. Have you reason to suppose that the Chinese Government are sincerely anxious to put an end to the opium trade?—Well, the sincerity of parties is always more or less a delicate question. I attended, some four or five years ago, a meeting of clerical gentlemen who were also associated with the anti-opium, let me say, crusade—I do not use the word in any invidious sense—gentlemen associated for the purpose of abating what they considered the great evil of the opium trade, and they asked me straight, “Do you consider the Chinese sincere in their denunciation of opium?” Well, I could only meet the question by another: “Do you consider us sincere in the denunciation of a large number of practices which we do condemn both in society and in trade, and otherwise?” You would feel very ill-pleased if you were told that you and your countrymen were insincere. The Chinese notion of sincerity does not carry them as far perhaps in that direction as ourselves, but I should say a large number—a majority I will not say, for I am not in a position to judge—but I should say a large number are sincerely opposed to the opium trade, a very large number. I am very glad indeed that your Lordship has asked me the question, because I read on the occasion referred to a memorandum of an interview with the Ministers of the Tsung-li-Yamen, that has been dealt with also in a way that I do not exactly like.

1304. You spoke in the Society of Arts in April, 1892, on Mr. Batten's paper?—Yes, my Lord, but did I give the date of the interview at the Tsung-li Yamen?

1305. Yes, you read the memo. of an interview on 18th January, 1891. You say that, “As regarded opium, certain points had been suggested themselves to Sir Thomas Wade upon which the opinion of the Yamen would be valuable. In the first place, as the Ministers were of course aware, the trade in opium, native and foreign, was regarded in different lights by the high authorities of different provinces, and their mode of action was dissimilar. Some were for stamping out native opium altogether, and restricting the sale of foreign opium by placing prohibitions on the consumption of it. In other provinces it was regarded as a source of revenue, the habit of opium smoking was not checked, but the drug was heavily taxed, the vice being turned to account as a means of enriching the exchequer. As these modes of procedure were diametrically opposite, Sir Thomas Wade would be glad to be informed what was the policy favoured by the Central Government. The Minister addressed replied that the question was not an easy one to answer. He did not think that the Central Government had gone so far as to formulate a policy at all.”—Yes. But the sequel is much more important, my Lord. Shall I read it?

1306. Yes, what I have read to you will lead you up to your answer, no doubt?—I should inform your Lordship that the paper which I read on that occasion was one of a collection which I have marked “Conferences on Opium.”

1307. Perhaps you would put that in?—Yes. I do not see that I might not. But on the occasion on which I read it, I did not mention the name of the Minister who made it because, as I observed at the time, Chinese Ministers do not delight in having their names carried about; they are not so indifferent to it as we are; and for that reason I concealed the name of the Minister

speaking; and I have seen in the Anti-Opium periodical that he is referred to as an anonymous Minister. Will the proceedings be published necessarily?

1308. No; we might perhaps look at it?—Well, I merely wish your Lordship to understand that this is a collection of conferences on opium at the Tsung-li Yamen, the Chinese Foreign Office, during the years 1880, 1881, and 1882, and my usage, during the latter years certainly of any tenure of office, was to enter a formal report of all conferences at the Yamen on anything more than an ordinary question in a journal. Furthermore, it was my usage to be accompanied by some of my interpretorial staff or others. On this occasion I was accompanied by Mr. Hillier, now Consul-General in Corea, and there were present four Ministers whose names are given in the memorandum before you. The Minister with whom I had the conversation just quoted, was at that time virtually the Foreign Minister. Our real Foreign Minister must have been considered the Prince of Kung, the Emperor's uncle. He was some two or three years after I left Peking degraded on one of the common charges in China, corruption, and with him fell the Minister who was speaking (on the 16th January 1881). He was one of the very ablest men that in all the years I was in China I ever met, and one of the fittest certainly to be a diplomatic Minister. He is now rising again, after the fashion of the Chinese, and is at this present moment at the head of an enormous government which is overgrown with opium. “The Minister addressed replied that the question was not an easy one to answer. He did not think that the Central Government had gone so far as to formulate a policy at all. Speaking from a general point of view, however, he might say that if the habit of opium-smoking could be universally and at once abolished, the Chinese Government would be ready and willing to sacrifice the revenue that was at present derived from opium. All sensible men were nevertheless agreed that this was an impossibility. The habit of opium smoking was beyond the reach of prohibition, and the idea was how to turn it to account. The only way in which it could be turned to account was by making it a source of revenue, and the revenue thus derived was indispensable. There were, moreover, so many other matters that needed reform before the opium question was taken in hand, that it might safely be said that the abolition of opium had not entered the minds of those entrusted with the government of the Empire. Sir T. Wade went on to say that many persons, notably the foreign missionaries in China, had been urging on the British Government through various channels the advisability and the equity of abandoning their connexion with opium. Suppose, for as yet it was a pure supposition, that the British Government were eventually to effect a gradual diminution of the opium trade from India, by limiting the import to an increasing degree, year by year, until the trade was abolished altogether, did the Minister think that such an arrangement would meet with the approval of the Chinese Government? The Minister addressed, who again protested that the question was a difficult one to answer, replied that in his opinion such a plan would be useless. As long as the habit existed, opium would be procured somehow, and if it did not come from India it would be procured elsewhere. Any serious attempt to check the evil must originate with individuals. As long as men wanted to smoke and insisted on smoking, they would smoke, and a spontaneous abandonment of the habit on the part of the people would regulate the supply. Nothing short of this would do any good, and philanthropic efforts to check the evil in the manner suggested by Sir T. Wade would affect the revenue only, without in any way reaching the root of the mischief.”

1309. Is there anything further that you would like to say?—There are one or two things bearing upon the sincerity of the Chinese in the matter. It must be admitted by all those who have been in touch with this question for fifty odd years, that there is an amount of inconsistency on the part of the Chinese respecting it that puts their sincerity very much in question. There are several of them, as I said, that are perfectly sincere. The son-in-law of that great Commissioner Lin, whose violent action was the immediate cause of the first war, the son-in-law of that man was a few years ago Governor-General of the three provinces of which Nanking is the centre. He put down,—not opium smoking—he could not do that,—but all public opium divans. And now and then you will find individual officers taking a

Sr
T. F. Wade,
G.C.M.G.,
K.C.B.

15 Sept. 1893.

Sir
T. F. Wade,
G.C.M.G.,
K.C.B.
15 Sept. 1898.

step of that kind. But it is rare. You will find all over the country prohibitions against opium planting and opium smoking; and yet, as a letter from a missionary which I saw in a paper shortly before I left Peking, in 1882, stated, he had just passed through a field of poppy with the proclamation planted in the middle and the white poppies growing round the posts of the board on which the proclamation was posted. And you have more than that; you have the regular taxation of it, and you have now, if I do not mistake, in fact, I am sure of it, you have a regular quotation of the revenue derived from the native cultivation of different parts. But what I was about to call attention to as something of an argument on the side of inconsistency was the Will, as it is called, of the old Emperor against whom we made war in the first instance. The old Emperor was reigning as Tao Kuang. He was supposed, logically, to be pronouncedly opposed to opium smoking. In the year 1836, that is three years before our first hostilities, a censor of high reputation, Hū Nai-tsi by name, proposed that opium should be legalised on a duty of 8 per cent., and he was not at all without supporters. But his opponents were more powerful, and it ended in his being exiled to the far west of China as a punishment. It was almost immediately after that that the rigorous measures against the opium traffic and the opium smoker were revived. It should not be forgotten that all those who denounced it, denounced it to the full as much upon financial as moral grounds. What alarmed the Court? I cannot think that the small quantity imported alarmed the Court so much as the evidence that silver was being carried out of the country to pay for it. But the old Emperor was justly supposed to be a pronounced anti-opiumist; and it is therefore very remarkable that in his Will the misunderstanding which lasted from 1839 to 1842—our opium war—should be treated in the way that it is there treated. These Wills, as they are called, are prepared very much as our Speeches from the Throne are prepared—by the highest authorities; but these same high authorities must have also prepared the extremely lofty decree and the arrogant papers which were issued after we were excluded from Canton in 1849. The Emperor died just at the beginning of 1850, at the end of February 1850; and then there appeared this document, which, as I say, is very much like one of our Speeches from the Throne. It is in effect a review of his reign. After praising himself for his vigilance and his industry, his thrift and frugality, he comes to the rebellion of 1826-1828, a very serious movement in his Mohammedan Colonies, and then to the war with England.

"When the poor fools [the Mohammedans] that dwell beyond the western frontier had been chastised by our troops," he says, "for many years we presumed not to vaunt our martial prowess, until a quarrel arose out of a question of commerce upon the eastern coasts." [These are the terms, observe, in which our war of 1839-42 is alluded to.] "Even then, being as the good men of ancient times who held humanity to be the chief of virtues, how could we bear that our innocent babes should be exposed to the cruel wounds of the sharp-pointed spear? It was for this cause that we put away our annoyance and entered into an important compact [the Treaty of Nanking]. Giving comfort to our own dominions we showed tenderness to those from afar. And thus in the course of ten years the hurtful flame has expired of itself; our people and the barbarians trade together in peace, and all may now perhaps comprehend that in this policy we were actuated by the constant fondness of our people felt in our inmost heart."

There is not a word of reference to opium in that. After his successor had ascended the throne, he immediately, as is usual, asked for counsel of his advisers. The result was the presentation of some 50 odd papers, which I have here, either in translation or in précis. I do not think that opium is mentioned twice in the whole of them. I say that these are certain arguments to prove, well, if it be not indifference, certainly a not very active feeling in reference to opium.

1310. (Sir J. Lyall.) Sir Thomas Wade, in the evidence before us, and in the memorial to the Prime Minister signed by a great number of influential people, reference is made to what is called the "affecting appeal" made by the Chinese Commissioners for the revision of the Tientsin Treaty, in 1869, to the English Government to alter its policy with regard to opium. Will you kindly tell us what your view of that incident is, and how far was the appeal sincere; that is, were the Chinese thinking of prohibition, or were they

aiming at an increase of revenue?—I was not at Peking at the moment; I was on leave, and did not return until after Sir Rutherford Alcock's revision was completed. But I remember an account of his last conversation with the Prince of Kung before he started, in which the Prince had said that the only two troubles of China were opium and missionaries, and I should say (in answer to a question asked me) that this remark did not indicate a desire to increase the revenue; that it would rather be the other way, because the Prince of Kung's right hand at that time was not the Minister whose remarks I have been reading to you, but a very great man; great in this way, for though he was narrow, he was a singularly patriotic, clean-handed, Minister—very; and he was himself a tremendous anti-opiumist. He carried his antagonism to this point, that on one occasion when he was ill, and pressed to take laudanum, he would not touch it because it came from the poppy. He would have been a very likely man to suggest such a remark as that quoted. At the same time I was informed, on the very best authority, that when Sir Rutherford Alcock's proposition (and the whole of the negotiations were then over when this conversation that I speak of took place), Sir Rutherford Alcock's proposition, which promised an increase of revenue, came before the Minister in question, he chuckled very undisguisedly over the prospect of the revenue's improvement.

1311. With reference to that statement as to the action of the United States Minister, at the time of negotiating the Tientsin Treaty, I wish to ask how you would explain the fact that in two Treaties recently concluded between the United States and Russia the importation of opium is prohibited. Do you think the Chinese asked the insertion of the clause, or that the United States and Russia suggested it for any motive?

Well, I do not know myself about Russia, I had overlooked the fact of Russia's participation in the matter, but as regards the American proposition, I was informed at the time (I think that was in 1851), that it was put forward by the Americans in the hope that by the proposition they might in some way balance what they were taking away. In 1848 they negotiated a Treaty about emigration on both sides, which was the doing of Mr. Secretary Seward and Mr. Burlingame, the American Minister [then, however, representing China]. This laid down that the President of the United States, recognising no less than the Emperor of China that every human being has a right to change his domicile, &c., &c.—Well, in less than ten or twelve years after that, for reasons more particularly affecting the State of California, the Americans found that they had more Chinese than they wanted; in fact, that there was a very decided set of the labour people, the Irish of California more particularly, against the Chinese, and they wanted to undo that Treaty; and I rather think that I have seen it in my own despatches recently, that I reported that the proposition regarding opium did come spontaneously from America, as a kind of *quid pro quo*. The Chinese set no kind of value upon it, because America was not an opium-producing country, nor, in general, although on occasion when it suited them, an opium-carrying people.

1312. Another reason, I suppose, would be that I believe there is a certain anti-opium party in the States who have a religious belief?—Oh, necessarily; there is pretty sure to be; indeed, quite sure to be. They have, I should think, as strong an anti-opium party in the States as our own.

1313. There is one question that goes a little beyond the question that Lord Brassey put, and perhaps you may not be able to answer it; but I should like to put it. You have said that a large number of respectable Chinese are sincerely opposed to the opium trade; but do you think that the Chinese Imperial Government, if now formally asked by us, would say that they wished us to prohibit the import of Indian opium into China? (Can you answer that?)—I think that you would merely draw from them one of those generalisations, such as the Grand Secretary Li-Hing Chung and the late Minister Tseng and others put forth when they were approached by well-intentioned bodies in this country. In the same way, no people have a greater happiness in the composition of documents tinged with morality than the Chinese; but it would never enter their heads that the step was seriously contemplated. I should think their first impression would be to doubt your sincerity in the matter; but their answer, I think, would simply amount to this: Supposing that the British Minister, or a body of British anti-opiumists, were to approach the

Chinese Government, saying, "The Indian opium trade is an awful curse to your country;" implore the "British Government to give it up or to exclude it," they would answer, "The remedy appears to us to be in your own hands; if you do not like to export it, give up exporting it." They would meet you in that sort of way. But, as I said before, I think they would be inclined to doubt your sincerity. And even supposing now that there was in this country the popular feeling against it that there was, say, against negro slavery; and that there was such a feeling in the country that it was decided to have done with the export of opium to China in the interests of the Chinese, I can only say that you might just as well pull down this edifice that we are in here in order to put out a fire in Whitechapel. Because you have got in China a large opium-producing and opium-consuming country, accustomed to the use of opium long before any troubles with us began. And allow me to add one thing more, *apropos* of Mr. Griffith John's remark, that the opium traffic once abandoned by us, we should be on beautiful terms with the Chinese, and that there would be the greatest possible improvement, particularly in respect of missionary enterprise, and in fact all round, I venture to say that I doubt it exceedingly, because I remain true to what I have urged before, our difficulties with China are of an entirely different character. The Chinese have still got to learn, as a nation, that we are their equals. The Central Government has accepted this fact, and a very unpopular concession on the part of the Central Government it was; but as to the improvement of relations, and particularly as regards the preachers of religion—I do not want to commit your Lordship and the Commission to the hearing of an Essay on Missionary Enterprise—but what you have got to do in that country is largely to reinforce your missionary body with a very different description of missionary from those whom you generally enlist. As the Minister Tseng observed to me on one occasion, "Your missionaries are getting at the lower people, but you are not approaching the higher. Why did Buddhism make the way it did in our country," asked he, "because the works on Buddhism translated into Chinese (from the excellence of their style) appealed to the educated section of the community," and not only to a part but to all the literary men. Nor must we necessarily commence with theology.

1314. (Chairman.) That lies outside the purview of the Commission?—Quite. I was speaking simply in answer to Mr. Griffith John's remark.

1315. (Sir J. Lyall.) You said, I think, that when you were negotiating the Che-foo Convention, it had to be borne in mind that, if the other Powers did not agree to the arrangements we might make to regulate and restrict the opium traffic, they might easily organise an import trade of their own. I want to ask you where do you suppose that those other Powers would get the opium to import; from our people?—There were people talking already, when I returned to China in 1879, there were people talking of changing their flag and carrying opium under flags not British.

1316. I mean to say, do you think they would get it from India?—That would depend on the Indian Government. I am not prepared to say. But remember that though they import mainly Indian, they also import Turkey and Persian opium; and, furthermore, there were foreign representatives who were prepared to support the step contemplated, because it would have been a weapon in their hands; it would have been something to give up to China.

1317. (Mr. Pease.) Perhaps you are aware that the secretaries of the Anti-Opium Society, if not the members, always avoided speaking of the introduction of opium into China as having been first introduced by the English?—I was not aware of it.

1318. That has been very carefully done?—I can only say that verbally I may include wrongly some people in the Anti-Opium Society. But anti-opiumists have made that statement.

1319. But the Society has repeatedly repudiated it, although at one time the quantity of opium introduced was very small. You have said that your views had been to some extent modified with regard to the personal effects of opium. May I take the statement that you made in 1871—shall I read it?—as being generally your feeling at the present moment?—It was earlier; I think it was in 1868.

1320. "China.—No. 5 1871"—is, I think, the paper. "It is impossible to deny that we bring them that quality which, in the south, at all events, tempts them the most, and for which they pay dearest. It is to me vain to think otherwise of the use of the drug in China than as of a habit many times more pernicious, nationally speaking, than the gin and whisky-drinking which we deplore at home. It takes possession more insidiously, and keeps its hold to the full as tenaciously. I know no case of radical cure. It has insured, in every case within my knowledge, the steady descent, moral and physical, of the smoker, and it is, so far, a greater mischief than drink, that it does not, by external evidence of its effect, expose its victim to the loss of repute which is the penalty of habitual drunkenness."—It is in my Report on Sir Rutherford Alcock's Treaty Revision project submitted to Lord Clarendon, by his desire, in 1868. Yes; I have modified those views, as regards especially the question of cure. As I said in the course of my address to you just now, I have known,—I will not say many instances, —but I have known a certain number of instances where the cure has been complete, and that in one case which is always specially before me, in the case of a man who filled a position of considerable responsibility. He was a species of head steward (we call them *compradores*) of the British Consulate. I spent the year 1867 in that Consulate, and this man, who was a singularly intelligent, useful person, was then, as I conceived, in the very last stage of opium decay. He had every symptom of decadence. A more active, intelligent man, when he was not in the dream, I would not wish to meet. But I have sent for him, sometimes in that year when it was pitiful to see him. To my utter amazement, in 1882, I think it was, on my way home, I met this man looking hearty and well in Shanghai, and I said to him, "How comes it you are so well?" "Oh," he said, "The Consul put me under a British physician, and after a certain time I was quite cured." "But (then I said), have you given up opium altogether?" "Oh, no; but I used to smoke ten pipes, and now I smoke three." But I assure you he was as fit as any man that you could meet at the time that I am speaking of. That is really a salient instance. I have seen others, and, to boot, I have noted, perhaps, I have paid more particular attention to it [the question of incurability] than when I wrote the words quoted. I wrote them when I was far nearer my long residence in the south—I was eighteen years in the south before I went to Peking, where I was twenty-two years—and in the south I must say I had oftener seen cases that might have justified strong language. But even then the words just quoted would be an exaggeration, because I had heard stone-cutters and people of that sort,—people with hardly rags to their backs engaged in the roughest possible work, talking of the necessity of a little opium during the cold weather. When in 1874 Mr. Margary travelled across China to the frontiers of Burmah, he noticed, in one place especially, that his boatmen, the people who had been working a boat for days against the stream, that they, all of them, took their ration of opium regularly. I know, to boot, from other people who have been in my employ or connected with me, that they were in the habit of taking a certain allowance of opium just as we take our allowance of wine.

1321. You speak of the war as being not a war of the character which has often been described. Of course you are aware that contemporaneous authorities of very high authority take a very different view at the same time?—Perfectly.

1322. I observe here a remark of Mr. Gladstone's: "A war more unjust in its origin, a war more calculated to cover this country with permanent disgrace, I do not know, and I have not read of. The right hon. gentleman opposite spoke of the British flag waving in glory at Canton. That flag is hoisted to protect an infamous contraband traffic; and if it were never hoisted, except as it is now hoisted on the coast of China, we should recoil from its sight with horror. Although the Chinese were undoubtedly guilty of much absurd phraseology, of no little ostentatious pride, and of some excess, justice, in my opinion, is with them; and whilst they, the pagans, the semi-civilised barbarians, have it on their side, we, the enlightened and civilised Christians, are pursuing objects at variance both with justice and with religion."—I should like to know what Mr. Gladstone had then read of the antecedent relations between us and the Chinese, or what he then knew about the opium trade in China at all.

Sir
T. F. Wade,
G.C.M.G.,
K.C.B.
15 Sept. 1898

Sir
T. F. Wade,
G.C.M.G.,
K.C.B.
15 Sept. 1898.

1328. That was a declaration made in the House of Commons in a discussion?—I recollect it. He spoke one of the most magnificent speeches he ever spoke on the "Lorcha Arrow" affair. I remember the ring of that speech, when, after reviewing the incidents, as he understood them, of the quarrel, he asked the question if we thought that these things could add to either our honour or profit. "Why," said he, "they deepen your guilt." The speech went the round of Europe. Louis Blanc quoted it in his printed letters. But it is wrong. It is written in perfect ignorance of the relations of England and China; and as long as that view is held so long will you have all these collisions, the fault of all collisions with China, laid to our charge. But it would be—even in the case of what is called the "opium war" it is—inexcusable to formulate the accusations that I hear formulated without reading the story of the misunderstanding, all the incidents that had anteceded the final collision.

1329. I observe in connexion with a letter which was written by Mr. Lay to the *Times*, to which a reply was written by Mr. Alexander, in which there is a quotation which is dated 1858, from a Report on a Revision of Tariffs, furnished by yourself and Mr. Oliphant, in which you state that "one of the Chinese Commissioners, whose position as Superintendent of Customs at Shanghai," says the report, "naturally gives him a chief voice in such matters, admitted the necessity of a change. China still retains her objection to the use of a drug on moral grounds; but the present generation of smokers, at all events, must and will have opium. China would propose a very high duty, but, as opposition was naturally to be expected from us in that case, it should be as moderate as possible." Would you accept that as a genuine expression of Chinese feeling?—I am not sure, although I read very recently that over—I am not sure that I quite follow the argument in the case.

1325. Well, his ground is that the present generation must and will have opium, and they will propose a very high duty; but as opposition must naturally be expected from us, in that case it should be as moderate as possible; that we would not allow them to place as high a duty as they would, they having a moral object in view?—In truth, the duty was arranged between the Chinese official and Mr. Lay.

1326. (Chairman.) What was the date of that?

1327. (Mr. Pease.) That was in 1858?—They met us with an offer, I think, of 34 ounces. As I stated, Lord Elgin's formula was, let them tax it as high as they please; only regularise it. I went on my part, and consulted persons in whom I could have confidence, particularly one, as to what was fair to put upon it. He had been himself a merchant, far back in the East India Company's time; he was a man who thoroughly understood all the conditions of the trade, and he said 30 ounces would be a fair duty.

1328. How do you regulate what is fair for the Chinese to put?—Well, with reference to its value.

1329. Why should not the Chinese have full liberty?—Well, I am speaking of what we had before us in 1858, when they were exceedingly well pleased to add to their revenue. The important point is that they did not dispute it. They did formally propose those 34, and we abated it. That paper to which you refer, signed by Mr. Oliphant and myself, was drawn up by me, but it does not give in detail the whole of the interview. There is one most important incident left out, probably because I did not think it sufficiently serious; and that is that the whole thing having been well thought out between Mr. Lay and the Superintendent of Customs, when we met for our first conference, inasmuch as it was a proposal affecting opium, or as it is generally called, the foreign drug, both Mr. Oliphant and myself came to it with a certain amount of formality, and were beginning to talk about the amount, when the Superintendent, who was a very rough man, burst out into a laugh, and asked, "What is the use of talking about that when Mr. Lay and myself have settled the whole thing?" And they put forward, I do not know if it was Mr. Lay's suggestion or not, they put forward 34 taels, and after a very slight debate 30 was accepted. I am bound to observe that if they had asked for 100, Lord Elgin would have given it them.

1330. By the Treaty of Tientsin, opium imported from India had to pay an import duty of 30 taels a picul?—Yes.

1331. And after leaving the importer's premises was further liable to such local taxation or *li-kin* as the authorities chose to impose?—Yes.

1332. But when you negotiated the Chefoo Agreement in 1876, you proposed in the first instance that the drug opium when brought into port should be bonded until sold?—Yes.

1333. And that when sold the importer should pay the duty and the purchaser at the same time the local tax or *li-kin* and both to the Foreign Customs Inspectorate?—Yes.

1334. Will you explain what advantage this would have afforded to the Chinese over the old Tientsin arrangement?—It would have secured to them,—I thought I had explained, that the first of my stipulations was that the rate should be even at all the ports. They had been in the habit of putting on one rate here and another rate there; it was a great derangement of the foreign importer's business transactions, and in some places you had a ridiculous state of things, such as this: the Port of Amoy is just at the southern tip of the province of Fu-kien; the Port of Swatow is just at the eastern end of the province of Kwang Tung, which is next door to it. They had positively at one of these two ports,—I think at one time they were putting on 58, or something of that sort, whilst at this next port they were putting on 24; and then when they found that there was in consequence so much opium going to the latter port, the one rate went down and the other went up; and there was all that kind of uncertainty. And there was this to be said, that as it was collected, not by foreign officers, but by Chinese, a great portion of it was lost to the Government. Though they believed themselves to be getting something like 40 taels a picul all down the coast, they did not get one-half of it, or at all events not three-fourths of it. I proposed that they should get the whole of that, and indeed I contemplated a rise upon it; and I attempted, in 1879, when I returned to China, to raise it; but circumstances interfered with the negotiations, which were discontinued.

1335. Indeed it was very largely to prevent contraband, to make it easier for the Chinese to collect the tariff, I suppose?—It was to secure them, what they were entitled to, and, as I have informed you, I think, it was suggested to me by the fact that I considered a decision of our Supreme Court had been unduly against the Chinese.

1336. Why did the Home Government refuse to confirm the Chefoo Convention, and leave it open for so long a period?—For the length of the period I am in great part responsible. I was interrupted by various incidents. In the first instance, in 1876, no sooner was my agreement signed than all my colleagues,—at least no sooner had I left China for England, than almost all my colleagues virtually protested against the whole thing, although two of them—but it is of no use going into those details. 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. They were at one time willing that opium should be liable to the tariff duty of 30 taels *plus*, on my estimate, an inland duty of about 40. I certainly had contemplated making such an arrangement as, whilst it would add to the amount that the Chinese had believed themselves entitled to receive, would be more or less fixed; that there might not be the irregularity attending it that there had been. But in the first place, when I came to discuss it with the Grand Secretary Li Hung Chung I imagine that I did not move fast enough; then, later on, there were other interruptions; there were other considerations; and finally when my tenure of office came to a close at the end of 1882, the thing was not concluded. On the whole, that it dragged must be put down to my charge more or less.

1337. 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?—That at first no doubt was the feeling in India, but I do not think it would be fair to set down all the delay to that cause. On the contrary, in that year, you see, amongst negotiations which came into my hands, there were negotiations arising out of the Treaty of another Power which would have led, I think, in the long run to the disappearance of some of the difficulties affecting trade in the interior; or, at all events, to the protection of imports carried inland against the taxation which

was so depressing our trade inland [and against which all foreign Powers, ourselves included, had long been protesting]. As you may see very well, it was an excellent opportunity to put an end to this. The Chinese were waiting for a settlement of this opium inland arrangement; but they were all the time collecting *li-kin*. We did not interfere with their collection so far as it was in their own hands; but this improved system, which they were right willing to see put in force, would have been a very fair argument in our hands that they should meet us half-way as regards the inland taxation of the regular trade and the trade outside opium. Well, we [the foreign Legations combined] had got a considerable length by the end of the year 1879, when there was what you may remember as the Russian scare, which threw the whole of us back for a twelvemonth; and then there were other delays and other delays; and I left China in the middle of 1882, with the business unfinished, and to a certain extent I may say that I was responsible for the delay; indeed, in no small degree. When I returned home, after a certain interval, the Foreign Office, would have been, I think, very glad of my assistance to bring the matter to a conclusion, but I was, to use the simplest term, not equal to the effort, and the delays, I am sorry to repeat, must be more or less charged to myself.

1338. Did the Chinese Government ask for free liberty as to the amount of the *li-kin*?—No. In one sense they asked for free liberty, because I proposed in the first instance what I knew them to be then getting as the *li-kin*, and indeed offered more; for whereas I felt quite sure they did not get 40, I was proposing 50; and I have since learned that if I had proposed 60 they would have closed with it joyfully; but the interruptions that I mentioned [those for which I was not responsible] ensued, and the result is that it is now being taxed a great deal more than I had ever contemplated that it would be.

1339. The result was that they were only able to get the Convention which you had made with them confirmed on their accepting 80 taels?—Is not that so?—I should hardly say that. I was not in the affair at the close, but I should say that it was they who pressed. We did not limit them at 80. But they pressed up to 80. It was they who pressed, and on Sir Robert Hart's inspiration. They were asking for 80; was not we who were abating. They never asked for more than 80; and indeed when I was leaving China, that very able man whose conversation I read to you a short time ago called on me only a few days before I left—called on me to say that they would be perfectly satisfied with 70, which would give them the 100 taels on the whole. The Grand Secretary Li, too, had told my Chinese secretary the same thing but a short time before. There was no constraint whatever, not the slightest.

1340. The Chairman has asked you, I think, a question with regard to Sir James Ferguson, and you said you could not, in the full, from your experience, confirm what Sir James Ferguson has said?

1341. (Chairman.) With reference to the full direction of the Chinese to deal on tariff or prohibition with the importation of opium?

1342. (Mr. Pease.) I was going to put this question: It was stated by Sir James Ferguson in the House of Commons' debate on April 10th 1891, that "the Chinese at any time may terminate the Treaty on giving 12 months' notice, and to protect themselves they may increase the duty to any extent they please, or they may exclude it altogether." Is that language in your opinion a fair description of the position of the Chinese in the matter of their Treaty relations with us?—Yes; my proper answer to that should have been that "I have not read to my knowledge, anything in 'Treaty or Correspondence' that would bear out such a statement as that." But I do not mean to say that it is not true.

1343. And again it was stated by Mr. Curzon, the late Under-Secretary for India, in the House of Commons' debate on 30th June 1893 that, "under a clause of the Chefoo Convention of 1866, it was possible for the Chinese Government, upon giving 12 months' notice, to abrogate the Treaty, or to put an import tax on the article, or even, like Japan, to prohibit its introduction altogether into any of its ports." Is that, in your opinion, a fair description of the relations of the Chinese with us in the matter of opium? Your answer will be very similar to that to the other question?—No; pardon me. It must be that I have not

"seen it in any Treaty or Correspondence." Perhaps I recall things more vividly than I was connected with myself. In Clause 7 of the Additional Article, which is signed at London on the 18th July, 1855: "The arrangement respecting opium contained in the present Additional Article shall remain binding for four years, after the expiration of which period either Government may at any time give 12 months' notice of its desire to terminate it, and such notice being given, it shall terminate accordingly." I should think that that covered—

1344. (Sir J. Lyall.) What would be the result of that notice being given? Would they fall back on the Treaty of Tientsin, or what?

1345. (Mr. Pease.) Perhaps you would kindly read the last clause, Sir Thomas?—"It is, however, agreed that the Government of Great Britain shall have the right to terminate the same at any time, should the transit certificate be found not to confer on the opium complete exemption from all taxation whatsoever, whilst being carried from the port of entry to the place of consumption in the interior."

1346. The last clause would you kindly read?—"In the event of the termination of this present Additional Article, the arrangement with regard to opium, now in force under the regulations attached to the Treaty of Tientsin, shall revive." Yes.

1346A. It is your view that if they were to denounce this Treaty, then they come under the provisions of the Treaty of Tientsin; which, while it gives them the power to increase the *li-kin*, takes away from them the privilege of objecting to taxation as arranged by you through the Custom House?—Yes. Not arranged by me.

1347. Well, it is in your Convention?—It is the Supplementary Article [not negotiated by me]. I am bound to say that a great deal of what is written in that kind of way has passed out of my memory as being practically of no importance. My own conviction is that you will never have a proposition from the Chinese Government on the subject.

1348. I would just remind you that in the conference held in May, 1881, a chief Minister, the Marquis of Tso, made a proposition going much beyond the mere imposition of a duty of 110 taels?—I remember perfectly well his proposition; indeed, I think it was in a Memorial to the Throne, that the recommendation that they should put 150 taels on it was made. This, to a moral certainty, would have enhanced the premium and revived smuggling all along the coast, whereas Sir Robert Hart's limit was that which would put the trade out of the fear of the smuggler.

1349. Is it your view, may I ask, that the English Government ought not to interfere in any degree in fixing what the internal duty should be?—It ought not to interfere? Do you mean morally?

1350. No; as a matter of what ought to be left to an independent nation?—Well, that is to say, whether it would not be more becoming to England to put it back to the condition of things before any agreement were signed: let us pay an import duty, and then leave the inland taxation entirely for themselves. I think you could not do China a greater dis-service. One of the curses of China at this moment is the multiplication of the offices of the inland revenue, which are all corruption personified. It would be depriving China of so much revenue, and it would be ensuring an amount of maladministration of which, I think, you would be sorry to realise the result.

1351. I have only further to say I am requested to state that the Secretary and the previous Secretary of the Anti-Opium Society have never used the term "second opium war." It is a term that has been used by others; it is not a term that has been adopted by them?—It has been used by anti-opiumists.

1352. (Mr. Wilson.) Sir Thomas Wade, I want to ask you a few questions. At the beginning of your evidence I think you made a kind of comparison between opium in China and drink in this country?—Yes.

1353. And you suggested something, if not like insincerity, at least like inconsistency, in the outcry about opium while we tolerated drink?—I would not say while we tolerate drink. I was speaking rather, I think,—for I had not prepared a speech,—I was thinking rather of the tone of the condemnation. I consider that there is a sufficient analogy between the

Sir
T. F. Wade,
G.C.M.G.,
K.C.B.
15 Sept. 1892.

Sir
T. F. Wade,
G.C.M.G.,
K.C.B.

15 Sept. 1898.

two evils to bar us from indicting the opium trade in the way that we do indict it; from using the exceedingly censorious language that we apply to it.

1354. That is what I understood. But then I have no doubt that you are perfectly aware that there is a very large number of persons and of associations of different kinds in this country, which from various points of view, and with various degrees of stringency, are saying very strong things about drink, too?—Yes.

1355. And if any of these persons are taking part and using the same sort of language about opium in China, there is no inconsistency about them?—Not if it is only the same kind. But they use about opium in China very much stronger language when they charge Government agents and communities with forcing it upon China. What would you think if you could charge a Ministry of England with forcing drink on this country at the point of the bayonet.

1356. I am afraid I am not a witness?—I beg your pardon. It was a mere form of words. I did not intend to make a personal remark at all.

1357. Then, another question. You referred to some period.—I am not sure what the exact period was,—but you referred to the fact that at that time there was not enough opium being sent into China for more than 2 per cent. of the population, I think it was?—Yes.

1358. Well, of course, the adult male population of any country is roughly estimated at 20 per cent.; therefore, if there was enough opium for 2 per cent., it would be one-tenth of the entire male population?—Pardon me; a remark was made, I can hardly remember now in what connexion, because it was by a missionary whose name I said I did not mention, because I was not absolutely certain of his identity. I believe him to be a missionary of very long standing and of the very highest respectability; and I entirely forget now in what connexion he produced the paper in which I read it. But I remember reading it with great astonishment. I simply gave it for what it is worth. I presume that he had in his mind, of course, not every man, woman, and child in the country, but taking the mass, we are in the habit of speaking of "poisoning the nation," and I think that he was in all probability deprecating the severity of that remark.

1359. I only want to see whether you agree with me that, even putting it in the form in which you did put it, it would amount in a population like that of London, to providing sufficient for 80,000 to 100,000 of the male adult inhabitants of London—that would be the proportion; that is 2 per cent.?—Well, I should not venture to say so. I am almost sorry I cited the remark.

1360. Very well. I will not pursue it?—I cited it because it was the testimony of a missionary,—that is the way I interpreted it,—it was the testimony of a missionary against what I conceive to be a certain habit of exaggeration in condemning what is no doubt a serious evil.

1361. Now, then, in reference to some questions that, I think, were put to you just now by Mr. Fense with reference to the ratification of the Chefoo Convention; I find that in September 1881, a meeting of merchants was held in Bombay, when they sent a memorial to the Marquis of Ripon, who was then Viceroy, and in the fourth clause of the memorial they say—"Your memorialists, seeing the great injury that would have been done to the Indian opium trade if this proposal had been carried into effect, petitioned the Secretary of State at that time on the subject, and succeeded" (that is, the memorialists succeeded) "in inducing the Government to stop the ratification of the Chefoo Convention." You agree with that?—No. The memorialists, the Bombay opium merchants, did protest; their representatives in China had protested to me, too, very strongly against it; but it did not arrest the ratification of the Chefoo Agreement the least in the world.

1362. Then you think they took more upon themselves than they were justified in doing?—I should think so. I think it is very natural that when the thing hung fire they should assume that this was owing to their remonstrances; but I think they were mistaken, because I know that the non-ratification of it was due to other causes.

1363. Well, then, Sir Thomas, I find that in February 1870, Sir Rutherford Alcock was present at a meeting of the Viceroy in Council, which apparently was called for the purpose of conferring with him upon the prospects of the Indian opium revenue, and he gave an

account which occupies a page or more here—an abbreviation of his statement with reference to what had taken place—his views, and then comes this paragraph. I am putting it to you to ask you how far you agree with what he stated. "In answer to question put by His Excellency the Viceroy and others, Sir Rutherford Alcock said that he had no doubt that the abhorrence expressed by the Government and people of China for opium, as destructive to the Chinese nation, is genuine and deep-seated, and that he was also quite convinced that the Chinese Government could, if it pleased, carry out its threat of developing cultivation to any extent. On the other hand, he believed that so strong was the popular feeling on the subject, that if Britain would give up the opium revenue and suppress the cultivation in India the Chinese Government would have no difficulty in suppressing it in China, except in the Province of Yu-nan, where its authority is in abeyance?"—No, I do not agree with the latter part. I more or less protested—"protest" would not have been a proper word for me to have used at the time—but I differed from him in opinion, and I have elsewhere recorded the difference of my opinion as to the power of the Chinese Government in the matter. The Chinese Government was not so circumstanced, and has not been for very many years. Allow me to refer you to the correspondence of Captain Elliot in the year 1836. Even at that time you will find a Chinese Minister,—the one who proposed the legalisation of it,—admitting two things: that opium is necessary to the Chinese, and that the Government really could not stop it. You will find it in this great Blue Book of 1840.

1364. Your reply refers to the latter part of what I read?—Yes.

1365. The first part is as to the genuineness of their abhorrence, and their desire to get rid of it?—Well, I do not think the abhorrence, as I have stated in my evidence, is so universal as is supposed. I say that there must be a very large number of Chinese who do abhor it, but just in the way that there is in Britain a great number of people, as you said just now, who abhor drink and the notion of drink.

1366. May I just read you these words again: "Sir Rutherford Alcock said that he had no doubt that the abhorrence expressed by the Government and people of China for opium, as destructive to the Chinese nation, is genuine and deep-seated." My question is, do you agree with Sir Rutherford Alcock that the Government of China had this deep-seated and genuine abhorrence?—I think it is too sweeping a statement.

1367. Of course you know that Sir Rutherford Alcock gave evidence in this country a year later?—Yes.

1368. What I have just read was in 1870. In 1871 he gave evidence in this country, and it is somewhat in the same line. I want just to ask you if you agree. He quoted, in giving evidence here, a despatch that he had written on this subject, and in which he uses these words: "It is one of the Chinese mandarins uses these words, that 'he believed the extension of this pernicious habit was mainly due to the avarice with which foreigners supplied the poison for their own profit, perfectly regardless of the irreparable injury inflicted, and naturally they felt hostile to all concerned in such a traffic.' Do you agree with that?" I think it is too sweeping again. Indeed, what I have already said points the other way.

1369. Well, then in answer to further questions, Sir Rutherford Alcock said: "I think it will be seen the substance of the whole is this: that there is a very large and increasing cultivation of the poppy in China, and that the Chinese Government are seriously contemplating (if they cannot come to any terms of arrangement with the British Government for restricting the area of growth in India, and either gradually or suddenly putting an end to its importation, as they think they have the power to do), the cultivation without stint in China and producing opium at a much cheaper rate. Having done that they think they will afterwards be able to stamp out the opium produce among themselves." I do not ask you whether you agree as to their power; but do you agree that that indicates some degree of desire on their part to do so?—No. I have heard the proposition more than once from Chinese, but I do not believe in its seriousness; without charging them with insincerity as regards their desire to see such a result. I am perfectly satisfied no Chinese that ever spoke to me in

that way ever believed that the Government could do it, or that such a result was obtainable." Just think: we keep on talking of opium as if the whole question, dated from the time we first went to war with China, but all those propositions really were discussed by the Chinese themselves long before we had any collision with them at all.

1370. Then a little further on he said:—"My own conviction is firm that whatever degree of honesty may be attributed to the officials and to the central Government, there is that at work in their minds, that they would not hesitate one moment to-morrow, if they could, to enter into any arrangement with the British Government and say, 'Let our revenue go, we care nothing about it. What we want is to stop the consumption of opium; which we conceive is impoverishing the country, and demoralising and brutalising our people.'" Do I gather that you think they had misled Sir Rutherford Alcock?—I cannot answer that with one word. The Chinese, like ourselves, have a very great facility of generalisation when they come to discuss moral questions; but I am very much astonished,—it is years since I read that, which I must have done,—I am very much astonished at its having so impressed Sir Rutherford Alcock, who had been five-and-twenty years in the country.

1371. I will only trouble you with one more, which has a bearing on trade. He said (as regards the bearing upon the Government of China: "If I had been enabled during the recent revision of the Treaty to hold out any distinct promise or assurance to them, that both as regarded missionaries and opium, which are their two great grievances, something should be done more or less restrictive that would meet their wishes, I believe that I might have got any facilities for our trade that I had chosen to demand. My great difficulty was that I could offer them nothing in either direction"?—No, nor in any direction, he might have added. Our grand difficulty with China is that we have never anything to offer. I do not know myself what his conviction points to after he had been engaged two years in the revision. He must have traversed most of the ground possible, but I cannot imagine what Sir Rutherford Alcock supposes he would have got if he could have given up opium and missionaries; one is about as practicable as the other; but what he would have got in the way of trade I cannot imagine.

1372. His idea was that if he could have given up opium, he could have got great facilities for trade. You do not agree with that?—I do not, because of this: they could not have afforded then to give up the abnormal taxation which overspread the country, and which there were hundreds upon hundreds of offices to

The witness withdrew.

Mr. STEWART LOCKHART called in and examined.

1375. (Chairman.) You are, I believe, the Registrar-General, or, in other words, the Protector of the Chinese in Hong Kong?—Yes.

1376. I believe that you have resided in Hong Kong, for 14 years?—14 years.

1377. I think you have also resided in Canton, and also in the interior—in the Kuang-Tung Province?—I have.

1378. I believe that you are acquainted with the Chinese language, both to speak it and to read it; and of course your position brings you into close contact with the natives of all classes, both high and low?—Yes.

1379. In fact your post constitutes you as the channel of communication between the Government and the Chinese population of Hong Kong?—It does.

1380. Well, now, can you from your extensive experience give us your opinion as to the state of Chinese opinion in regard to the opium habit, looking at the state of things not only among the working classes, but also the merchants, the literati, the official classes, and also can you tell us what you saw during your sojourn in the interior, which would give you an opportunity of forming an opinion as to how the Chinese regard this question?—As regards Chinese popular opinion in respect to the opium habit, it is decidedly against it. There is a common Cantonese saying which sums up rather appositely "The Ten Cannots" with regard to the opium sot. It says, "The Ten Cannots regarding the Opium Smoker":—"He cannot: (1) give

collect. The real embarrassment of trade lay in these offices, and they could not have given them up, even if you had taken away opium and missionaries, or anything else you pleased to name at the time.

1373. (Chairman.) Are these local tolls levied at different points?—They are abnormal. Mr. Lay calls the collection of this tax, the *li-kin*, a war tax, and at one time that would have been more or less a correct term to employ. The word means, literally, one per mille. It is the thousandth part, the *li* is the thousandth part, of what we call in foreign commerce the tael (the ounce); and *kin* is gold, and *li-kin*,—this one per mille upon trade,—is something like our income tax; a tax put on to meet some extraordinary emergency. The disturbances of the country were perplexing their Treasury very much before the rebellion broke out. Then all through the rebellion and up to a late date, if not to this moment, they were perplexed as to finding means at all; and the rebellion itself—which lasted—the rebellion proper lasted—from 1852 to 1864, and then prolonged itself in different directions,—threw upon them an extraordinary expenditure, while the whole of their normal apparatus was disorganised; and, therefore, they have been more or less obliged to keep up this system of irregular taxation. The whole country is dotted with these offices. They do not obtain on the spot,—the authorities do not obtain,—half of what is collected; and you will see in the Appendix to my Report on the Chefoo Agreement [presented to the late Earl of Derby], in 1877, two State papers, in which the Central Government bitterly complains that it cannot get returns from the provinces upon these very questions. I think, sir, if I may return to the question of my respected Chief's remarks, Sir Rutherford Alcock was rather viewing the situation throughout as if the Central Government, with the power of the Central Government—which is immense when the Emperor is in full blow—was very much more confirmed than it really was. It had been terribly disorganised by the rebellion, and at the time he was speaking China had had seven years of a female Regency, [1869.]

1374. (Mr. Wilson.) Sir Thomas, there are a great many more statements of the same kind; I have got five or six of them more noted; but I have gathered sufficiently that your opinion does not agree with him, and I will not pursue that further?—Of course, I am exceedingly unwilling to say that I disagree with a gentleman under whom I served for very many years, and whose Secretary of Legation I was; but I think that in those passages which you have read, there is an evidence of a little over-readiness to measure the situation favourably, which I am the more astonished at, because on occasion Sir Rutherford Alcock certainly showed that he perfectly understood its difficulties.

Sir
T. F. Wade,
G.C.M.G.,
K.C.B.

15 Sept. 1893.

Mr. S.
Lockhart.

"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." That, I think, sums up the popular view of the Chinese with regard to the opium habit.

1381. Well then, and that opinion is shared by high and low?—I should say it represents popular opinion on the subject.

1382. Well, now, what was the result of your own observations with regard to the effect of opium, upon those who resort to the use of opium?—I have seen moderate smokers; and I have also seen smokers who certainly took the drug to excess. As regards the moderate smokers, it did not seem to affect them much, if at all, physically, and certainly not at all mentally. With regard to those who took it to excess, from outward appearances they certainly were affected physically, but in my own communications with them I never saw any trace of their being affected mentally.

1383. Do you believe in the possibility of a moderate consumption of opium?—I do. I have seen people consume opium who do not indulge in it to excess. But of course, there is the danger of proceeding from moderation to excess.

1384. Well, now, turning to the effect of the opium trade on the attitude of the Chinese towards our Government, and as it affects their general opinion of us, what

Mr. S.
Lockhart.
Sept. 1893

do you say on that point?—I have noticed in the newspapers that some of the witnesses who have appeared before the Opium Commission have stated that the British are hated by the Chinese on account of this opium question. So far as my experience goes, I have never found any hatred expressed of the British on that account.

1385. Do you consider that the British commerce in other articles of trade is prejudicially affected by the existence of the trade in opium between India and China?—I doubt whether that is so; because if the Chinese did not spend their money on the opium from India, they would spend it on the opium which they grow themselves, and which, as is well known, is increasing every year.

1386. Speaking of Hong Kong, what have you to tell us with regard to the facilities for obtaining supplies of opium there, and with regard to the proportion of the Chinese population in Hong Kong who are consumers of opium?—I drew up a return some time ago, under directions from the Governor of Hong Kong, with regard to the number of opium divans, or as they are very often erroneously called, "opium dens." I think it was in connexion with some question that had been asked by a Member of Parliament, calling attention to the excessive number of opium divans in Hong Kong. I had inquiries made, and drew up a table, the figures of which I have here.

1387. Please give the results to us?—The number of public-houses or canteens per 1,000 of the total European and American population is 2·80. The number of opium divans per 1,000 of the total Chinese land population is about 0·86 (8·56 per 10,000). That is, that the public-houses in Hong Kong for the public supply of drink to Europeans are proportionately more numerous than the opium divans for the supply of opium to Chinese.

1388. Now, we have had comparisons made by witnesses who have appeared before us of the relative results of the indulgence in opium and indulgence in spirituous liquor, and we have been told by many witnesses that opium is far more prejudicial in its effects than liquor, at any rate, if moderately consumed. What would you say to us as to the relative influence of opium and liquor upon consumers?—Comparing the opium sot and the drunkard, I should say the drunkard is a man who makes himself a much greater nuisance to society than an opium sot. The opium sot, although he may be affecting himself physically, and perhaps mentally, does not make himself a nuisance to society generally; whereas the drunkard, as is well known, is not only a nuisance to his immediate surroundings, but very often to society in general.

1389. In relation to the death rate at Hong Kong, would you be able to say that there was any distinct evidence that the returns are more unfavorable in the case of those who are consumers of opium than in the average of the population?—The mortality statistics do not tend to show that any deaths result from opium-smoking. I do not think that I have ever had a return of a death registered as directly arising from opium-smoking. Of course, there are sometimes cases of opium poisoning by swallowing opium; in fact, that is not an uncommon form of getting rid of life. But so far as the death-rate of the Chinese is concerned in Hong Kong it is improving; in 1888, the death-rate among the Chinese per 1,000 was 32·22; in 1892, it was 21·36; and there is nothing in the death statistics to show that opium is the cause of a high mortality in the Colony. Of course, I cannot say to what extent diseases which people die from may have been liable to be caught on account of indulgence in the habit of opium smoking.

1390. I believe there is a system of raising revenue in Hong Kong and in the Straits Settlements, and in other British dependencies, by what are known as opium farms?—Yes.

1391. Will you describe that system to us?—The opium farm is let to a man for a certain figure, and he has the monopoly, and pays to the Government a certain fee every year for the privilege of preparing and selling prepared opium. This monopoly, I think, does not tend in any way to increase the consumption of opium; in fact, I think that the system rather tends to decrease the consumption, because the opium farmer, being practically a monopolist, is able to keep up the price of opium; and if people want his opium they have to pay a higher figure for it than they perhaps would have to do if the privilege of preparing opium was not confined to one person, as at present, but granted to several people.

1392. Do you think that under a system of free trade in the supply of opium, the consumption of opium would be more extensive than it is under the present system?—I think so. The opium would be cheaper, and people being able to get it more cheaply would almost certainly consume more. I think in many cases a man is a moderate smoker of necessity, because he has not the money to pay for more, much as he might like to have it. If there was a free trade in this matter, opium would become much cheaper, and people would be able to indulge themselves more freely in it than at present.

1393. Do you think it would be possible or politic on the part of the Government of Hong Kong to issue an edict of total prohibition of the consumption of opium?—From a revenue point of view it would be injurious to the Colony, and I do not think it would decrease consumption. It is the desire of the Government to limit consumption as far as it possibly can consistently with the raising of revenue.

1394. Do you think that, if the use of opium in any form was forbidden, you could enforce such a prohibition?—I do not think it would be possible any more than a prohibition of drink in this country could be enforced. People would smoke. I am afraid the habit has become so ingrained in the Chinese that they must have their opium.

1395. (Sir W. Roberts.) I was going to ask Mr. Lockhart a question: What is the Chinese population of Hong Kong?—The Chinese population is about, in round figures, 226,000; the total population of the Colony being, in round figures, 231,000.

1396. That is, there are about 10,000 Europeans?—And 220,000 Chinese.

1397. Are the Chinese inhabitants of Hong Kong there with their wives and children in their full family relations?—There is Chinese family life in Hong Kong, and it is increasing; but non-family life is more common than family life among the Chinese in the Colony.

1398. Then they are to some extent immigrants?—Certainly. The close proximity of the Colony to the main-land of China, facilitates the progress of the Chinese to and fro.

1399. Now, opium smoking is prevalent among the Chinese people?—I think the term "prevalent" may certainly be applied to it.

1400. May one say one-half of the adults smoke opium?—I should not like to commit myself to any statement of that kind. I think it is rather rash to commit oneself to any statement as to figures which are not based on ascertained facts.

1401. But you think it might be described as prevalent?—I think it is prevalent.

1402. But still nothing like so prevalent as the use of alcoholic stimulants amongst the adults in this country?—I do not think so.

1403. Some are moderate and some are immoderate?—Some are moderate and some are immoderate.

1404. Can you give us any idea?—I do not want precise numbers—what is the proportion between the moderate users, those who do not injure themselves, and the immoderate users, those who do injure themselves?—In Hong Kong the moderate smokers are, so far as my experience goes, more numerous than the immoderate smokers.

1405. Then you can only speak of it as a bare majority?—I cannot give precise figures.

1406. That is to say you could not say now, as in this country we might roughly say, that out of 100 people who use alcoholic liquors there are certainly not more than ten who could be classed as intemperate?—It is difficult to give figures of that kind with regard to Hong Kong, which has more or less of a floating population. I should not like to commit myself beyond what I have already stated, that the moderate smoker is much more common than the immoderate smoker, so far as my experience goes.

1407. Your impression is then that there are a great many that go to excess and injure themselves?—What I said was that the moderate smoker, the man who cannot afford to go to excess, so far as my experience goes, is more numerous than the man who goes to excess. Some of course do go to excess and injure themselves.

1408. You cannot express yourself more exactly than that?—No, I cannot express myself more exactly.

1409. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) Do you think that the only people who are moderate are the men who cannot afford it?—No, I would not say that; but I think the fact of their not being able to afford it operates to restrain many from becoming immoderate consumers.

1410. Makes the common working men?—Makes them more moderate than perhaps they otherwise would be. But I do not say that men who have wealth and who smoke opium are not sometimes moderate also.

1411. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) But you would not even venture to say that the opium sot was more common among opium smokers than the drunkard is among spirit drinkers or the users of alcoholic drinks?—I should not like to say so.

1412. Is the opium-smoking increasing in Hong Kong?—No, I do not think there is anything to show that it is increasing.

1413. It is about stationary?—I think it is pretty much about the same.

1414. Then the extraordinary improvement in the death-rates in Hong Kong, from 32·21 in 1888 to 21·36 in 1893 is quite independent of any fluctuation in what one may call the opium rate?—I should not think the opium question affected the death-rate very much one way or the other. I think the improved sanitary works have more to do with the improved death-rate than anything to do with opium.

1415. As far as you know, opium has not affected the death-rate then?—So far as the mortality returns go to show, we have no deaths attributed to opium-smoking.

1416. I suppose that there cannot be any exact statistics as to the consumption of opium in Hong Kong per head of the population?—I should think it would be possible to obtain accurate statistics of the local consumption of the Colony.

1417. It could not be obtained?—Yes, under the present system. I think I could obtain figures and furnish the Commission with them if it were considered desirable.

1418. The consumption per head of the Chinese?—Every chest of opium that arrives in Hong Kong has to be accounted for; so that it is possible to show the amount that is consumed locally and the amount that is exported. If it be considered desirable those figures might be obtained.

1419. I think it might be interesting to have that information. And, of course, you have also vital statistics collected regularly; the death-rate could be got?—Yes. My own annual report gives the death-rate, and the various diseases of which the people die.

1420. The point would simply be this, whether there is any correspondence between the death-rate and the opium rate; whether, when the opium rate rises—for I have no doubt there will be a certain oscillation, whether the death-rate oscillates correspondingly?—I do not think there has been any correspondence between the death-rate and the opium rate.

1421. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Would you just give us some general idea of what the position and duty of Protector of the Chinese is?—All Chinese communications with the Government pass through his hands; all translations of Chinese documents are made in his department; and on questions affecting the native community, which arise from time to time, he is generally the officer who is consulted and advises.

1422. (*Chairman.*) Perhaps you might point out that the appointment of Governor of Hong Kong is hardly ever made from among those who have had previous acquaintance with the Chinese population?—Quite so.

1423. As a general rule, the Governor is one selected from the general Colonial service, and he goes to Hong Kong without a knowledge of the language, and greatly needing the services of an officer who has that special knowledge?—The Governor of the Colony is as a rule quite unacquainted with the Chinese, having had no special opportunities of learning Chinese, or becoming acquainted with the habits of the Chinese. Seeing that the Chinese constitute by far the largest portion of the population, it is considered necessary to have an officer who is acquainted with their language, and with their customs, whom they may consult, and who may be of assistance to

the Government in dealing with native affairs. In addition to these duties, he has also, to perform the duties of registrar of births, deaths, and marriages.

1424. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Of the Chinese?—Of the whole community including the Chinese.

1425. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) I should like to ask one question more. Did you ever know any of the Europeans in Hong Kong take to the opium-smoking habit?—Never in my experience.

1426. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) Is there much Chinese opium consumed in Hong Kong?—No, I do not think so.

1427. Any?—I doubt whether there is any.

1428. (*Mr. Pease.*) What is the system of licensing of the two classes of houses you alluded to?—Of the opium divans?

1429. Of the opium divans and the spirit houses? Are they licensed? By the same authority? Under similar circumstances?—The opium divans are licensed by the opium farmer; and the public-houses are licensed in the same way as they are in this country—by the justices.

1430. Is it not possible that the opium farmer may find it to his advantage to do his business in a smaller number of establishments than the business would have been done in if they had been licensed as the public-houses are?—I should say the opium farmer would open as many houses as he thought would pay. I should think that would be his guiding principle.

1431. I say he might find it to his interest to do his business in a smaller number of establishments, less expense than in a great number?—If he found that a larger number of houses paid, he would open them at once.

1432. If the licensing authority was all in one hand in our towns and villages in this country, there would be a very great decrease in the number of public-houses?—The opium farmer grants licences to suit the requirements of the place. In that return that I have handed in, I have given the number of people frequenting the opium divans.

1433. I was only wanting to point out that the system of licensing may have some effect on the numbers of houses open, and the different classes?—I mentioned the number of houses, to show that they were not so excessive as seemed to be the opinion of certain people.

1434. When a man becomes an opium smoker, he requires to have his pipe at certain intervals, does he not?—I believe that depends a great deal upon the degree to which he has become under the influence of the habit. I should say the moderate man could go without his pipe without having it at regular intervals, as long as he could get it at some time.

1435. What do you mean by getting it at some time?—Well, as long as he got his pipe, say when his work was over, or in the evening, as the case may be, whereas a man who is an opium sot must have his pipe at regular intervals.

1436. If you watched the case of persons who have taken opium at regular intervals for two or three years, would you say that they had not become more confirmed in the habit, than when you first knew them?—I have now in my mind a case where I am sure the smoker has not become more confirmed in the habit; in fact, if anything, he does not smoke quite so much.

1437. Do you think those cases are common?—That I could not say.

1438. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) A great many of these opium smokers are very much like the British liquor drinkers, that is, they know more or less how far they can go, how much they can carry, perhaps, and are prudent enough not to go beyond that?—Well, I should think that must influence them, especially workmen, who know that if they go beyond a certain state, they will not be fit for their work. I should think prudential considerations of that kind do occur to them.

1439. Do any number of Chinese drink spirits in Hong Kong?—They do drink spirits. The drinking of spirits—of their own native spirits—is pretty general among the Chinese.

1440. Did you ever see drunkenness?—Very seldom, indeed. A drunken Chinaman is a very rare sight

*Mr. S.
Lockart.*
15 Sept. 189

*Mr. S.
Lockhart.*
15 Sept. 1898.

1441. The same men, you think, drink spirits as smoke opium?—I think the drinking of spirits is far more general than the smoking of opium. They very often take spirits with their meals in the ordinary way, just as we do ourselves.

1442. It is spirit made from rice?—Yes, spirit made from rice.

1443. Like the Japanese sake?—Very much the same. It is commonly known by the name of Samshou.

The witness withdrew.

*Dr.
T. I. Rowell,
M.D., C.M.G.*

Dr. T. IRVINE ROWELL, M.D., C.M.G., called in and examined.

1444. (*Chairman.*) Have you been a medical officer of the Government?—I have; in the Straits Settlements.

1445. How many years were you there?—I have been there altogether for about 25 years.

1446. Are you still in the service?—No, I am now retired.

1447. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) In your district, Singapore, I suppose, is the chief place?—Singapore, yes.

1448. The population there consists of what elements?—Roughly, I should think about 150,000 or 160,000.

1449. And what nationalities?—Principally Chinese but also Malays and natives of India.

1450. Sixty or eighty per cent. would be Chinese?—Quite so.

1451. Were the Chinese there with their wives and families, or were they immigrants?—Partly both. There are some who are called "Straits born Chinese"—they live there with their families; but there is a large number of immigrants also.

1452. Were they generally opium smokers?—No, I should not say that; not generally.

1453. Not the Chinese?—Not generally.

1454. Then the opium smoker was the exception?—Of course there was a large number of opium smokers, but those I saw principally in the hospitals.

1455. Then amongst the working population of Chinese in Singapore would you recognise the general prevalence of the opium habit?—No; I should not say so. I knew cases here and there; but I do not think it was a general habit.

1456. I see that you were surgeon in charge of the criminal prison and the pauper hospital containing a very large number of inmates. Did you often meet these opium smokers as patients?—I should think that of the admissions to the pauper hospital about 30 or 40 per cent. were opium smokers.

1457. Did you attribute their poverty largely to the habit of opium-smoking?—No, not at all; I think it was due to disease. They take to opium through originally having fallen victims to disease. A great many of them are poor destitute Chinamen, and they fall victims to disease, and finding relief from opium-smoking they continue the habit.

1458. Then the opium habit was, so to speak, an incident in their lives?—Yes.

1459. And an incident in their case; not a cause of their illness?—No; it was taken more as a remedy.

1460. Then did you see any cases of sickness produced by the opium habit; by smoking opium?—Some of them took it to excess, but I should not say that it was at all general. The generality were certainly moderate.

1461. Of the opium smokers?—Yes.

1462. But you did meet with some who had injured their health directly by opium?—Well, I should not say that; I do not think so.

1463. You would not say positively. I mean you could not assert it positively?—No.

1464. Now, amongst the inmates of the criminal prison did you meet with opium smokers?—Yes, there was a certain number of inmates who were opium smokers, but I do not think the proportion was very large.

1465. A certain number of the Chinese?—Yes, of the Chinese.

1466. Was their crime often connected with their habit of smoking opium?—No, I do not think so as a rule.

1467. It was not connected?—Not as a rule.

1468. In that respect it differed then, as far as your experience goes, from the irrepressible drunkard of this country?—The opium smoker is not so bad as the drunkard by a long way.

1469. Was opium allowed to be smoked in the prison?—If, when a prisoner came in, he was found to be an opium-smoker, and his health gave way, and the medical officer considered that it was through the want of the opium, he was admitted to hospital, and got a certain amount of the opium to smoke until his health got better again; then he was sent out to work in the prison in the ordinary way.

1470. Were you afraid of suddenly stopping the opium smoker from his pipe when he came to the prison?—In certain cases where they were used to opium in excess, if it was suddenly withdrawn, it was very apt to lead to serious symptoms.

1471. And was that the case with regard to the ordinary run of opium smokers who, I presume, would be temperate smokers?—No, it was the exception.

1472. Then, you could cut it off without any injury at all?—Yes, and I made a series of experiments with the result of finding that out; and I found that the larger proportion of the men from whom the opium was withdrawn gained weight, that a certain amount remained stationary, and that a smaller proportion lost weight.

1473. Did you see any symptoms of this terrible craving that has been described to us when the moderate opium smoker was deprived of his pipe?—No, never.

1474. As far as you know, he was not worse off in that respect than a tobacco smoker?—No, certainly not.

1475. I am speaking of habitual moderate smokers of opium?—Yes, quite so.

1476. Have you formed any judgment regarding the coolies who came to the Straits Settlements and who were opium smokers; were they as efficient and as strong and as healthy as those who did not smoke opium?—No; I should say not, because most of them had taken, as I said before, to opium simply to relieve their suffering. They were not strong men originally—they all either suffered from cough or, perhaps, a little diarrhoea, or, perhaps, a little fever, and they took to opium-smoking, and, having found relief, they continued the habit. And, as they were diseased, you could not say they were as strong as the healthy men.

1477. Did not your experience lead you to suppose that there were a good many Chinese who took to opium-smoking without being induced to do so by disease?—I do not think so.

1478. Your experience was confined rather to that class which you have described?—Yes.

1479. Granting that they had been through their ailments led to smoke opium, as I suppose a good many were, did they after regaining health, in curable cases, still go on smoking the opium?—Yes, as a rule.

1480. Do you think that these maintained their efficiency as workmen and as healthy men?—Yes; as long as they did not exceed in any way.

1481. I gather from you that the moderate opium smoker is not really in a worse position in regard to health than the moderate tobacco smoker?—Little worse. I may add that a great many lepers are opium smokers. The habit gives them relief, and is a good thing for them.

1482. Do I understand you to say in your note that you "have known some of the most successful and "most level-headed, the most clever of the Chinese "merchants in the Colony, to be confirmed but "moderate opium smokers"?—Yes, that is so. Their use of opium has been moderate.

1483. Did it ever pass into your mind that the moderate use of opium in cases of that sort—I mean men who are obliged to gain their living by their brains—that it helped them?—I think so.

1484. In your opinion, it was a positive assistance to them?—I think so.

1485. And I suppose you would regard that as a set-off in a certain degree to the mischief it did in other

reactions?—Yes; some of those I referred to were men who took to opium for some special reason; they did not take it as one takes to a glass of alcoholic liquor, they took it for some special reason—for some ailment it was the matter with them, either for a cough, or something of that kind, but it did not affect their general health; they were able to attend to their business, and they did much better with opium than they could have done without it.

1486. Apparently it may be said of opium, what many amongst ourselves feel—and I suppose it is the general view expressed or unexpressed in regard to the alcohol habit, that the evil and the good balance themselves more or less completely, and you have to set the good against the bad; would you be disposed to consider the opium habit, as you have seen it passing before your eyes at Singapore, that the good it did counterbalanced the evil?—I see much more to shock one at once from the effects of alcohol than I have ever done in the East from the effects of opium.

1487. You mean the balance is rather more clearly on the side of opium?—On the side of opium.

1488. (Mr. Wilson.) Just upon this last point.—Did I understand you, in reply to Sir William Roberts, to say that you thought that opium-smoking in moderation had no more injurious effects than tobacco smoking in moderation—is that what I gather?—Little more.

1489. Then you said also—I think I understood you to say, in reply to a question of Sir William Roberts—that the opium smokers were not so healthy as other people, not so strong as labourers, because there was usually disease superadded; do I understand that that is your evidence?—Quite so.

1490. And the disease you mentioned was a little fever or a cough?—But those were only two causes; there are a great many causes which induce men to take opium—there is leprosy for instance, there is diarrhoea, there is malaria, there is chronic rheumatism, pains in the bones—this last being a very common cause of men seeking to opium smoking, and it relieves them in a way that opium in any other form would not do.

1491. But you mentioned a cough or a little fever?—meant a chronic cough—an obstinate cough, or fever.

1492. Then, in reference to the prisoners when in hospital, you allowed them under certain circumstances to smoke; was that rather as what you may call a luxury while in hospital, or was it a remedy?—I think Sir William Roberts was asking me with regard to the jail—the prisoners in the jail.

1493. In the case of prisoners in the jail hospital?—It was considered certainly as a luxury; but in certain cases it was a necessity.

1494. In some cases it was allowed as a luxury to a sick prisoner; in other cases you actually prescribed as beneficial to him?—Yes, and in the hospitals in the same way.

1495. (Mr. Macbray.) You mean as beneficial to him because he had been in the habit of taking it, and that it was not good for his health to be suddenly deprived of it?—Yes.

1496. Does the Government of the Straits Settlements derive a large revenue from the opium traffic?—Yes, but I really could not tell you how much.

1497. (Mr. Pease.) There is, I believe, an anti-opium society in Singapore, is there not?—Not I think in my time, but I would not be positive.

1498 and 1499. Among the Chinese?—I was not aware of one existing among the Chinese when I resided there.

1500. I have an address to all lovers of virtue in Great Britain signed by Shao K'ang-chi, Jung Lin, Hsueh P'ei-cheing, and Pan Chen. Do you know any of those names?—No.

1501. Perhaps not as I read them, at any rate?—They may be connected with one of the missionary societies.

1502. They send an address in which they use very strong terms: "The danger of opium" &c.—I think opium gets credit for a great deal that is not due to it, and there are miserable wretches in Singapore whose condition is all put down to opium when it is not due to opium at all, but to disease.

1503. In 1891 an address, presented to the House of Commons, containing 1,100 signatures, was presented to Parliament from Singapore?—That is since I left, I know that the American missionaries have been moving in the matter.

1504. Opium is a very important article of revenue, is it not, to the Colony of Singapore?—I think so; yes.

1505. Do you know what proportion it bears to the whole of the revenue of the Colony?—I do not.

1506. It is put before me that half the revenue of Singapore is derived from the opium farm, so that in that case the Government have a very large interest in the maintenance of the traffic?—Yes; it would be so.

1507. You do not know whether that is correct or not?—I do not know whether that is correct or not.

1508. (Sir W. Roberts.) Is there not a large amount of opium diverted from some of the Chinese ports to the Straits—some of the Indian opium, I mean?—Yes, that may be so.

The witness withdrew.

Rev. ALEXANDER LANGMAN called in and examined.

1509. (Chairman.) You are a missionary, are you not?—Yes, my Lord.

1510. And how many years have you been in that location?—I have been eight years in China, in the Cheh-kiang province.

1511. Do you agree with the opinion expressed by the missionaries who have previously given evidence on the opium question?—My experience has been, my Lord, that all I have heard expressed by missionaries in this room with regard to opium in China is perfectly true, and is not at all exaggerated.

1512. I understand that you wish to put in a letter on the subject from a native evangelist?—This is a letter I received only three weeks since. It is written in Chinese, but I have made a rough translation of it. It was, I may state, quite unsolicited (original of the letter handed to the Commissioners), and I have left the translation as much in the Chinese idiom as possible, and I should like to read it as an expression of the feeling of the Chinese Christians, and how they regard the opium.

1513. Just as a matter of curiosity, how is the original letter written, is it stamped?—No, it is written with the brush—the small pencil as they call it, an otter hair brush. The writer says: "Pastor Gilmer tells me that in England some are discussing at the present time the abolition of Chinese opium calamity, may God bestow great grace, and the mighty power of the Holy Spirit, so that willingly Chinese people may be

" saved out of their bitterness, this opium-smoking
" injury to men, if not with the personal eye seen no
" man could believe, this evil goes beyond water, fire,
" robbers and thieves; because of it homes and posses-
" sions are scattered, wives are left, and sons dispersed.
" By reason of opium there is adultery and robbery, all
" crimes and wickedness from this source come. The
" selling of wives, and selling of sons, because of this is
" an established fact. Eaters of opium are day by day
" increasing greatly, and silver money is daily seen less;
" this evil has come upon China, and has spread be-
" yond all previous calamity! The holy doctrine of
" Jesus is difficult to propagate, one half the reason is
" because of opium. Much is being said about the
" foreigner bringing opium, which injures our bodies,
" and again bringing the Jesus doctrine to save our
" souls. The foreign country forbids opium entering
" the mouth, this is extremely meritorious. We pray
" God to bestow the Holy Spirit with power upon those
" in authority in England, that teachers, magistrates,
" and Queen may make an end of this business, and all
" men will be delighted; to forbid opium entering the
" mouth is to save our country's people and give them
" happiness, then shall we proclaim the happy sound
" (the Gospel), repent and put away sin from the body
" and heart, with all wickedness. Establish rectitude
" and call upon God; but the present state is lamenta-
" ble, opium is prevalent and the saving doctrine
" prospers not. That was written on the 28th day of
" the third Chinese moon."

Dr.
T. I. Rowell,
M.D., C.M.G.
15 Sept. 1893.

Rev. A.
Langman.

Rev. A.
Langman.
5 Sept. 1893.

1514. You have heard what has been urged for the consideration of the Commission with reference to the animosity to foreigners, which it is alleged arises from the British connexion with the opium traffic, and you are aware of the evidence which has been given with reference to the reasons assigned by the Chinese to the introduction and increase of the poppy culture in China; do you agree generally with the evidence that has been given by other missionaries upon these subjects?—My own opinion is quite established that the animosity shown by the Chinese to foreigners, and to Englishmen especially, which I have experienced myself, has been chiefly on the ground of our connexion with opium. It was the first thing which we had to attempt to do—to satisfy the minds of the people, with whom we came in contact that we had nothing to do with the bringing of opium into China. As far as I could find out, and in districts where no foreigners had ever resided I have gone, and I have had the same intense hatred shown because of opium; and I believe that when we were in trouble—at the time of the opium riots in 1891—from the way I have heard many expressing themselves, when I have been in great excited crowds which had gathered discussing whether they should come and pull down the foreigners' houses, and turn them out and kill them, this was the first thing, and the chief thing that they accused us of. We could readily enough answer their questions as to the foolish stories about stealing their children, and using their eyes as medicine, and such things as that; it did not take long to disabuse their minds of these things, but the opium they said—the opium. And also when we were preaching to crowds, when there were no disturbances anticipated—in our chapel we could easily hold 150 people—when preaching the Gospel doctrines that we had gone to preach and making no reference at all to any other side issue, one or another would rise up in the crowd and say: “Come away, and do not listen to the foreign *devil*;” “do not we know enough of him; he has brought the “opium to us.” Others would call us again “opium devils,” and such like; so that in my own mind I am firmly convinced the people are fully persuaded that we alone are responsible for the condition of their country at the present time, and their being compelled to admit the opium.

1515. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) Apart from the opium, would not the missionary be likely to be received with great disfavour in China in any case; I mean to say, is he received with great disfavour as a Mohammedan missionary, or a Chinese missionary, would be received in England, if he came to try and persuade us that all our religion and all our morality was wrong, and if he tried to set up small communities partly under the protection of foreign Governments which differed in customs and in everything else from the rest of the Chinese; apart from opium, is it possible that the missionary would not be a very unpopular character with the patriotic Chinaman?—I have not had the opportunity of experience in that way.

1516. If that is the case—and I do not think you can deny it—does that not throw some doubt in your mind upon the genuineness of this outcry about opium. Is not the Chinaman very quick to see that you cannot answer this particular taunt, and therefore he multiplies it all over the whole country?—Yes, he is quick to see and quick to use it, because he knows it is true and we cannot answer it.

1517. Because he sees its effect upon you, and of course that will multiply all over the country?—It is true, and we cannot answer it.

1518. You cannot answer it?—You cannot answer it yourself; and as for missionaries coming to this country to preach other creeds they would have to conform to the law of this country, and they would be protected in that way.

1519. Would it not be excessively unpopular; would it not excite great animosity?—I hardly think so, because all missionaries who labour in China are treated as foreigners, and they experience the same animosity until the people learn where they have come from and what their object is, as I have seen. I have heard the mobs in China saying, “Bring evidence that you are “here for no other purpose than to preach morality and virtuous doctrines to us.”

1520. (*Mr. Moser.*) Do you agree with the view of the Chinese that we are responsible for having introduced opium into China?—The history of the—

1521. I only want your own opinion; we have had the history of the question related to us from various

points of view, and we do not want to go through it again?—I can only say that I always had to concede what they accused us of, namely, that we English were the people who brought opium, and that we were the only people that brought opium when we entered the country.

1522. But you are quite aware that it is a disputable proposition?—From all the knowledge I could gain I never could dispute it to a Chinaman, because we were on the ground, and there were the facts before us; and in the province in which I have laboured for eight years they were thoroughly conversant with the history of the trade, and believed that opium was only brought from India, which is an English country as they called it, to their country.

1523. You have heard the evidence that has been given to-day, that it was introduced into China long before we introduced it?—Yes; when I have put that view forward in China, I have got this answer, “We had it in China. China is a large nation, and we required all the opium we had as medicine, and medicine only. Foreigner, you know very well that when a man became addicted to opium he lost his head, and many a head was taken off because a man was found to be addicted to opium habit.” The smoking of opium was formerly against the law, but now it is not against the law, because our opium is prevalent.

1524. If the importation of opium from India into China were prohibited, and if at the same time Chinese opium were solely consumed in the country; then do you believe that the Chinese themselves would acquit us of the responsibility which they at present attach to us, and do you think that your labours would be lightened?—I do believe it, sir; I think our labours would be vastly helped. And I have often put the question to the Chinese, in discussing the matter, “How is it that you cultivate so much opium yourselves on all hands?” They laugh, and reply, “Our opium which we produce is not so poisonous as the opium which you give us. We will cultivate our own and use it, and live the longer and have our silver to ourselves.” I have known a mandarin to take his soldiers and go outside a city and cut down the poppies that have been growing round; that was six years ago.

1525. I notice that you have twice used the phrase, “And we will keep our silver to ourselves;” you are aware that that, of course, is one reason which is given for the hostility of the Chinese to the importation of opium?—Yes, because so much silver goes out of the country. There is one thing which I should like to remark, if I may be permitted, and that is in reference to the effect that opium has on the rising generation. There is a young man in connexion with our work and he had six children. He buried the whole six before each had reached the age of three years. One of those six—I think it was the fourth child—I myself had tried all I could to save, but the child died, and subsequently in speaking over the matter the man said to me, “How can it be expected that I can rear my child; my father was an opium smoker before I was born,” and his father died an opium smoker. I said to him, “Do you really believe that? Does it affect the children?” He said, “All our people believe it.” I said nothing more to him, but it so fixed itself on my mind that set myself to find out the feeling of the people in the district on this very question, and I found that it was a common saying, “Chih yu yen pu wli yang san tai”—“The opium smoker cannot see his third generation”—that is the way they put it.

1526. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I think you said you had been eight years in China?—Yes, sir.

1526a. During how many of those years have you had a sufficiently familiar knowledge of the language to be able to converse with the people, and to get from them their opinions at first hand?—After the first year. We have a course of study laid out for us, that takes two years, but after the first year we are in full communication for half the day, that is, in preaching and talking and mixing among the people for half the day. That continues for the second year, and after the second year we are supposed to be through our course of study of the Chinese language, and to give all our time amongst the people, so that for six full years I have had full liberty in the use of the language. But the course is limited to that length, because what we have got to study is not the literary aspect of the language, but simply the spoken language, so that we can make communications and read two or three books.

The witness withdrew.

Sir LEPEL GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I., called in and examined.

1527. (Chairman.) You have seen considerable service in India, I believe?—Yes.

1528. Would you tell us in what parts of India your experience has lain?—In the Punjab and Central India. The first 18 years of my service was in the Punjab, and the last part of it was as head of the administration in Central India.

1529. Did you throughout your service come practically into contact with the question that has been submitted to this Commission?—In the Punjab my contact with it was more general, but it is a subject to which I have always given a good deal of attention as many things I have published show; but in Central India I was more directly concerned with it, because 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.

1530. (Sir J. Jyall.) What is the system of the British Government in taxing opium grown in native States—what interference, or supervision over the cultivation do they exercise, if any?—Perhaps in a few words I had better explain the system—as briefly as I possibly can.

1531. (Chairman.) If you would, please. I should like to have it before us?—The opium agency in what is called Malwa, which contains all the opium-growing States of Central India, used to consist in a monopoly, but that was given up many years ago, and now it is only a system of passes. The Government has no concern whatever in the cultivation or in the manufacture of opium. Its headquarters are at Indore, and it has sub-agencies at Bhopal, Udaipur, Jaora, Chitor in Udaipur, for the Rajputana opium, Mandesore, which is in Gwalior, and Ratlam. The opium from these places is sent direct under pass to Bombay—all that is intended for export. The Indore agency is the central and the largest, and the number of chests which used to pass in my time through that agency in 1880 was very great. The average would be about 45,000 chests a year, though now it has I dare say diminished to something like 30,000 or 35,000, but the average used to be about 45,000 chests of 140 lbs. each in weight.

1532. (Sir J. Jyall.) You say that the Government does not interfere at all in the cultivation?—Not at all.

1533. Has the Government ever attempted to urge any native State to extend the cultivation within your knowledge?—No, on the contrary—well I may say distinctly “No” to that. It has not; but personally as the head of the administration I have had to try to interfere to a certain extent in the interests of good administration, because in 1882 and 1883, when there had been great over-production and the prices fell very much, all the native States wished to get the same amount of revenue that they had before, from a very much cheaper drug, so that there was a great deal of distress in consequence, and I interfered very considerably and got the rates reduced largely, especially in Gwalior.

1534. The rates on the cultivation?—The rates on opium land.

1535. In some of the Anti-Opium Society's memorials—some of the recent memorials and in evidence that has been given before the present Commission I have seen that there have been references to certain agreements, concessions, and payments which the British Government has made with, or to, some of these native States, and the argument in the memorials and in the evidence is that those concessions or payments are to increase the cultivation—to increase the out-turn of opium; can you tell us what is the purport of those?—Nothing of the kind has ever, practically, come under my notice.

1536. Are there any agreements with any native States to prevent their cultivating opium?—The cultivation of opium, is, as far as I am aware, perfectly free in every native State.

1537. In every native State?—How can we interfere?

80970.

1538. Q. Are there any concessions or payments, I mean that we make to them, to guard the revenue against smuggling or anything of that sort? What can those concessions and payments be in your opinion?

—A. I do not know what they are; I am not acquainted with them. I do not think any such exist. If so they must be of so old a date that they have become obsolete. If you could tell me one I should be able to tell you at once if it were in force, but I do not remember anything of that sort. Opium cultivation in Native States is practically free in every way. Of course there is prevention against smuggling, but that is a question of our own revenue. The opium is entirely exported by rail, and when it has been weighed by us at the Central Office it does not leave our hands until it gets to the railway, and there it cannot be taken without a pass. It is sealed, moreover, and it does not leave the hands of our agents until it reaches Bombay. There is a good deal of smuggling, but that is a different question.

1539. How do the native States who produce opium raise their own opium revenue?—They raise their revenue in several ways. It is very difficult to say what proportion of their revenue comes from opium, but a very large part of it is so derived. The people of England are very little aware of the high rates opium land pays in native States. The best opium land is probably in Gwalior, Indore, and Ratlam. The highest rates in my experience are paid for opium land in Gwalior, where they go up to about Rs. 40 a beega. Taken roughly—a beega is equal to about half an acre—the revenue is about Rs. 80 an acre, or practically, you might say, 8l. an acre, because in native India the rupee has not depreciated at all; it buys just as much as it used to do.

1540. Do they have any Excise system too besides that?—Certainly, besides land revenue they have an export duty, which is very often from Rs. 25 to Rs. 50, chest. Perhaps Rs. 50 is too high, but from Rs. 20 to Rs. 40, say, they have also a tax on the opium water, the liquid opium, which is very much drunk by Rajputs and locally consumed. Besides there is the transit duty, which is very high, on opium, but that, I think, I swept away in all Central India.

1541. What would be the result if we were to stop the transit of opium from the native States through British territory?—In what way?

1542. What would be the result on the people of the native States and on the government of the native States?—You mean if you prohibit the export, not if you prohibited the cultivation?

1543. No; prohibit the export?—Of course, you can prohibit the export.

1544. But I mean what would be the result. I suppose it would kill the greater part of the cultivation?—Of course it would ruin the trade, if it was not supported by smuggling. It would ruin the native States and it would make them to a man disloyal to you. It would ruin the merchants, too, and would to a very great extent ruin the peasants. Opium is the life-blood of native India: it is the thing by which they get the whole of their spare surplus revenue. The whole of their pomp and state depends on their opium revenue in my part of the country.

1545. (Chairman.) In those native States in which opium is largely grown?—Yes, in those. Of course, I only speak of those, but those are the most important.

1546. Of the native States?—Indore, Gwalior, and Bhopal are the great opium-growing States with some smaller ones that I mentioned just now.

1547. What is the aggregate population of those native States that you have mentioned approximately?—I should think about ten millions in Central India. Then there is Udaipur and a great part of Rajputana, but there the opium is more grown for local consumption; it is not so much exported except from Udaipur which is also under our agency in Central India, but the opium instead of coming to us at Indore for Bombay goes by way of Ajmere and Ahmedabad.

1548. With regard to these Native States to which you have more particularly referred, you say with con-

Sir
L. Griffin,
K.C.S.I.
15 Sept. 1893

Sir
L. Griffin,
K.C.S.I.
5 Sept. 1898.

Andence that an edict of prohibition of the exportation of opium—?—Would make them bankrupt.

1549. It would affect their finances in a very serious degree, and involve the Government of India in great unpopularity?—The greatest. You see opium is grown only on irrigated land, on land that is too good practically for the rough cultivation of wheat and poor grains, so that it would be practically throwing it out of cultivation. If you can get 8l. an acre for your land as opium land and only one rupee for it as wheat land, it is a great difference to the cultivator.

1550. Is it a very exhausting crop?—It requires a great deal of manure and a great deal of preparation. It is an expensive crop to grow. I do not know that it is exhausting, if the land is manured well. It is a question of that. The poppy is grown on the same land year after year for any number of years.

1551. (Sir J. Lyall.) We have dealt with the result of prohibiting export. I suppose there are no Treaty obligations which prevent our prohibiting the export, are there?—An autocratic Government can do anything. It would be a most tyrannous act, which no civilised Government has ever done before that I know of.

1552. Has the Government of India any powers by which it might interfere with the cultivation of opium in those native States?—Not without violating all the traditions of the Government of India for the last 50 years. As I said before, you can do anything. The question is: Is it politic or is it just? There is no Treaty right by which you can interfere with the cultivation of a particular crop in a native State; it would be monstrous.

1553. Does much smuggling exist at present; what are the police precautions?—A great deal exists, and I cannot say that we are very successful in stopping it. I dare say I have had about 100 cases of smuggling a year, mostly into the Central Provinces. It is a very difficult country, as you know, an exceedingly difficult frontier, an immense number of passes and a difficult river, and 140 lbs. of opium which a man could easily carry would be worth a couple of thousand rupees.

1554. Are there any particular precautions taken?—We stop and search anything suspicious on the railways; but the precautions (my administration was almost entirely native territory) are as a rule taken on the frontiers of British territory by the Government of Bombay, and the Government of the Central Provinces. Take the police precautions themselves; not to go beyond your question, if there was prohibition of export then it is obvious what would follow. You would have a preventive system of a most stringent and enormous kind, which would be impossible. It would cause far greater evils than those you would try to remove.

1555. So far as you have observed what is the effect of the consumption of opium on the peasantry in Central India as consumers?—Well, they are not consumers to any great extent. It is too expensive for the peasants as a rule all over India. The Rajputs, who are more to the north and in some parts of Central India, consume it, and there are a good many Rajput States, but the Maharrattas are not as a rule addicted to opium. They take it, but not very largely; not so much as the Rajputs and the Sikhs in the Punjab. Those take it largely.

1556. But those peasantry who cultivate it in the Malwa States—you do not think that they consume it largely?—I do not think that they consume it very much any more than the people of Epernay who produce your champagne drink the champagne. They drink some thin wine costing 50 centimes a bottle. It is not a common practice, opium-eating in India; it is too expensive. It is like the working men in London smoking Havana cigars.

1557. In your capacity, exercising the powers of a High Court in Central India, did you see any reason to suppose that crime was promoted by the consumption of opium, in the same way that it is promoted in England by the consumption of alcohol?—No; that idea is an entire fiction from beginning to end. I have never seen a case in my life, either as a magistrate or as a judge of a High Court, in which crime has been produced by the use of opium; at any rate within my recollection.

1558. With regard to the medical men serving under you in Central India, have you ever seen any reports of theirs about the effect of opium?—I have called for

reports from them more than once on the subject; but I do not remember that anything of any particular importance was ever said. Medical men will see the bad cases, and abuse in anything is bad. Of course taken in excess, which is not the case usually in India, there are bad results; but I do not think that they have ever said that opium fills their lunatic asylums, or hospitals, or affects their returns in any particular way.

1559. You were a long time in the Punjab, and came across a great many Sikhs. Did you ever notice any particular effect of the opium habit upon Sikhs?—Well; the Sikhs are a very hard race, and they would take more opium than most people, without injury, no doubt. Our regiments are full of opium eaters. I do not think they are a bit worse than anybody else. As you have asked me that question perhaps you would allow me to make one remark which is of great importance. I think nobody knows better than yourself that the Sikhs are prohibited by their creed—or rather by the founder of the second phase of their creed—from smoking tobacco, which is a universal practice throughout India. In default of this they take to opium and hemp and to a great extent to alcohol. They were very hard drinkers—the Sikhs—long before we ever came to India. I think that this Commission should consider the point that all races almost seem to want some stimulant of one kind or another; whether the fact of the Sikhs being prevented from smoking tobacco, which is their natural stimulant, and at once taking to alcohol and to opium is not a very strong reason against any sudden action here in the direction of prohibition. If you prohibit opium smokers from having opium, will they not take to alcohol, which is very much worse. It is only a suggestion.

1560. Your impression is that the effect of alcohol in India is very much worse than the effect of opium?—With alcohol we see its ill effects. But the people of India, I think, are a very temperate race. I do not wish to take away their character. You see more drunkenness in London in one night than you see in India in ten years. But alcohol is a thousand times worse than opium; it is preposterous to argue the question.

1561. Have you formed any opinion as to the future of the China trade from your knowledge of the export opium trade from Central India?—I have of course formed a very decided opinion up to a certain date; but I have not been connected with it for the last two or three years; and all I could say on that point is that the opium trade, so far as it has passed through my hands, was about say an average of two millions to two-and-a-half millions sterling a year, all opium going to China. The trade fluctuated largely, and although it fell off very much in 1881 and 1882, yet it revived considerably in 1883 to 1885 and 1886, when it rose again, I think, to about 30,000 chests. I think myself that the opium trade with China will revive; I sincerely hope it will, because it is in my opinion the most unobjectionable part of the Indian revenue. But it is a very open question, and unless you intimately know the Chinese side of the question, it is very difficult to say. Of course four times as much is now grown in China as is exported from India, and if that increases very largely perhaps the opium exports of India may fall off. But it is to be remembered that it is the higher classes of China who take our opium, which is of a very much better quality than the coarse Chinese drug, and they will continue to take it just in the same way as we buy champagne from France.

1562. (Mr. Pease.) Sir James Lyall asked you a question with regard to the use of the term money compensations or other concessions. In the paper that I have before me, which is "The Moral and Material Progress of India," 1878, it says:—"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 compensation or other concessions." What is the meaning of that expression in this Government Blue Book. That is what Sir James Lyall wanted to know.

1563. (Sir J. Lyall.) Yes?—A. Let me hear it again. I do not quite follow the idea of it. It is quite clear that for a great many years past no payment to any native State could have been made on such account without passing through my hands, so that it is perhaps

wrongly stated. Oh, yes, well, I presume this merely means "the native States have engaged so to manage their opium cultivation and production as to safeguard the British revenue."

1564-5. (*Mr. Pease.*) It is the latter clause to which Sir James Lyall drew attention, not to that, with regard to "the compensation or other concessions," a few lines farther on, and "in exchange for this service they receive either money compensation or other concessions." The question is, what the "money compensation or other concessions" were that they received for protecting the British revenue?—Well, that question I am not able to answer at a moment's notice, because I do not remember that they received anything whatever. They certainly do not now. It is possible that in the old days, when the revenue system was formed, some concessions were made to them in order that they might agree to all their opium coming through British hands at Indore, and of course safeguarding the British revenue in that way. There may have been some ancient arrangements for compensation. But the system goes back about 60 years; the opium agency was started in 1830.

1566. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) This refers to the present, but it may not refer to any States under your control; it may refer to native States outside?—I do not think that there is any opium which comes into British territory which did not pass through my agency.

1567. I mean to say —?—It may refer to the Bombay States, very likely; certainly not to any of the States in Central India; we give them nothing whatever. They are bound to send their opium through our hands.

1568. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) I suppose, unless you acted in concert with the native authorities, it would be practically impossible to prevent smuggling?—The native States cannot prevent smuggling themselves. It is always a difficulty, but it is now stopped as far as it is possible.

1569. What I meant rather was that the officials of the British Government were more able to check smuggling because of their acting in concert with the native authorities?—Oh, certainly, the native authorities are perfectly loyal in the matter to us.

1570. And if the export were to be stopped by the British Government?—Of course you would have all the native States against you, smuggling; you could not stop smuggling then on an enormous scale. No preventive system would succeed.

1571. (*Mr. Pease.*) May I ask whether there are any tables of exports from these native States from which a comparison could be drawn to show what the importance of the opium export is compared with the total exports?—I can tell you everything about that that you wish to know.

1572. You said it was a very important item in connection with their exports; can you tell us what proportion it bears to the total exports?—Of the native States?

1573. (*Chairman.*) What proportion does the revenue derived from opium bear to their total revenue?—It is an exceedingly difficult thing to say, and I have never been able to distinctly find it out. In the first place they are exceedingly averse to giving any statistics, and in the days of the great Scindia, who died a few years ago, although he was a very great personal friend of mine, I never could get any statistics out of him. He would never give any. The Government of India might call for statistics as much as they chose; you could never get Scindia to give them.

1574. Do they keep accounts?—Oh, they keep regular accounts themselves, admirable accounts. After his death things became different. We now know what it is they levy on the land for opium cultivation, but it is very difficult to say what area is under cultivation, because we have no one to measure it, unless they tell us themselves. We know what amount of opium leaves each State, and the weight of it to an ounce. We do not know what amount is consumed locally. Of that there are no statistics.

1575. (*Mr. Pease.*) Have you any information as to the value of other exports?—The value of the opium which is exported?

1576. No, the value of other exports as a guide; as to the value of the opium export as compared with others?—Yes, we have, to a certain extent.

1577. Could you give us a general idea of its proportional value?—You see each State must be dealt with

by itself. There are very few things which are exported from Central India, except opium, wheat, and cotton, not very much. Other things are not exported in any large quantities. I cannot answer your question; it is not one to which my attention has been directed for some time, but I could easily give it you from my own reports, which I have submitted for every year from the Central India agency. But our statistics are very uncertain, except for seaport towns, as to the internal trade of native India. Opium is distinctly the most important of the exports.

1578. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I think you said something about the export of Malwa opium having fallen off?—Largely.

1579. 45,000 chests?—I am not able to say what it is to-day. I have been out of India for two or three years.

1580. Can you tell us at all what influence that has had on the prosperity of native States, either as to the revenues of the rulers or the prosperity and condition of the cultivators?—Well, curiously enough, a paragraph in the very last official report that I wrote on the subject of opium covers, I think, that exact point, if you will permit me to read it. It is only a few lines. This was the last report I wrote on opium, and it is almost the last sentence of that report. "The continued depression in the opium trade is causing much anxiety to native chiefs, who see the principal source of their revenue in danger of decaying, while there is immediate loss and ruin to Malwa cultivators. The native durbars try to avoid reduction in their rates for opium lands, and compel the cultivators to pay the same rental for lands the produce of which has enormously fallen in price. The consequence is great distress and general complaint."

1581. Would you be good enough to explain a little further what you said as to the quality of this land and why other crops do not flourish on it; is it too rich?—Some crops would flourish on it very well, no doubt—sugar-cane, for instance. In India the land is roughly divided into irrigated and non-irrigated land; and opium requires a great deal of water, for it is grown at a time of year when there is very little rain, so that it has to be irrigated from tanks or wells. In Central India it is almost exclusively watered from tanks, and this makes the land very valuable, so valuable that it is hardly worth while using it for a cheap crop, and wheat is in Central India a cheap crop. It is a very rich country, and I have seen in many States the wheat rotting on the ground, because they could not carry it away.

1582. You referred to opium water?—It is a mere preparation of the opium.

1583. Is it exported, or used locally?—Locally.

1584. Only locally?—Yes.

1585. It is a by-product?—Yes, it is; it is a sort of solution of opium which the Rajputs take every morning before breakfast. A native Rajah with all his Court sitting around him will call for his attendant, who will pour some of it into his hand, and he will drink it off, and every one of the men round him will drink it in the same way. It is what the Russians would call *Lakuska*—a sort of flip to commence the day.

1586. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) It is a daily thing?—Yes.

1587. (*Mr. Wilson.*) It is so strong that a small quantity will have an exhilarating effect?—Yes, it is what they want; it is their pick-me-up; it does not hurt them.

1588. How long does the effect last?—The Rajah after taking that has his durbar, and sits there for a couple of hours, does his business, then he goes into his zenana, then he goes to sleep, then perhaps he has some more; we do not know what happens there.

1589. (*Chairman.*) He takes more than one dose in the course of the day?—I think most opium eaters take at least two, but I do not say everyone does. Some of the Rajahs I know intimately, and they are not always the best specimens of their race; but I do not think opium has any particular effect on them one way or the other.

1590. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Would you explain a little further about the smuggling; I do not understand. You spoke about its being a difficult country; about passes and river, and so forth. What prevents any amount of smuggling at this moment; is there a coastguard; are there preventive officers either inside the native State or outside?—You see it is not the interest of the native States. They have no interest in preventing smuggling

*Sir
L. Griffin,
K.C.S.I.*

15 Sept. 1893

Sir
L. Griffin,
K.C.S.J.
5 Sept. 1898.

except the good opinion of the Agent of the Governor-General. Their revenue is not hurt. We leave the prevention of smuggling, except on the main line of road, which I have always held to be British territory, though the native States try to persuade us that it is not, to the native States; but on the railways, which are British territory, we prevent it through our own officers.

1591. It is no use preventing something that can go round the other way?—That has to be done by the British officers. You must remember that I am speaking of native India. I am living in native India, and have nothing to do with British territory.

1592. I understand, but what I understood you to say was, that if the present arrangements were abolished there would be an enormous increase of smuggling?—No doubt.

1593. I do not see what prevents any amount of smuggling now?—There is a good deal now, as I say, but it would be very much increased, because you would have every one against you. You would have the whole of the native States, the whole government as well as the people; they would all encourage smuggling. Smuggling would be in *excelsis*; Scindia and Holkar themselves, and all those great chiefs whom you cannot interfere with, would smuggle on an enormous scale, and convey the opium to their own frontiers by their own police probably. Now, if they do not exert themselves to prevent smuggling they hear of it from the head of the Administration. But in British territory the preventive work is done by officials with whom I have no concern; they are subordinate to other authorities, such as the Bombay Government, or the Central Provinces, or the North-west Provinces.

1594. (Sir W. Roberts.) You have seen no doubt practically a great deal of this opium habit, have you not amongst Rajputs and others?—Yes, habitually, constantly.

1595. Is it your impression that it is generally practised in moderation?—I think so. I do not mean to say that it has no bad effects. I have had servants who have been very inefficient from taking opium, but I have never had to discharge one for it. It makes a man very indolent, very often. Would you allow me to say one thing, the people who take it most—I only speak of the parts of India that I know—the people who take it most, the Sikhs and the Rajputs, are the finest races in India.

1596. And have they been taking it from generation to generation?—Yes, long before we came to the country.

1597. Has it been your impression that these races, the Rajputs and the Sikhs, have a different reaction in regard to opium from some other races in India, that is to say, that they tolerate it better, that they are constitutionally a little different?—I cannot speak of races that I do not know.

1598. How is it that Europeans do not pick up the habit in India; have you formed any opinion as to that?—Every race has a particular craving. Unfortunately, the English craving is for gin and for brandy. Each race has a tendency to some particular stimulant, I think.

1599. Then you think it is rather a special constitutional peculiarity of the Eastern people—the Chinese, and these Rajputs, and the Sikhs—that their tendency is to opium, and not to liquor?—They are very fond of liquor, if they can get it. Many of my distinguished friends like champagne and brandy mixed. That particular mixture killed Scindia.

1599a. Do you think it possible that the Europeans resident in India might take to the opium habit?—I think, if you stop the alcohol in India, as a great many people are trying to do, they will take to opium probably.

1600. A certain number?—They will take to something; they will take, perhaps, to hemp.

1601. Your impression is very strong that on the public health of India opium has had no deleterious effect?—Well, sir, it would be a mistake if I were to give you the impression that the people of India were at all addicted to opium. Some classes in certain races are habituated to opium, but opium, as I said before, is not an Indian vice at all; if it is taken, it is taken in moderation; and what I have seen so many people say is in my experience utterly wrong; that it has a tendency to require the increase of the dose if you take

it. I know hundreds of people who take the same quantity, the same little pills of opium every day of their lives; they do not increase it at all.

1602. The people who you say take that, are not people who are deteriorated in character or health?—Not the least; the best people in the race, of very fine physique.

1603. And the opium is not like drink among ourselves—the exception?—No, sir, there is no crime in connexion with the opium at all.

1604-5. No violence; but I mean the men who goes to extremes—to excess—the opium sot, as he has been called, is an exception among opium smokers?—You cannot see them, unless you go and look for them. They are not in the general population at all. You may find them in the large cities, no doubt, as you find all sorts of things in slums, but that has not anything to do with the general population. In what we call the opium dens, of course you may see people in Calcutta, or, for the matter of that, in Lahore; but they are outcasts or beggars, or drunken creatures, who would take to any stimulant.

1606. They are, in fact, people who are a little bit allied to the criminal classes in this country?—Yes, exactly so.

1607. A drunken class?—Yes.

1608. (Chairman.) The general effect of your evidence has been that, from your wide opportunities of observation in India, you have not seen that what is called the opium habit has produced widespread and grave moral evils among the population of India?—No, I do not think there is a single resident in India who knows anything on the subject who would possibly say so. I do not think I am singular in my opinion.

1609. Then with regard to the native States, with which you may have been officially concerned of late years, you have made it clear to us that in your opinion the prohibition of the present export trade in opium would occasion a grave disturbance of their finances, and that it would be resented by the general body of the population who are engaged in the cultivation of the opium?—Yes. If you wish to have a rebellion in India, I know no better way.

1610. You have further made it clear to us that in your view the prevention of smuggling would be impossible?—Impossible.

1611. In the sixth order of reference to this Commission, we are directed to ascertain what would probably be the disposition of the people of India in the event of a change of policy being adopted on the part of the Government, and a general prohibition of the cultivation and the use of opium being attempted. Now, you have been long resident in India; what, in your view, would be the attitude of the people of India in the event of a prohibitory policy being attempted?—Well, I do not think that the people of India have ever considered the possibility of anything so impracticable. But, of course, it would cause the utmost irritation amongst the people who are accustomed to take opium, the Sikhs especially, and the Sikhs are the backbone of our army in India, which we shall have to double in the course of the next 10 years. I do not know whether it is desired to make them disloyal.

1612. But you wish to put it to us too, that in your view, they would be made disloyal if we made this attempt?—I do not say that from my knowledge of India; I say that from my knowledge of human nature.

1613. Then, in looking at the state of public feeling in this country, on this question of opium, which has been reflected in the debates in the House of Commons, and in the divisions which have taken place on the motions made in the House of Commons, can you offer any suggestion by which the relation of the Government of India to this question might be in some degree modified? Do you think that it would be desirable and practicable that the Government of India should cease to take the position of a manufacturer and a producer of the article, and should limit its intervention to the imposition of duties for revenue purposes?—Well, but what would be gained by that? You would only have a very much larger production, if it were free. It would exactly do what some people do not wish to be done—it would stimulate, instead of stop the production, as far as I can see.

1614. You would recommend that no change should be attempted in regard to the position of the Govern-

ment of India as holding the monopoly of the opium production?—In the present temper of public opinion, which of course must be respected more or less, I would not stimulate it. My own personal feeling is that I would not stimulate the production of opium; I would invite the Government of India, as I have invited them on many previous occasions, to consider it as a mere matter of common sense. Opium is a luxury, it is only used by people who can afford it, and whatever fables may be woven by people about China—which we cannot absolutely disprove—the whole body of evidence regarding India shows that it does no harm whatever. You take off a burden of five millions sterling of taxation from the peasants of India; and you place it upon a foreign country which is perfectly willing to pay it, and you are asked by irresponsible people to abandon that revenue at a time when you want the revenue very much increased, and when you

must increase it, unless you lose India. It is madness. There is no justification for it; and if I might make one observation on my own account—

1615. We shall be very glad to hear anything that you would like to say to us?—It is merely with reference to what you were saying. I would say that it seems to me that much of the evidence which has been given before the Commission by missionaries in China is flawed and tainted in two ways. The first is this: that the missionaries, since this has been raised into an ethical question, are compelled, in their own personal interests, to denounce it; and secondly, that, as in China, every disturbance is due, not to opium, but to the missionary teaching, the missionaries are compelled to throw the odium of the popular dislike to themselves on to the opium question. That is the whole history of this agitation.

Sir
L. Griffin,
K. C. S. I.

15 Sept. 1893

The witness withdrew.

Mr. HENRY LAZARUS called in and examined.

Mr. H.
Lazarus.

1616. (Mr. Mowbray.) I understand that you wrote to the secretary of the Commission wishing to give evidence upon this subject?—Yes, sir. After reading the report in "The Times" of Monday of certain evidence which had been given before the Commission, and which caught my attention accidentally.

1617. At present I believe you are living in St. Pancras?—Yes, sir.

1618. But you resided in China I believe, in Shanghai?—Yes.

1619. Between 1878 and 1881?—Yes, sir.

1620. Well now, will you tell the Commission anything which you wish to say. You were engaged in commerce, I believe, there?—Yes, sir.

1621. Not in the opium trade, I believe?—Absolutely not, nor had I any connexion with it.

1622. What was your business?—I was the first to erect a tannery in Shanghai on the European system, and at times I had as many as from 300 to 350 men in my employ, but the average number was 200.

1623. All natives of China?—Every one. At first they were superintended by three European overseers, eventually I only had one. We trained some of the natives as overseers in the various departments.

1624. Were you brought in constant and daily communication with your men?—Yes, and not only with them, but with merchants and the go-betweens of the merchants—the native dealers in Shanghai of nearly all trades.

1625. Now will you tell the Commission anything you wish to say as to the effects which you noticed of opium-smoking on the classes with which you were brought into contact?—Well, first of all, take, perhaps, the higher classes, the dealers, and those persons in business with whom you were brought into contact?—It is 15 years since I first went to China, and it is 12 years since I left.

1626. (Chairman.) Just make a continuous statement? I have taken out a list from my old contract book of some 38 names of men with whom I was in communication, and if this Commission goes to China, which I hope it will, they will have an opportunity of consulting them. I had a conversation with Fong-kee and Ken-wo; with one of those two men I had a particular conversation with regard to opium. In fact out of curiosity I often had some conversation with nearly all the native dealers I came in contact with, and I may say parenthetically that there are very few men in that class of life who are not capable of carrying on a more intellectual conversation than you could ever hold with men of a similar class in this country. I think I could best give evidence to this Commission if they would allow me to refer to two or three statements which appeared in "The Times" report of the evidence given before the Commission, and which occasioned my writing to you. One of the missionaries said that "in the cases where a man is an opium smoker, during the time that he is under the influence of the drug he can do his work as well as anybody, and probably owing to the extra stimulation, a little better than most folks, but when a man is under the influence of the depression which follows he is absolutely worthless, and it is only while he is under

"the stimulation that he is of value." Well I can only say that with regard to the whole of my men I never once had one of them unfit for work as a consequence in any way of the use of opium.

1627. And were they all opium smokers?—No, sir. Certainly not all opium smokers but they were taken indiscriminately from the labouring classes, and numbers of them were opium smokers on their own confession. My manager invariably asked them when they came, because he was informed that an excessive opium smoker was a lazy man. You may imagine that very few men will confess to going to excess in it, and in fact the wage that a Chinese labourer receives makes it absolutely impossible that he could do so. I believe that the average wage of a labourer throughout China is from four to five dollars a month. That will give you some idea, especially if he has to keep a family on it, how much he can have to spare on such an expensive luxury as opium. As a matter of fact, many of these men were opium smokers, the high wages they earned at the tannery afforded them the means, but never one of them was incapacitated for work through opium. And, moreover, at first I used to employ a European doctor in the tannery, having so many men; but after a time my manager discovered that a Chinaman who was taken with colic, diarrhoea, or constipation, those being some of their most common troubles (possibly but not probably due to opium), could be treated with patent medicines more efficiently than with anything else. I do not wish to mention their names, because I do not desire to advertise these patent medicines, which were many of them largely compounded of opium. I used to keep a stock of them, and whenever the men were taken ill they were given a few doses, and they effected a remarkable cure. I never had any trouble with the management, and amongst all the men that I employed I never had one who was so seriously ill as to be away from his work for three days at a time.

1628. May I take it that so far as your experience of the workmen you employed went you found that those who smoked opium were no worse than those who did not?—Absolutely not, sir. Then in answer to a question by Mr. Pease one of the missionaries said: "He never met a Chinaman who defended opium-smoking; they all looked upon it as a thing to be ashamed of." That is such a statement that I do not believe you could get one intelligent, unprejudiced Englishman who had lived for six months in Shanghai or any other part of China who would not say that it is a terrible perversion of the truth. I have not only been brought into contact with the working classes, but I have also come into contact with many of the better classes who were opium smokers, and I positively went in for it myself, just to see what it was like. I shall be able to give the Commission an absolutely certain answer to the question why it will never be taken up generally by Englishmen. It is simply because it is too slow, it takes too much time. For one little pipe of opium you have to lie down in order to smoke and roast it before a lamp. It requires something like three or four minutes before you can do away with one little ball. I tried to produce sleep, but it had very little effect on me, after having smoked eight pipes in succession.

Mr. H.
Laurie.
15 Sept. 1893.

1629. How long did you continue that?—Only three or four times. I did not want to acquire the habit. I could not afford to waste the time. I was only wanting to go through a number of pipes in order to experience that delightful sleep which I had heard was produced, but the Chinese rather laughed when I spoke to them about it.

1630. That I take to be your explanation of the reason that the Europeans in China do not take to opium-smoking?—I say that no European who has the slightest energy in him ever could take to opium smoking.

1631. Have you anything to say with regard to the higher classes of people that you came into contact with, the dealers and the merchants?—Yes, I should have come to them a little bit later, especially that one that I got the most information from, Fong-kee. That man had teeth absolutely black, he was about as marked as a specimen of an excessive opium smoker and eater as could be found, and he was a notorious one in Shanghai. I can say without hesitation, without fear of contradiction, that for intellectual power, energy and straightforward dealing in business there was not a man amongst the native traders who would surpass him. Not only I, but my brother, whom I had the misfortune to lose in China, and all the merchants that I spoke to and knew intimately, agreed that there was no straighter broker than Fong-kee. I said to him "Why for smoke so much opium; your teeth are black?" His face was so wasted that you might almost have made your hands meet in the hollow of his cheeks. "Give it up," I said, "you would be so fine a man if you gave it up." He was very tall and broad, but as thin as possible. I would not like to say the value of the opium he smoked a day, but it was something considerable. He told me "Suppose I do not smoke one day, I must die." The effect of leaving it off one day would have been his death. I am telling you this to show that, even in the case of a really excessive smoker, it is not true to say of such a man that he is wanting in intellectual power; and to say that he is lazy is simply an absolute lie; and I would not confine my observation to that one man, but would instance others whose names I picked out: Cheng-ching, Ah-ling, Wah-cheong, Yuet-sung, Foong-tai, Che-kei, Fau-chung, Ae-dong, Nam-woo; there are 38 of them, and at a distance of 12 years' time it is impossible to say which were the opium smokers

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 11 a.m.

At the House of Lords, Westminster, S.W.

SIXTH DAY.

Saturday, 16th September 1893.

PRESENT:

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B. (CHAIRMAN, PRESIDING).

SIR JAMES B. TALL, G.C.I.E.
SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D.
MR. R. G. C. MOWBRAY, M.P.

MR. ARTHUR PHASE.
MR. H. J. WILSON, M.P.

SIR CHARLES E. BERNARD, K.C.S.I.,
Acting Secretary.

SIR CHARLES E. BERNARD, K.C.S.I., the Acting Secretary of the Commission, examined.

Sir
C. E. Bernard,
K.C.S.I.
16 Sept. 1893.

1634. (Chairman.) I believe you have received letters from two gentlemen who were summoned to give evidence before this Commission?—Yes, my lord.

1635. From Sir Joseph Fayer and Sir Hugh Low?—They were both unable to attend.

1636. But you have received letters from them in which they represent their views upon the question

among them. Many were opium smokers. I imagine there are very few gentlemen of any position in China, I mean to say men who could afford it, who do not have an occasional pipe, but the statement that a man must constantly go on increasing and increasing the dose, is about as true as that an Englishman cannot drink without going on till he gets drunk, or having got drunk once he must get drunk every other time.

1632. (Chairman.) We are much obliged to you for the testimony you have given from your point of view and expressing the general results, according to your judgment and your experience; is there anything further that you want particularly to say?—Yes, my Lord, there is a most important question. You have been told here that the cause of the dislike among the Chinese of Europeans is the opium traffic. I say without any hesitation that that is the grossest misstatement. I went up the country—and I have brought with me a map of the interior—for six weeks. I was in a houseboat with a native crew. I visited, amongst other places, one of the missionary stations, and for situation I never saw anything more delightful. You go up to the missionary station, which was on the top of a hill, by two zig-zag paths, and on the one side there was a series of pictures of what would become of Chinamen if they did not get converted. They were being pushed down by the forks of devils and stirred about in a fire. It seemed to me infinitely sad that civilised men should offer that as an inducement for conversion to anything. I went back to my boat, and I asked my "boy" to come with me—a boy is the name for a butler at Shanghai, he is at the head of your service—I asked the "boy" what did the people think of these things, and he gave me to understand what I imagine this Commission and any sensible man must realise, that the missionaries and their ways are really the great trouble and the great drawback to the liking of Europeans all over China.

1633. I do not think we can go into the missionary question; we are only here to deal with the opium question?—I may say with regard to my domestic servants I had a very large staff, and I know that they smoked opium, because when sometimes the smell was rather too strong—although the natives' quarters are separated from the English—I used to ask them to desist; but never one of them, all the time I was in China was incapacitated in any way from having used the drug.

which is before this Commission?—They have sent papers to be submitted to the Commission.

1637. Would you kindly read the communications which you have received?—

The opinion of Sir Joseph Fayer, K.C.S.I., surgeon and physician of 30 years' experience and practice.

in many parts of India, on the opium question, to be submitted to the Royal Commission, he being unable to be present.

"It is most strenuously urged by a large and influential, and, as I believe, thoroughly conscientious party, that the use of opium either by eating or smoking, is attended with the most pernicious results, causing, sooner or later, demoralisation and destruction alike of body and mind. They seem to be of opinion that the degraded condition of the *habitues* of opium eating or smoking houses, whether in India or China, represents the natural, and one might almost say, the inevitable results of the use of opium. Ideally, one would wish that stimulants and narcotics, such as alcohol, hemp, opium, tobacco, chloral, and sundry others of recent invention, had no existence; but, unfortunately, human nature is so constituted that it will not forego the use of these drugs, each and all of which is liable to be abused, and when so abused, produces the most degrading and pernicious effects upon the human race. One of the curses of our own country and of our own race is the abuse of alcohol—the amount of disease, misery, and crime produced by it is incalculable. With any who might enter upon a crusade against this form of indulgence, which should correct the abuse and limit the use of it within reasonable bounds, I confess that I should have the greatest sympathy; but I should never expect to succeed in excluding alcohol altogether from use as food. There cannot be a doubt that, in the great cities of India, in China, and probably elsewhere in the East, the abuse of opium is carried by a certain, but a limited number to a great extent, but to nothing like the extent to which the abuse of alcohol is carried. It is well known that over large areas of country in India, by tens of thousands of people, opium in moderation, is habitually used by the Natives; and that they have a thorough belief in its efficiency to protect them against malarious diseases; and that under its influence all the functions of life are better performed; that life is not shortened; and that physical and mental conditions are improved and not deteriorated. This I know to receive the support of those who know far more about the subject than I do, and I am not aware of anything to controvert it.

It is said I believe by its opponents, that the tendency of opium eating is ever to increase—to induce, it may be, slow but sure degradation and destruction. I do not believe this. In the course of many years' experience in India I have known so many who have been habitual consumers of a small quantity of opium without in any way suffering from it, or without any tendency to increase the habit, that I am unable to agree with those who state otherwise. One of my most intimate friends—a native nobleman, with whom I frequently associated—died after the age of 80. He was a man of remarkable intellectual, mental, and physical vigour, of wonderful powers of endurance of fatigue, a great sportsman, a splendid shot, as complete an example of a native gentleman as one could wish to see. He was an opium eater and consumed his two or three doses a day with unerring regularity. This he had done for many years when I became acquainted with him. He never increased the quantity, nor had he done so for several years; he showed no signs of degeneration, mental or physical, or anything suggestive of a pernicious habit. It must be in the experience of old residents in India to have met with similar cases.

"It seems to me that this crusade against opium, though well meant, is not reasonable. It is as unfair to argue from the *habitus* of opium-smoking houses, as it is from the frequenters of gin palaces and other haunts where the most degraded forms of alcoholic abuse may be met with in our own country. Both, in extreme cases, are an evil; but the moderate use either of alcohol or opium must be left to the discretion of those who feel called upon to take them.

"There is another drug which is also in frequent use in India, *cassia seed*, the hemp, which is infinitely worse than opium. I find no objection taken to this drug by the anti-opium party. I can see no medical ground that would justify violent interference with the custom in question.

"Control and limit the abuse of opium, but to interfere with and suppress it altogether seems to me unjustifiable. I know no reason why opium should be interfered with and alcohol be exempt. The evils of the one are far inferior to the evils of the other, and the moderate use of both—as I have said—should be left to the discretion of those who want them. It seems

to me to be clearly proved that the moderate use of opium is not attended with the evil results ascribed to it, though, as with alcohol, a certain number of persons will abuse it.

"I repeat, therefore, that on medical grounds I see no reasons for abrogating the present regulations concerning opium in India. I confine myself entirely to the medical aspect.

"31st August 1893."

"J. FAVERER, M.D., F.R.S.

The opinion of Sir Hugh Low, K.C.M.G., who was for many years employed as administrator of Perak and other States of the Malay peninsula under the British Government. Sir Hugh Low was unable to attend and give evidence during the time the Royal Commission sat in London.

"Such knowledge as I have on the subject was acquired in the protected Malay State of 'Perak,' in the Malay Peninsula, and in the colony of 'Labuan' in Borneo; and I am decidedly of opinion that there is no such abuse of the drug in those places as would make it politic further to interfere with its importation and sale, than is done at present under the existing Government regulations.

"The practice in 'Perak' was to lease for a term of years, usually three, the right to collect the Government duty of 7 dollars per ball on all opium imported, the sole right to prepare the crude opium into the State in which it was used, and also the monopoly of the retail sale of the prepared drug. The regulations under which the 'farm' as it was called was conducted provided a maximum price at which opium might be retailed by the farmer, reserved to the Government control over the quality of the drug supplied to the public, and provided for the licensing of retail shops.

"The 'Revenue farm,' thus created was disposed of by tender, but not necessarily to the highest bidder. Debts for 'Chandoo,' as the prepared opium was called, were not recoverable in the courts.

"There were three classes of the population which used the drug.

"1st. The labourers, chiefly Chinese, employed in the extensive mining industry. These for the most part used it moderately, and as a prophylactic against miasma, and formed by far the most numerous and the poorest class of the consumers.

"2nd. Shopkeepers, artisans, clerks, domestic servants, and others who were in possession of larger incomes than the workmen in the mines. There was a greater tendency to abuse in this class than in that preceding.

"3rd. Wealthy Malays and Chinese of the highest social positions.

"My impression is that two-thirds of the Chinese population were smokers of opium, but amongst the Malays very few of the country people were addicted to the practice. The criminal classes of both nationalities used it freely.

"Very few cases came under my notice in which the habit of smoking opium appeared seriously to affect the general health, but such was undoubtedly occasionally the case.

"The quantity of opium imported into Perak was very considerable, and the revenue derived from it by the Government was large in proportion. I will endeavour to procure on my return to London some figures on these points.

"I never heard of any case in which crime was committed under the influence of opium, and persons under its influence give no trouble to the police. I have been informed by respectable Chinese that its use in moderation clears the intellect, and renders men more capable of transacting important business. The use of opium was prohibited in the prisons of the State, and detention in these, where the sanitary conditions were excellent, the food good, and labour regular, invariably resulted in improved physique of the inmates.

"11th September 1893."

"HUGH LOW.

The following extract was submitted to the Royal Commission by Mr. H. N. Lay, C.B., as it bears upon the charge that opium was being forced upon the Chinese.

Sir
C. E. Bernard
K.C.S.J.

16 Sept. 1893

Sir
C. E. Bernard,
K.C.S.I.

16 Sept. 1893.

EXTRACT from a TRADE CIRCULAR issued by Messrs. Bush Brothers, merchants of Newchang, a port of N.W. China, under date January 1881.

"OPIUM.—It will be noted that the import of Malwa is about one-half of what it was in 1879, the difference being 1,064 piculs (cheats)=taels, 608,754. This falling off is due, we understand, to the increase of the native poppy, as well as to the higher value ruling for the Indian drug. The latter still obtains a great preference over the others, but consumers cannot afford to pay too great a price for the superior quality. There is plenty of evidence to show that the authorities of this province at any rate do not use very serious exertions to prevent the consumption of the foreign drug, but on the contrary they prohibit the cultivation of the poppy because as was pointed out in a proclamation some time ago, it is essential to keep the *quilitary chest well supplied* by the duty levied on Indian opium. This, we take it, is rather a strong argument against the assertion that opium is forced upon the Chinese."

BUSH BROTHERS'

LETTER from Mr. T. W. DURR, for 30 years a merchant in China, whose offer to give evidence came too late for the Royal Commission to take advantage of it; ordered by the Commission to be printed with the previous letters submitted to them.

"In answer to your note of yesterday I send you herewith my ideas about opium. Having lived in several of the outports in China during 30 years, I have become somewhat familiar with the habits of the natives and have had a great deal to do in business with men who indulge in the opium pipe. My opinion is, that under the circumstances of their living, food, climate, and habitations, opium to them has no deleterious effects, indeed quite the contrary, for it is a positive need and they could not do without it. In what I say here, I do not refer to the occasional abuse of the drug in some of the large towns like Shanghai, because there as in all large places, you may come across scenes of debauchery, perhaps not so bad as seen in our large centres of 'civilization' arising from alcoholism.

"The Chinese in Southern and mid-China feed on rice, vegetables, tea, and other foods containing a large per-centage of water, with now and then a taste of beans, card, and perhaps once or twice a year a little pork. In these provinces they sometimes take a little spirit, and being warmed it becomes very weak; this luxury does not extend much to agricultural districts. They live in malaria and never if they can help it on high ground; their houses principally consist of a ground floor without boards, with the smallest of rooms above this,—generally averaging about 14 feet to the roof or under. Their highways are canals into which all their towns drain. Their fields, heavily manured with human ordure, eventually drain into these waterways. They have no waterworks to filter for them. The floating population is numerous and more so than in any other country; penned up in badly ventilated 'holds,' living in a stifling atmosphere over bilge water, without opium taken as a febrifuge they could not possibly exist. You will easily understand, I think, that under all these conditions opium is a positive need. It is all very well for fully fed and stimulated faddists, who take wheaten food and meat with other articles of nourishment, to think they can do without opium, but let them live under these conditions for some years. They would in my opinion change the subject very quickly. You never hear of foreigners

taking opium in China for reasons that they live under very different conditions. Indeed foreigners, whether missionaries or traders, are far better off both as regards food and dwelling than in this country.

"The Chinese who live in mountainous districts and in the north where alcohol is taken do not have so much desire for opium. It is only on the malarious plains or fenny and marshy districts where it is consumed and needed, and even here generally in a moderate form.

"All nations I contend need a stimulant, either in the form of strong food or drink, and this is my own experience through most of the countries of the world either by land or sea.

"Again the Chinese have but little amusement either out or indoors, not being an excitable race they derive consolation and pleasure,—securing health too,—with their pipe in their solitude (perhaps with less harm than our people do in their music hall or village tavern). The cleverest and best men I have always found smoke opium occasionally, and workmen and boatmen especially are always the most active who occasionally indulge in the small amount they can afford to spend on this medicine (as it is called in China).

"In conversing with foreigners Chinese will sometimes speak against the habit of opium smoking, and especially so to missionaries and others who they know have not the habit. It is mere politeness on their part to be always in accord with their guest or host. I have never in all my life heard any Chinese blame our Government for its introduction, on the contrary it is understood to have been grown in the country for the past 100 years. It is now called 'foreign medicine' by all those who sell it, because the best comes from India, the next best from Persia, and some from Turkey. The native opium burns the throat, and until lately was seldom used alone, generally mixed with the Malwa or Patna drug. In 1865 I passed through large fields of poppies near Peking on the road to the Great Wall, and it would then have been grown in larger quantities generally, but for the unsettled state of the country, after the Taeping rebellion. Proclamations were at this time given out prohibiting its growth, not because they did not require opium, or on moral grounds, but on account of the difficulty of raising the revenue; opium taking smaller bulk than rice or grain, could more easily evade the barriers, while the Peking authorities could not have existed without the revenue of thirty taels per picul, collected through the foreign customs on their account. The opium revenue has been of the greatest service in centralizing the Government at Peking and has taken what would have been a powerful weapon out of the hands of the different viceroys.

"While having the greatest respect for some of our missionaries and others engaged in keeping up this continual cry against this Indian opium, I cannot help thinking they are not sincere, and if so are dreadfully mistaken in trying to govern the habits of 600 millions of people in China and India. I am afraid it is done more in the way of advertisement and in the zeal for their cause. I would like to think better things of them, but when I occasionally read such distorted accounts in their prints, I cannot help feeling that they are not minding their own shortcomings. The nation of China is quite capable of taking care of itself. Physically there is no finer race of people on the globe than the Chinese, who have arrived at the economic science of living cheaper than any other race, and who can if need be work harder than any other and in any clime. I fear they are our masters now, without the sword, for economy of living must make them so, as the Americans and Australians have already found out.

Yours sincerely,

T. W. DURR.

Mr.
W. Lockhart,
F.R.C.S.

Mr. WILLIAM LOCKHART, F.R.C.S., called in and examined.

1638. (Chairman.) Will you briefly state the positions which you have filled, and the places in which you have resided, where you have had the opportunity of forming an opinion, on the questions which have been submitted to this Commission?—With pleasure, my Lord. I went out to China as a medical missionary in the year 1864. I was located for a time at Macao, I then went to Chusan, then to Ning-po, and finally to Shang-hai, and during the latter part of my residence in China, I had a large hospital in Peking. I had some half-dozen hospitals in these various parts of

China. I left China in 1864. I was 25 years at work as a medical missionary there, having had opportunity of constant intercourse with the people, and was mixed up with them in all their life. I am absolutely a medical missionary, that is my vocation.

1639. (Sir W. Roberts.) Then you have had a very large experience?—Very large.

1640. Of the effects of opium in China?—In China alone, except what I have seen incidentally in England.

1641. What has been your impression acquired during all these years of the effect of opium on the people of China?—Many of them take it in small quantities. It is not particularly injurious to them if they continue to take it in small quantities, but it is so seductive a thing, that they very generally increase it; and if they fall into evil circumstances and become poor, they take it in larger quantities. When they become the victims of the opium habit, it is decidedly pernicious and injurious to them, in every respect. They fall physically, their mental faculties are not so particularly impaired, when they are not in the act of smoking opium, but their general system becomes so deteriorated, and so debased in every way, that the people who are the victims of this habit, are not allowed to give evidence in any legal proceedings, in any of the courts of justice in China at all. They are not considered as people of the community who are above corruption, and they would not be allowed to give evidence in any legal proceeding.

1642. Does that description apply to habitual opium smokers who are temperate, or merely to those who take it in excess?—The latter part of my description applies simply to those who take it to excess, as a means of dissipation.

1643. The people who correspond to our drunkards?—Exactly; and I may state that the proportion of those who take it in moderate quantity is about 10 per cent.; those who take it in excess, from 3 to 5 per cent. of the total population, and that is all. When ever those large numbers are stated as victims of the opium habit, or when people say that it is one-third of the population, or one-sixth of the population, they are totally wrong, because there is not enough of opium in the country to enable them to take it, to the extent which they ought to take, if they took it in excess. I mean by "ought to take," that they are necessitated to take it to relieve them from the excessive languor, and the pain and distress they suffer, from the want of their usual stimulant.

1644. I think it has been rather explained to us that those numbers apply, not to the entire population, but only to the adult?—I never saw a child smoking opium in China, it is entirely confined to adults.

1645. With reference to the adults, it might be said roughly that about ten per cent. take it in small quantities.

1646. And that is your view?—That is my view.

1647. I believe with that explanation, it is the view generally given, that it is not ten per cent. as applied to the entire population, but merely to the adult; that it does not amount to more than one per cent. of the total population?—Just so.

1648. That would be about right do you think, adult males I understand?—Women also take it, but not to the same extent. I have no means of knowing the difference between the numbers of females or males that take opium. Women do smoke opium, but not so many as men.

1649. Would it accord with your general experience in the parts of China that you have been in, that about one in ten of the adult males are opium smokers?—Yes.

1650. And that about seven per cent. of the adult makes use it moderately and without injury, and about three per cent. use it injuriously?—About three to five per cent. use it injuriously.

1651. And from five to seven per cent. use it moderately?—Moderately.

1652. And without injury?—Without injury.

1653. Or even beneficially?—Well, the trouble is, when persons begin to smoke opium they are apt, under almost all circumstances, to increase the quantity, and then they become victims to what I call the opium habit. I should not say that even the moderate use of opium was beneficial.

1654. But you would call it still the opium habit if it were persisted in moderately?—Well, you might; by the victims of the opium habit I mean those who suffer from the excess. May I say as to the reason why I limit the numbers in the way that I do? The reason of my limiting the numbers is this, the importation of Indian opium is roughly about 100,000 cwt., and the native growth is about the same quantity, so that the

amount of opium used in China is about 200,000 cwt., which is reduced by the making it into smokable extract, about 20 per cent.—20 or 25 per cent.—in fact, one-third of the opium is mere vegetable extract; and so the smokable extract is reduced to one-third, and if you divide that among the population it comes out very much in the figures that I speak of.

1655. But we are told that the quantity of native opium is four or even ten times larger than that imported; I think that is the nature of the evidence given?—I have no means of contradicting the statement, only personally I do not believe it. I have no present means of contradicting the statement, because I am absent from China, but I very seriously doubt that there is any more than the 100,000 piculs that I spoke of. Some years ago it was 80,000 piculs. I know it has increased to 100,000 piculs. It may be a little more, but not very much. Practically, I think, that is about the correct statement.

1656. You evidently think that the statements made about the amount of China opium are not sufficiently exact to be relied upon?—Exactly so.

1657. It is some time since you left?—I left in 1864. I have kept up my connexion with China ever since; I am just as much in connexion with China, now as I was when I was living there; I am just as much interested now in what is going on in China, as ever I was, and I have endeavoured to keep *au courant* with this question of native opium.

1658. The information that reaches you is not to the effect that the production of native opium is increasing?—Yes, it is increasing but not beyond the figure that I have stated. It does constantly increase, I know that; since I came home it has increased from 60,000 cwt. to 100,000 cwt.

1659. That is the native opium?—The native opium.

1660. But then that is an estimate I presume?—There is no census of the population, nor is there any regulation of the opium lands to that extent which would enable you accurately to define the quantity; it is partly a guess I admit.

1661. I am going to ask you a very general question: Is it your impression from all your knowledge of this question that there is any national effect of an injurious nature, produced on the Chinese by the consumption of opium?—In the proportion of those who use it in excess it is very injurious. In my knowledge of various commercial men, artisans, skilled workmen, with whom I was personally acquainted and whom I knew intimately in all their relations of life, I know that they do take it, and it does not interfere with their business, nor when they take it to a small extent does it interfere with their health or their life. A man who smokes opium moderately will consume about a drachm a day, those who take it to excess will take from four to ten drachms a day.

1662. That is of the smokable extract?—Yes, the smokable extract.

1663. Containing about one-third of opium?—No; the smokable extract is very pure opium. It is one-third of the crude opium.

1664. What name do they give to the thing which is actually smoked?—They call it Ta-yeu or great smoke. Everybody knows that they cannot smoke crude opium, it must be reduced to a watery extract.*

1665. It is mixed with some vegetable matter?—They take as much smokable extract out of the opium as they possibly can; it is the pure smokable extract that they use.

1666. You have taken some interest in comparing in your own experience the effect of alcohol and opium?—Yes.

1667. What is your experience with regard to the comparison of the effect of opium in China on the Chinese, and the effect of alcohol on the people of this country?—Opium is personally harmful to individuals. Alcohol is a much greater social evil to the individuals that take it to excess. The action of opium is more personally injurious than that of alcohol; as a social evil there is no comparison between the two. He that takes alcohol to excess is a nuisance to society, a man

* Note by witness.—The crude opium is boiled with water; the solution is strained and boiled down to a certain consistence somewhat thicker than treacle, and that is the smokable extract.

Mr.
W. Lockhart,
F.R.C.S.

15 Sept. 1893.

that smokes opium to excess subsides into quietness the moment he has had his pipe; though he may be cruel at home and sell his wife and his business to buy opium, he is not publicly a nuisance, and I believe (to go further than your question) that alcohol is an infinitely greater curse than opium.

1668. You mean that the use of alcohol, as practised in this country, is a greater curse to the community here than the use of opium, as practised in China, is to the Chinese?—Exactly, that is my distinct and definite opinion formed on very large experience, and with great care taken in the elimination of all extra circumstances, to enable me to form a definite opinion about it.

1669. As regards suicide, opium is used for suicide?—Very largely.

1670. Very largely?—Very largely. The smokable extract when it comes into a person's possession is generally in a little cup, sometimes a man who is respectable and with some amount of money has a little silver box that he keeps it in; the common people use a little porcelain cup for it. When wishing to commit suicide, they put their finger into the cup and get out about a drachm or two of the opium, put into their mouths and very soon die. It is very much more fatal taken in that way than through the use of the pipe.

1671. Some of it is destroyed by the heat of the pipe, I suppose?—Very little; when in the pipe it does not burn; the morphia is not burnt out of it. Of course in the smokable extract, and in all the circumstances in which opium is used, the power is the amount of morphia in the drug, that is of course, as you know, what affects people; and when the pipe is submitted to the lamp it is only held just so that it will begin to smoke, then they draw in that smoke into their mouths and into their lungs as far as they can introduce it, and afterwards expel it. The morphia is not destroyed; very little of it in fact is destroyed, it never burns away when applied to the lamp, it is only heated.

1672. Speaking of suicides again, is it your impression that the use of opium in China provokes a tendency to suicide?—No, I think it is only when they get into very grave difficulties, into debt and circumstances of that kind, family discord, and so on, that they take opium. Women especially use opium as a means of suicide, sometimes after quarrelling with their mothers-in-law, because the females all live in one compound. Their mothers-in-law are sometimes very disagreeable, and to spite their mothers-in-law, and to place the death at their door, they will take opium. I have known that again and again, many I have been called to, and when I asked, "What is the reason of this?" I have been told, "Oh, she quarrelled with her mother-in-law."

1673. Then your implication is that the use of opium does not cause an increase in the number of suicides, and that if they did not use opium as a mode of suicide they would use some other mode?—They would hang themselves generally or cut their throats; I have seen every plan that they adopt—sometimes drown themselves. I have been called to them under all these circumstances—cutting their throats, hanging themselves; but more generally in the large majority the suicides were by taking opium. It is the pleasantest mode of committing suicide that I know of.

1674. Speaking of those persons who have adopted the habit in excess, I presume they applied to you in the hospital sometimes?—Very largely; many thousands.

1675. From your experience in the hospital, did you find that they were curable?—Yes, sir.

1676. How would you express your opinion on that point; were they as easily curable as a confirmed drunkard?—Quite as curable. I think more so. They used to come to me under the despair of the increased quantity of opium that they had to take to produce the given effect of quietude, and beg to be delivered from the evil that thus came upon them. They were victims of this increased quantity, and they would remain in the hospital. I required that they should remain with me, give me their pipe, promise that they would not buy any more opium, and in fact I prevented it, as far as it was possible to do so. And then I used to help them by medicine of various kinds, stimulants, and with some opium in the medicine that I gave them, and gradually diminished the opium, and gave them

tonics and stimulants, ammonia and such like, and they got well in large numbers. I do not say that some of them would not slip back again into the opium habit after they left me, but they were delivered from the vice and went out to their usual avocations as before they were submitted to the opium.

1677. Well, I think we have got pretty completely from you, your impressions as a medical man of the effect of opium in China?—May I state one thing, I wish to emphasise very particularly one thing regarding the use of opium in China. We do not, and never have forced the use of opium upon China. It is repeatedly and over again stated, that we force the Chinese to take opium. Now, we have never done that; it is only taken the same as Manchester goods, and other articles of merchandise; we have never forced it. The British Government had this legacy of opium from the East India Company, they continued the cultivation, that is the management of the opium farms in India, and sent the opium to China, it was never sent by Government vessels; it was never, except in the first instance, sent even by the East India Company in their vessels; it has always been sold in Calcutta, and then sent by merchants to China. It is said that when the vessels go along the coast, they frighten the people to make them buy opium. It has never been the case. The Bishop of Gloucester once said, and this has been quoted over and over again, and it is because of that I wish to enter my most emphatic protests—he said that we took a ball of opium in one hand, and a revolver in the other, and said to the Chinese: "If you will not buy this opium, I will shoot you." That is an exaggerated statement altogether. There is not a particle of truth in anything regarding the forcing of opium upon the Chinese. It has never been done, and is certainly not done at the present time. I have been so much mixed up with the people of China that I know all the particulars of their lives, and I know that there never was a question raised that either the Government or merchants have forced opium upon them. It would be very desirable if the Government could relieve itself of the cultivation or the support of the poppy trade in India, and that they should give up the opium "go-down," and throw trade in opium free. You cannot abolish the growth of opium in India; it would be simply impossible; but it might be very much diminished, and the English Government should not engage in trade, still less should they engage in such a thing as the opium trade. For the English Government to be mixed up with the production of opium is, I think, a most injurious circumstance, and both as a missionary and as a man, I should very much deprecate the continuance of the present system on its present grounds. Let them take the duty on it as it leaves the country, but give up the "go-down," reduce the area of cultivation as much as possible, and thus show that practically we wish to save, as far as possible, the Chinese from excess in the use of opium.

1678. (Mr. Wilson.) Some years ago, you published a book on this question?—Yes, I did.

1679. Which I have here; you quote therein a paper that was prepared partly by yourself in 1855?—Yes.

1680. That is nearly 40 years ago now?—It is.

1681. Are your views substantially the same now?—Very much the same. I have had more experience, which certainly has modified some circumstances; one cannot live 40 years among people without in some degree modifying his views. If I have modified my opinion I will at once say so. I do not know to what you are alluding.

1682. I notice you state there, as you have stated this morning, that you treated several thousand cases in the hospital at Shanghai?—I did.

1683. Did those people come to the hospital on account of the opium habit, or was it that they came for other diseases, and incidentally were opium smokers?—Because they were opium smokers and wished to be relieved from the habit, not from other diseases. I do not say that a man might not have some trouble besides his opium. Very likely he would have severe diarrhoea and colic, the result of opium smoking, which he would wish to be relieved from as well as the opium. He knew the opium produced this; and substantially they came to be relieved from the opium habit.

1684. I think we have had it stated here that a large number of the people, if not the great proportion of those who take opium, take it to relieve pain and suffering from other diseases. That is not your opinion?—No, some do, not the large proportion of them. If

the question is: Does a large proportion of the people take opium to be relieved of pain? I simply say it is not the fact. They take it as a means of dissipation.

1685. I see that at another place you say, "It is so cheap that the ordinary working classes, the labouring population, can very readily supply themselves with what they want?"—With opium?

1686. Do you think that would be the same now?—In regard to native opium it would.

1687. That applies to native opium?—Native opium. The Bengal opium is more expensive, but it is far better, and rich people always take it; there is more morphia in it, it is more effective, and it is a very much dearer article. It is not mixed with so many other ingredients as the native opium. The native opium is very impure.

1688. Have you known many cases of Europeans taking the native opium?—No.

1689. Any?—To a small extent, yes; a large extent, No.

1690. Why do they not?—It takes a great deal of time to smoke opium. European merchants have not time to do it, and there is a distaste on the part of Europeans to take opium, they do not do it. If they did use opium, they would take it in the form of laudanum; they would not smoke it; and when taken in the form of laudanum about one-tenth of what is taken by the pipe would produce a very marked effect upon them.

1691. I take it in China it is almost entirely smoking?—Entirely.

1692. There is not any eating?—Not very much. It is largely smoking.

1693. When you speak of taking opium you refer to smoking?—The man who is in the habit of taking opium, and not having time to go and smoke, would put his finger in the opium cup and put the opium into his mouth, but that is not the usual plan.

1694. I see that you refer to this, that they continue this smoking for a longer or shorter time according to the effect wished to be produced?—Yes.

1695. After the effect has got to a certain point, are they sufficiently masters of themselves to be able to go on up to the limit of producing the precise effect?—Yes.

1696. They can?—Yes. If they give up the pipe and lie down they go to sleep, but if they keep themselves awake they can go on smoking opium for a lengthened period, until the point must come when they are obliged to put down the pipe; then they become sleepy.

1697. I suppose that with a drunkard in London the more he takes the less control he has?—Yes. The use of opium is very different, it produces a tranquillising effect and they become tranquil; they are not violent and boisterous as a drunkard is.

1698. Now, why do they lie down?—Partly for resting, the use of the pipe almost necessitates their lying down, that is the use of it as the Chinese use it; they lie down with their face, it may be, on a level with the lamp they use. The bowl of the pipe is not a large bowl like the bowl of a tobacco pipe, and the little mouth of the bowl is brought to the flame and the resulting fumes inhaled. They could not do it very easily if they were sitting up; they could do it, but that is the usual habit, a man lies down to take his pipe. When people are visiting in China they do not sit on chairs. Generally at least the host and his chief guests sit on a large kind of couch or platform as you may call it, and it is usual for a host to say to his friend: "Let us have an opium pipe," and then it is brought in, and laid on this couch on which they sit. It is not a sofa, it is a platform. I should say it is more easy for them to do it in that way than sitting up and smoking.

1699. With reference to the general question of the introduction of opium in China, and whether it was or was not forced on China by us, had you any greater opportunities of knowing about that than any other student of Blue Books, and the official documents?—I think so.

1700. How would you know the opinions of various statesmen in India and China?—Partly by conversation, and generally by knowing what took place at the time the opium was first introduced to China by the Arabs.

1701. We have had a statement about that at very great length, and we have various documents and so

forth. What I wanted to know was whether you in China, where I take it you were at that time (and I ask especially because I suppose there were not very many daily newspapers, or anything of that kind), had direct personal opportunities of knowing any better than the members of this Commission would have from careful study of the official documents?—I knew all the official documents that came out, I had the opportunity of conversation with the Chinese on various subjects of this kind; I had no further opportunity than that; I knew the official documents that were published, they were open to me to read, and I spoke to the Chinese about them.

1702. (Mr. Moubray.) To what do you attribute the general belief, which we have heard exists among the Chinese, that we have forced opium upon them?—I have never heard it, sir. I have never heard anything like it. Such an accusation was never made to my knowledge.

1703. (Mr. Pease.) With what society were you connected as a missionary?—The London Missionary Society.

1704. Were any of the members of your church opium smokers?—They were no longer members of the church if they used opium.

1705. You did not allow any opium smoker to be a member of your church?—No.

1706. Why?—Because of the disgrace they brought upon themselves and their fellow-converts by smoking opium.

1707. First they were respectable men when they began to smoke opium, were they not?—Yes, but they got degraded by that process, and then the constant progress of degradation that goes on with all the victims of excessive use of opium. You could not trust them.

1708. With regard to the proportions which you gave us, were you speaking from your own personal knowledge in 1864?—Yes.

1709. With regard to the proportions of opium smokers, you have had no personal opportunity of obtaining information since 1864?—Except of the quantity that is produced and imported.

1710. Calculating from the returns?—From the returns. I know as much about it now as I did then; it is a matter of calculation.

1711. I gather that you have a very strong belief that the Indian Government ought to free themselves from any connexion with the growth of opium?—Certainly.

1712. (Sir J. Lyall.) You have a strong feeling that the Indian Government ought to free themselves from direct participation in the growth of opium?—Yes.

1713. I suppose you are aware that the Anti-Opium Society now, does not ask that the Government should abolish its monopoly, and is of opinion that the abolition of the monopoly, and the substitution of an export duty would lead to the largely increased amount of opium sent to China?—I doubt it.

1714. That is the opinion the Society has expressed?—I know, sir, but I do not accept it.

1715. You said that opium smoking is prohibited by a rule of the Church among Christian converts?—Yes.

1716. Is drinking spirits also prohibited?—They never do it; it is done so seldom, that it is not counted; if they did, the same rule would apply to them; but the Chinese do not habitually drink spirits. I have seen drunken men in China, but they do not drink, they are not a drinking people; they do not drink spirits. I would not say that they never do, but it is so seldom, that we never take any particular account of it. I have seen drunken men in China, but very seldom.

1717. In Japan, where the import of opium is prohibited by Government, the drinking of spirits, the same sort of spirit that is used in China, prevails very largely?—Samshee, yes. I believe it does.

1718. And the Japanese Government, as I saw myself when I was there, raises a very heavy revenue from spirits?—Yes.

1719. Do you think it is likely that, if opium smoking were stopped in China, spirit drinking would prevail?—I think not.

Mr.
W. Lockhart,
F.R.C.S.
16 Sept. 1858.

Mr.
W. Lockhart,
F.R.C.S.
14 Sept. 1898.

1720. You think if you could stop the opium smoking that the people would be temperate?—I think they would; they are not disposed to drink spirits; they do not favour the doing of it. As to what the actual advantage would be I will not prophesy; but I think that they would not give way to spirit drinking; I think the Chinese would not do it; they are a stalwart, strong people. After the Anglo-Saxon race I believe they come next; they are splendid soldiers; they are of fine physique, and can exhibit a great amount of strength in their ordinary avocations. I like the Chinese people exceedingly; they are a superior race

of men, very different when they become officers of Government; but in their ordinary life they are a noble set of men, and I extremely like them. I like living among them, and I greatly admire them.

1721. It is the general opinion, I believe, in China and Japan that they are much more trustworthy and honest in business, whether as merchants, or as labourers than the Japanese are; have you not heard that?—They are a better people altogether than the Japanese; the Japanese are far below the Chinese in physique, in mental power, in general ability, and certainly in education.

The witness withdrew.

Dr. G. Dods.

Dr. GEORGE DODS, called in and examined.

1722. (Chairman.) Will you state the positions that you have filled, and the places where you have resided, and the opportunities which you have had of forming a judgment upon the question which has been referred to the consideration of this Commission?—I resided for six years in Canton, and part of the time I had charge of a native hospital. I was 12 years in Hong Kong, and part of the time I had charge of the jail in which there was a large number of Chinese prisoners.

1723. In what service were you engaged; were you under the Government?—No.

1724. In private practice?—Yes, but I was in the Government service when I was attending to the prisoners in Hong Kong prison temporarily.

1725. In the Chinese Government service?—No, Hong Kong; the British Government.

1726. (Sir W. Roberts.) Can you tell us generally what are the effects of opium smoking upon the population of those places where you resided?—The effects are not at all evident generally.

1727. You have, of course, seen?—I have seen, of course, numbers of opium smokers, and people have been pointed out who were called victims of the habit, emaciated wretches; but in many cases on making inquiry, I found that these people were dying of some disease, and smoked opium to alleviate their pain; but of course, there are other cases in which the constitution was ruined simply from the use of opium, but I consider them very rare.

1728. And did you think that the habit of opium smoking was prevalent in the population, high and low?—To a moderate degree. A great many of the best men smoke opium, the merchants and officials.

1729. Could you say roughly what proportion of the adult males?—No, I could not.

1730. One in ten, for example?—I should not think so many.

1731. Not so many?—I should not think so.

1732. But the great majority of the consumers smoke moderately?—Moderately, yes.

1733. Under the circumstances you did not observe any harm?—No, on the contrary. For instance, some of the very shrewdest merchants in Canton I have known, before they completed a bargain with our English merchants for tea or silk, to ask him to excuse them for a little while they went home to smoke a pipe of opium, and they came back and concluded the bargain. It cleared their brain, and they could do their business much better.

1734. Such persons never went to an opium shop in their lives?—No, they used opium in a moderate degree.

1735. Did you observe that there was a strong tendency to increase the quantity, or that the habit should degenerate into a vice or an excess?—No, I did not observe that. Perhaps when smokers grew very old and had no business to attend to, then probably they increased the quantity of opium, or in the case of men who were ruined they very often became victims to it just as a drunkard does in this country.

1736. Did you observe that it was very difficult for those who had contracted the habit to throw it off if they were willing?—It would depend upon this very greatly; if they had the mind to stop, they used to come to the hospitals to get some sort of cure, as they called it, for the opium smoking, and in many cases they were relieved of the habit. I used to give them stimulants instead of the opium, and in the case of the prisoners in the jail they were not allowed to use opium at all, and a great many of the criminal classes

are opium smokers; and I think in only two occasions did I require to give these prisoners a dose of opium after it was once stopped. The cessation of their stimulant did not seem to do them any harm; of course, they were depressed for a day or two, but it never seemed to do them any harm.

1737. You stopped it suddenly?—Yes, suddenly.

1738. Are you speaking of a large number of cases?—Yes, very large. There were 500 or 600 prisoners in that jail, and I should think fully one half of them would be opium smokers. And my own servants also were opium smokers, at least, some of them were; but they rarely smoked except once a month when they got their pay. It was just part of a sort of amusement in which they indulged when they got their pay. They used to smoke once a month, but at no other time.

1739. They went on a sort of spree?—Exactly; it is the accompaniment to a spree in China. When a man gives a dinner to his friends they always finish up with a pipe of opium.

1740. There must be a good many analogies between the opium habit and the alcohol habit?—Yes. In that respect they indulge in it as a sort of luxury; it is only the rich who can afford to indulge in it really. I have seen some of the natives who live in the marshy districts who say that they could not live there without smoking opium, because they always got fever, and they complain of what it costs them to buy the opium.

1741. (Mr. Wilson.) I gather you do not agree with Dr. Lockhart in what he has just said. Would you tell us very briefly in what respects you differ?—I did not notice that I disagreed with him very much. If you will tell me on what points you thought we disagreed.

1742. Do you think you substantially agree?—Well, no; not in all that he said.

1743. Perhaps it would take less time than if I were to ask you questions; you heard all he said, will you tell us on what points you did not agree?

1744. (Chairman.) Was there any statement made by Dr. Lockhart in which you do not feel inclined to agree?—I agree with him in the main.

1745. On what points do you disagree?—Well, I do not think there are quite so many opium smokers as he mentions, but then, of course, that varies very much in different parts of China; and then again he remarked that there would not be much drinking going on. That may be in the part of China in which he resided, but I have seen a good deal of spirit-drinking going on, especially in Hong Kong.

1746. (Mr. Wilson.) When did you leave China?—I left it in 1877.

1747. I thought you would differ a good deal in regard to the number of persons who are suffering from other diseases and who take opium to alleviate them. I gathered that he considered the proportion of opium smokers who did it to alleviate pain was small?—Was small—yes. I agree with him there too. I merely mention that I have seen some cases which might have been pointed out as opium smokers, and which when I inquired I found to take opium to relieve their pain or their cough.

1748. (Mr. Mowbray.) Did you consider that while you were there the tendency increased—the number of opium smokers increased—I think you were in Canton and Hong Kong 18 years altogether?—Yes. I had no means of knowing that.

1749. It was not sufficient to strike your attention if it was so?—No, certainly not; you can only tell that by the increased consumption.

1750. And could you tell at all as to the proportion of the people who smoke native opium or Indian opium? No, I could not do that either. Of course, in Hong Kong they almost always smoke the foreign drug, and

I agree with Dr. Lockhart in saying that I never heard the Chinese blame the English for introducing the drug. The only people I heard blame the English were the American missionaries.

Dr. G. Dodr.
16 Sept. 1893.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. DAVID McLAREN called in and examined.

Mr.
D. McLaren.

1751. (Chairman.) I believe you were formerly president of the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce?—Yes, for three years.

1752. Am I to understand that in your commercial life you were actively concerned in the trade with China?—No, my lord; not with the direct trade with China. I was engaged all my commercial life in the wholesale tea trade in Scotland; but so far back as 53 years ago—my attention was called to this opium question because when I was a very young man the tea trade was entirely disorganised by the occurrence of the first war, known as the opium war; and from that time I began to take a very deep interest in it. I should like your Lordship to know that in what I say to-day I do not want to give opinions on the question, but rather to bring forward what facts I have been able to collect, especially from statistics of the trade between India, China, and England.

1753. We shall be happy to receive a general statement from you of your views?—Well, my Lord, if the allegations of the demoralising consequence of the opium indulgence could be proved to a certainty, I should expect to find that the opium trade would not be a profitable trade in the end. I hold that there is nothing more certain, than that a thing cannot be morally wrong and commercially or politically right. I resolved to make an inquiry into the effect of this opium trade on our legitimate trade with China. I do not say that the results which will be brought out are the consequences of the opium trade, but I wish to submit very carefully the figures which I will lay before you. If we saw in a village a public-house, and next door to it a draper's shop, perhaps kept by brothers, and saw the public-house crowded, we would know very well that the draper's shop would come very badly off. Now that is just what I think the figures that I shall bring before you will prove. Perhaps it will be necessary to premise that the trade with China is quite singular in several respects. In the first place, between India and China it was a monopoly in the hands of the East India Company up to the year 1813; and it was a monopoly between the United Kingdom and China up to 1834, when the East India Company's charter terminated. It is admitted on all hands that the trade has been a most anomalous one; so much so, that 12 years after the termination of the East India Company's charter, a special Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into it. I shall bring before the Commission the result of the inquiry. I have prepared two tables, my Lord, and they will enable you to follow the figures which I give, much more easily. The trade is remarkable for this, that it has been very much affected by changes in the treaty and political relations between the two countries. I do not know that any trade has been so much affected in that way as the China trade has been. Taking the year 1834 as a starting point, the second line on the table before you will show the state of trade between India and China at the time of the expiry of the East India Company's charter. You will see there that the entire export to China in the three years following the expiry of the charter, was 3,014,770*l.*; the average annual export of opium in these years was in round figures, 2,000,000*l.*—1,955,236*l.* are the figures—forming, you will observe, 66 per cent. of the amount of the exports as a whole. Then raw cotton, which was the great export of India to China at that time next to opium, was 878,042*l.*, forming 29 per cent. At the same time you will observe that the imports into this country from China were 3,779,385*l.* almost entirely tea; and the average of the exports of British manufactures at that time—entirely in the hands of the East India Company, was 850,159*l.* I now call your Lordship's attention to the next great change that took place, namely, that which followed what was called the opium war. You will find in the next line, during the years 1837, 1838, and 1839—the three years preceding the opium war—the following statistics: The export from India to China had risen to 4,597,476*l.*, and the opium to 3,309,958*l.*, or 69 per cent.; raw cotton was 1,189,162*l.*, or 25 per cent. I will not call

attention to the other columns till afterwards. Then followed the opium war, terminated by the Treaty of Nankin, which forms a good starting point for comparison. I propose to call the attention of the Commission to the three years preceding the opium war, and the four years following it, to see what the results of the Treaty were. By the Treaty of Nankin there were four other ports in addition to Canton opened to British commerce, notably the port of Shanghai at the mouth of the Yangtse-Kiang, and it was reasonably expected that there would be a very large addition to the commerce of this country with China. That, however, was destined to disappointment. You will observe that there was a very great increase in the imports from China. After the Treaty of Nankin they rose to 5,323,388*l.* The exports to China from the United Kingdom were 1,783,888*l.*, but then the exports of opium from India for the same time were 3,712,920*l.*, or 74 per cent. of the entire amount of the exports from that country. The state of the trade was so bad at that time that the Committee to which I have referred was appointed by the House of Commons. Their report, which was a unanimous one, was to the effect that the result of the extended intercourse with China had by no means realised the just expectations which had been naturally founded on a freer access to "so magnificent a market," as they termed it, and they also reported that in the great proportion of the trade, the losses at that time, taking both ways, might be freely stated at from 35 to 40 per cent.

1754. There had been a considerable increase, had there not, in the exports of British produce and manufactures to China?—Yes; I was coming to that. There was a considerable increase in the amount, but the trade was ruinous. Both cotton and woollen manufactures showed a decline on the years preceding the report of the Committee; and the cause they assigned was the difficulty of providing a return from China. They accordingly recommended a reduction of the duty on tea at the earliest period which might seem fit in the wisdom of the House. It was not till 1853 that the reduction began to take place, and then to only a limited extent. The immediate result was as had been anticipated; the greatly increased importation and consumption of tea. Taking the five years before the committee's report, say 1842-46 after the Treaty of Nankin, the average imports from China to the United Kingdom had been 5,323,388*l.*, whereas in the five years following the reduction of the tea duty they were no less than 9,157,001*l.* or a difference of 3,833,613*l.* of which a considerable part, it is right to say, was due to the importation of silk which at that time was very high in price. But the natural expectation that such a greatly increased import from China would be accompanied by a corresponding increased export to China, as the Committee anticipated was entirely disappointed. The average increase, you will observe, of these years after the reduction of the tea duty was only 180,000*l.*, not one twentieth part of the increase of the imports. The Chinese were paid for these largely increased shipments to Britain by a largely increased export of opium, that increase being more than 2½ millions. If you look at the first column you will see that after the Treaty of Nankin it was 3,712,920*l.* and that after the time of the reduction of the tea duty it had risen to 6,365,319*l.* The export of British manufactures average at that period, you will observe, 1,964,242*l.* That brings us to the year 1857, and there is one incidental fact which I should like to bring before the Commission in that year. In that year—one of those which is embraced in the period before you—there were four countries or rather nations, each of which imported almost the same amount from Great Britain, namely about from 1,400,000*l.* to 1,700,000*l.*; these nations were Chili with a population of 1,400,000, Egypt with 4,000,000, Cuba and Domingo with 4,400,000, and China with 400,000,000, and that, you will observe, was 23 years after free trade with China. This small export to China could not be attributed to foreign competition. In the same period the shipments of British produce and manufactures to all countries had more than doubled, instead

Mr.
McLaren.
Sept. 1893.

of the fractional increase of the shipments to China. The next great change which took place in the relations between the two countries was effected by the Treaty of Tientsin, negotiated by Lord Elgin, which followed the second China war. The provisions of that treaty, as the Commission are doubtless aware, were very important. The Yangtse-Kiang was opened, up as far as Hankow; other ports also were opened, and—most important of all—the opium importation was now legalised. Up to that time it had been a smuggling trade. If you will allow me to go back upon the Treaty of Nankin—there was one important thing that I forgot to mention, namely, the ceding of the island of Hong Kong, which was given “for the purpose of careening and refitting ships.” These words were put into the treaty, upon the authority of Mr. Matheson—not the Mr. Matheson who was examined here the other day, but his uncle, of Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co.—“to pacify the Emperor, who did not contemplate more than that.” Notwithstanding the most strenuous efforts to get the Chinese Government to legalise the importation of opium, at that time, they determinedly refused, and the trade still remained a contraband one. In the course of time the possession of Hong Kong rendered the “receiving ships,” which Mr. Donald Matheson spoke of here the other day, unnecessary, because “go downs” or warehouses were built in Hong Kong, and it very soon became an enormous depot of opium; and that, notwithstanding that the Government of Britain had entered into a supplementary treaty, in which they bound themselves to discourage smuggling. That treaty was from the very first a dead letter. I have gone back upon that because it introduces the question of the legalising of the opium trade. The results of that great change will be brought out by contrasting the figures of the five years following with those of the years immediately preceding, of which I have already spoken. The Commission will observe that the results there brought out are, in round figures, an increase in the imports from China to the United Kingdom of 729,000*l.*; the exact figures are 9,886,492*l.*, against 9,157,001*l.*; there is an increase in the exports from the United Kingdom to China of 2,476,164*l.*; but there is an increase of the exports of opium to China of 3,174,892*l.* I cannot tell how the trade with this country was distributed amongst the various Chinese ports; but I shall not be surprised if it be found that there was no great increase, if any, at the port of Canton; not only because the opening of other ports to the north threw it to a disadvantage, but in consequence of the fearful incident, if I might call it so, of the bombardment of Canton for 27 hours, while during that time only two shots were fired from the walls upon our fleet. That you will find, my Lord, in Lord Elgin's private letters. I cannot too strongly press upon the attention of the Commission the importance of studying that volume of Lord Elgin's private letters. I have a suspicion that, if one could get access to the originals, the Commission would perhaps find that even more information is to be got there. He 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 the—”

1755. I do not think we want to go any further into the history of the Chinese wars?—I will afterwards—

1756. We have heard very full statements on both sides, and we do not want to pursue that subject further?—Very well, my Lord.

1757. It has really practically nothing to do with the question which has been referred to the consideration of this Commission?—Very good, I was not aware of that. Then the next two lines of the table refer to periods of five years after the Che-foo Convention, and in the last line which I added in writing this morning, you will find the present state of the commercial figures. I ought to say that the statistics of India, are given in parts of two years, whilst the statistics of this country are given from the 1st of January to the 31st of December. The average of the annual exports from India to China during 1888—1891, was 13,966,065 *Rx.* Of these opium was 8,207,818 *Rx.* That was about 58½ per cent. The Commission will note how this per-centage has varied. It is now down to a lower figure than it was 60 years ago. It is now less than 60 per cent. of the whole export from India to China. Raw cotton on the other hand has fallen

from 34 per cent. to 2 per cent., but for a very obvious reason. The people in India are now using their own cotton, and part of the export to China is yarn, which has been manufactured in India. There is another remarkable figure here, the imports from China to the United Kingdom are now down to 6,717,512*l.*, a very great difference. You will observe that from 1878 to 1882 it was more than 12,000,000*l.*, that diminution is consequent upon the smaller importation of tea—the greater part of what is consumed here coming now from India.

1758. India?—Yes. The next figure is a more important one, namely, the average exports of British produce to China. These are now 8,585,911*l.*, and if you will cast your eye to the line above that, you will find that the amount of our export to China is now, off and on, about 8,000,000*l.* It is needless to follow any comparison further in this line, because there are some things that complicate it so much. There is the great increase of the opium growth in China; there is the great increase of the tea imported from India, and there is notably the very rapid falling of the exchange, which make it impossible to institute satisfactory comparisons. But if the Commission will turn to the next table there is something very interesting there. When Lord Elgin went out in 1857, he negotiated two treaties; the one was a treaty with China legalising the importation of opium into that country; the other was a treaty with Japan by which opium was declared to be contraband. That treaty has been most rigorously enforced. There is not an ounce of opium imported into Japan excepting strictly for medicine. They have enforced that in a way that never could have been anticipated. I ought to have said that the United States had made a similar treaty before Lord Elgin went there, so that our policy, which hitherto had been to push the export of opium to Asiatic countries,—for example, notably in Siam,—had to be entirely departed from; and our relations with Japan continue on that footing till this day. Now, we had no intercourse whatever with Japan before that treaty, and if your Lordship will glance at the state of trade, given every four years in succession, the result is very striking. It begins with 1860—63, the average for those years was 481,792*l.*, and it goes on—I need not quote the figures, they are before you—but you will observe it rises steadily until the last four years in the table—where it is 3,707,444*l.*, that is to say, very nearly the half of what we send to China with a population of 400,000,000, while that of Japan is estimated at about 40 millions. Now, as I said, I do not express any opinion; I submit these figures for the Commission to inquire into. I believe it is almost impossible to resist the conclusion that the very flourishing state of the trade with Japan, as compared that with China, is due to the absence of the disturbing element of opium. But that is not all—

1759. You yourself desire to draw that inference?—I draw that inference, I may be wrong, but I submit the figures.

1760. It is an opinion?—That is an opinion, but these are facts. I make myself responsible for these figures.

1761. You recognise that Chinese ability to purchase British manufactures and produce has been prejudicially affected, has it not, by the deterioration in the quality of their tea; the Chinese tea has been less in demand in England?—No doubt.

1762. And therefore Chinese ability to buy British manufactures and produce has, to that extent, been impaired?—It has to that extent been impaired.

1763. That is a consideration apart from the opium question altogether, is it not?—Of course, to that extent.

1764. So far as it goes?—Yes, but then on the other hand, they are importing opium very largely from India. If you look back—I forgot to call your Lordship's attention to the note at the foot of the preceding table—it will be observed there, “The column Total of ‘Exports from India to China includes treasure,’ but that is nothing, no treasure goes immediately to China. ‘The balance of treasure imported from China to India,’ over that exported from India to China, for the thirty years between 1857 and 1887, was *Rx.* 91,254,274.” Now I am not competent to give an opinion upon the effect of the importation of silver into China upon the exchange—

1765. I am afraid we must not go into that as an opium question?—I say I cannot do it, but that is a fact which surely should be noted in the present state of affairs in India. The immense amount of treasure which has been coming into India from China. But coming back to the Japan table, there is a small column in manuscript you will observe which has much interest, namely, the exports from India to Japan. Not only has our own trade from the United Kingdom to Japan increased to a large extent, but there is a very flourishing trade apparently going on from India to Japan.

1766. In what articles?—Not one ounce of it opium.

1767. No, I know that?—I cannot analyse them very materially.

1768. But it is not a trade in opium, we know that?—No, a considerable proportion, I think, is yarn manufacture.

1769. Probably from the Bombay mills?—From mills in Bombay, yes. I did not take these out, for I had not time to do that this morning, but the last figures I have, I think, are Rs. 1,289,787. They have risen every year from India to Japan; and that is in addition to the 4,000,000, which we send to Japan from this country. I think that the conclusion of the whole matter is, in the pithy words of the Taotai (chief magistrate) of Shanghai, he said, "Cease sending us so much opium, and we will be able to take your manufactures."

1770. If they spend their money in buying opium, they cannot afford to buy our manufactures?—That is just what he said. I have the Blue Book here, but you will find it in the evidence as given by Mr. Montgomery Martin, the Colonial Treasurer for Hong Kong. That concludes, my Lord, the evidence which I have to give in regard to the trade of this country with China and India. But when the Commission go to India they will have a very important subject to investigate, namely, the effect of the cultivation of opium in India, both economically and morally. I have a table here which is very interesting, giving the number of acres from the year 1848 up to the year 1873, which were set aside in British territory for the growth of the poppy.

1771. We have had that from other witnesses?—Oh, very good; but I do not know if attention was called to this, that it is very singular how the product of an acre of poppy land is diminishing from period to period. The first three years, from 1848 to 1851, which I have here, the product seems to have been 20 lbs. 4 oz. an acre. The next three years I have down here are from 1859 to 1862. I take three years at the beginning of the series, three years in the middle, and three years at the end. From 1859 to 1862 the product seems to have been 15 lbs. 5 ozs. an acre; in 1870 to 1873 it had fallen to 12 lbs. 4 ozs. an acre; and I have a table beyond that, but I have not been able to verify it, though I have it here; therefore I do not wish to give any more than up to the date I have mentioned.

1772. Any information of this kind the Commission will have opportunities of gathering very fully in the course of their local inquiry?—Yes, I merely call the attention of the Commission to it before going out. Well, there is only one other question about that, which I am very anxious to bring before the Commission. There was some doubt expressed as to what had been the nature of the policy of the opium department in India, I think it was Mr. Fenn who said that he had seen something in print which made him think they were willing to take as large a crop as could be got. This is Mr. Wilson's statement of policy in his last Budget speech.

1773. Of what date?—18th February 1860.

1774. That is a long time ago?—Oh, yes. I am not aware, however, that the policy has been departed from. "His Honour pointed out that in Bengal during the last three or four years all the leading crops—wheat, rice, potatoes, and sugar—had increased in price from 70 to 100 per cent., and he urged the necessity of a further rise in the price paid for opium that it might maintain its ground against the other articles. The Government of India have therefore sanctioned a further rise to four rupees per seer, which we hope will have the necessary effect and secure us against a further decline in the cultivation." He says further: "I have no doubt our true policy is to keep up the supply to the full demand and to obtain a moderate price for a large quantity." Those were his words.

1775. Well that was the view of Mr. Wilson who was in charge of the Finance of India more than 30 years ago?—Yes, and I am not aware that it has been changed since.

1776. We shall obtain the latest view in the course of our local inquiry in India?—The only later one that I have is Sir Cecil Beadon. In his evidence before the Indian Finance Committee of the House of Commons—

1777. (Mr. Mowbray.) That, I think, was 22 years ago—1871?—If there has been any change made since then it has not fallen under my notice. I am speaking of the question of policy.

1778. (Chairman.) I think we have had it sufficiently established that the Indian Government recognise that the opium income is an exceedingly precarious source of income, and looking at it purely from a financial point of view their desire is to be entirely independent, or as far as possible independent of their opium revenue?—That is so. That opinion of the precariousness of the opium revenue is as far back as 1831. The Court of Directors in Leadenhall Street warned the Indian Government over and over again about the precarious nature of the opium revenue. The only other point I should like to submit to your Lordship, is this:—I see there have been considerable differences of evidence brought before the Commission on some points, more especially differences in the evidence brought forward by missionaries and that brought forward by other witnesses. Now I have not a single word of reflection against missionaries, but I think it is quite right that the Commission should take note of what the Government officials have to say in this matter and of what the Government itself has said. I may mention first that of the East India Company, to the effect that the Indian Government have always recognised the pernicious character of opium. Lord Cornwallis defended the East India Company's maintaining the monopoly of opium manufacture on the ground of their thereby being able to restrain the consumption of "the pernicious drug." It is especially to be noted that in 1817, the East India Company's directors said, "Were it possible to prevent the use of this drug altogether, except strictly for the purpose of medicine, we would gladly do it in compassion to mankind; but this being absolutely impossible we can only endeavour to regulate and palliate an evil which cannot be eradicated." And it is a very striking fact that in the last document which was presented by the East India Company to the Government before the sovereignty of India was taken from them, one of their pleas for retaining the sovereignty of India in their hands was that it would enable them to restrain the consumption of so pernicious a drug. That is the statement to the Government of this country. Then the Government officials—I ask the attention of the Commission especially to this evidence—Mr. Majoribanks—

1779. On what date?—I forgot the date; it was before the China war. I am speaking now of the testimony as regards the effect of opium which he had seen in Canton. You are aware that the East India Company did not sell opium in Canton, it was sold by private merchants, but Mr. Majoribanks was the president of the East India Company's Select Committee of Supercargoes at Canton for the disposal of the Company's property and purchasing teas, and he said:—"Opium can only be regarded, except where used as a medicine, as a pernicious poison. The misery and demoralization caused by it are almost beyond belief. Any man who has witnessed its frightful ravages and demoralizing effects in China must feel deeply on this subject." That is the statement of Mr. Majoribanks. Then I have to the same effect Sir George Staunton.

1780. I think we have had this sufficiently put before us; the opinion of what may be called the early authorities has been very fully set before us?—Yes. Coming down later, then, there is the very decided statement of Sir Thomas Wade, who was here yesterday.

1781. Yes, but we have had his view, both the view he expressed now and his earlier view, both have been set before us?—I observe he attributed his change a good deal—

1782. But we had that very clearly from him yesterday?—He attributed his change of view as to the moral results of opium chiefly to the action of the Anti-

Mr.
D. McLane
16 Sept. 1890

Mr.
D. McLaren.
—
16 Sept. 1893.

Opium Association I need not go further back, but I have the testimony of Mr. Montgomery Martin, and of Governor Pope Hennessey—the one as Treasurer and the other as Governor of Hong Kong.

1783. We have had so many witnesses who have given us their personal impressions, that I do not think we want to go into evidence at second hand?—Then, there was Mr. Lay also, who has expressed an opinion.

1784. Well, we have had Mr. Lay here?—Well, he said that this opium trade was ham-stringing the Chinese nation.

1785. Well, we have heard Mr. Lay himself?—Well, that is what he said before. I think that that may conclude my evidence, unless, by the way, the question has been raised, whether we forced this trade upon China or not, but your Lordship says that that is outside the purview of the Commission.

1786. We had that very fully yesterday?—Yes, Sometime it is alleged that there is considerable pressure used upon the ryots to grow the poppy.

1787. Well, we shall hear of that in India?—Yes. Then I would call your Lordship's attention especially to the refusal of the Bombay Government to grant licences for the cultivation of the poppy upon the grounds of its demoralising influences. They said if opium cultivation were allowed in Scinde it could not consistently be prohibited in the rest of the Presidency.

1788. That is in the public documents that are before us?—I am not aware. It was my duty to gather up—

1789. My duty is to save the time of the Commission where I know that you are entering upon points that have already been placed before us. We are very much obliged to you for the evidence you have given, and the interesting commercial figures you have prepared.

1790. (Sir J. Lyall.) Your argument, sir, strikes me as being mainly from an English commercial point of view?—Well, chiefly.

1791. You would destroy an important Indian export trade, but the compensatory profit you expect, I gather, would go mainly to England, in fact, India is your public-house to be put down, and England is your draper's shop?—They are pretty analogous in the present state of exports from the two countries.

1791a. You mentioned that a great export of Indian yarns and piece goods has sprung up from Bombay to China?—Yes, of yarns chiefly.

1792. And it has, I believe, continued to increase, has it not?—I think it has. The last year I saw it had very materially increased. I have got here what is not before you; it may answer your question. In 1883 to 1887 the yearly exports from India to China averaged 13,036,266*l.*, of which opium was 9,770,775*l.*, leaving for all other produce 3,265,491*l.*; but in the last years 1888 to 1891 the average yearly figures are these: exports from India 13,956,065*l.*, and opium 8,207,818*l.*, leaving for all other articles 5,748,247*l.*

1793. That export of Indian yarns and piece goods does not appear in these tables of yours, does it?—No, for this reason, that when the tables were begun there was no such thing; it was raw cotton then that was the export.

1794. Does not the substitution of Bombay yarns and fabrics for British goods in the China market account for some of the decrease or absence of increase of British exports of yarns to China?—I think it might, *pro tanto*, certainly.

1795. Is not the small import of British manufactures to China largely due to the conservative character of the Chinese in matters of dress, food, luxuries, &c., which makes them especially slow amongst all nations in adopting foreign clothes, ornaments, articles of luxury, or of food?—That was not the opinion of the House of Commons. There has been no diversity about that, they say most distinctly in their report that it was not due to any disinclination to purchase English manufactures.

1796. With regard to the contrast between the growth of Japanese trade as compared with China trade, is not the character of the Japanese, at any rate, very different in that respect from that of the Chinese?—I suppose it is.

1797. Did you ever see a Japanese gentleman in England in Japanese costume?—I am not aware that I have.

1798. You do see a Chinaman though?—Oh, yes.

1799. He never wears any other costume than his own native costume?—Oh, they are totally different, I admit that.

1800. The Japanese always used an European umbrella till he began to make them in the European style himself?—Yes.

1801. The Chinaman generally uses a native umbrella?—Yes.

1802. You agree, I understand, with the Anti-Opium Society that on moral grounds the growth of the poppy in India, and the export of Indian opium to China ought to be prohibited?—Yes. I am not alone in that. I think it is prohibited, will you allow me to say, most rigorously at this moment in the Presidencies of Bengal and Bombay.

1803. You would stop the growth of the poppy and the export of opium to China?—Of course, if the poppy were prohibited to be grown there would be no export to China of opium; but what I was anxious to call attention to was this: One of the papers which I will put in to-day is the Opium Act of 1878, and the first article on that Act is to the following effect: "The following are prohibited:—(a.) The growth of the poppy" and so forth. You are quite familiar with it. All that is prohibited over the whole of India.

1804. Not the whole of India?—Yes.

1805-f. Not the whole of British India, it is not prohibited in the Punjab for instance?—I know that the Punjab is exceptional, but to read that Act one would not gather that from it.

1807. But do you think that is a bad thing?—Which, the prohibition?

1808. Yes?—A capital thing—all that the Government have to do is just to withdraw the license.

1809. That is, you do agree that it should be prohibited?—Yes.

1810. Tobacco is a poison in the same sense as opium, is it not?—I neither chew tobacco nor smoke tobacco, but—allow me to say—it is a very singular thing that you should mention that—tobacco is entirely prohibited in the British Islands for revenue considerations, for revenue considerations not one leaf of tobacco is allowed to be grown.

1811. Just as opium in Bengal for revenue considerations?—In Bombay you mean.

1812. No, in Bengal?—It is not prohibited in Bengal.

1813. Well, it is exactly the same thing, to keep the whole thing in the hands of Government?—The prohibition in India is in Bombay and Madras for the sake of revenue, and the prohibition of tobacco in this country is for the same reason.

1814. Tobacco you say is a poison?—Yes.

1815. There have been Anti-Tobacco Societies as well as Anti-Opium Societies, have there not?—I am not aware, I am not a member of any such society at any rate.

1816. Have you ever read the account given in proceedings of Anti-Tobacco Societies?—No, I am not conversant with such accounts.

1817. Of the evil effects of tobacco smoking?—I have not read that literature, but I am quite aware that there is not much good comes out of it. I think some of my best friends—I have a very eminent friend, one of the most eminent preachers of the day, and he enjoys his pipe very well, but I think he would be as well without it. But that is a matter of opinion, I am not here for opinions, but to give facts.

1818. I think it may be admitted that excessive tobacco smoking destroys the nerve, involves loss of memory, and loss of mental and bodily energy, and sometimes leads to disease and death; do you not think that may be admitted?—Suppose I admit that, that would be no reason for prohibiting tobacco as compared with opium. If one man comes to that unfortunate end with tobacco, there are 50 or 100 that do so from opium.

1819. At any rate it is a useless and expensive habit, is it not?—I will not pronounce an opinion, I have never tried it, some people think they would be very much the better for it, I should be very sorry to condemn it.

1820. Suppose an anti-tobacco society in Spain, or through the Spanish Cortes, were to propose to force upon the Island of Cuba, which is a Spanish dependency, the prohibition of the growth of tobacco or the export of Havannah cigars to America, would it not be similar to the proposal that England should prohibit the growth of the poppy in India, or the export of Indian opium to China, where the Indian opium, among opium smokers, holds much the same position as Havannah tobacco does among American tobacco smokers?—I cannot say that I see the parallel; but as you mention that, I may just mention I hold in my hand a mercantile opinion on this question. It is not from the Chamber of Commerce of Edinburgh, of which mention has been made—where I presided—but from another and older body, the Merchant Company of Edinburgh, and they say:—

“That while your petitioners are desirous that the principles of free trade, now happily recognised in the legislation of this country, should be maintained in all their integrity, they nevertheless consider that a traffic, the demoralising results of which are “essential to and “inseparable from its existence,” is placed beyond the pale of the operation of these principles. Your petitioners also consider that such a traffic ought not to be made a source of public revenue in any form, but that it ought to be prohibited by every Government, as are other trades which are contrary to the moral sense of mankind.

“May it, therefore, please your honourable House to give your sanction to such measures as shall be necessary effectually to prohibit the growth of the poppy and the manufacture of opium throughout the whole of British India; and also to prohibit its exportation, when grown and manufactured in independent Indian States, from all the British ports in India; and your petitioners will ever pray.

“Signed in name and by appointment of a stated general meeting of the Company of Merchants, held within their hall, Hunter’s Square, Edinburgh, this 7th day of February, in Eighteen hundred and fifty-nine.

“ROBERT CHAMBERS, Master.”

1821. You do not think it is a parallel case?—No. This body many years ago asked the House of Commons to prohibit it under the signature of Robert Chambers, the well-known publisher, who was then Master of the Merchant Company.

1822. (Mr. Mowbray.) I suppose with regard to these statistics which you have put in, you would be as ready as anybody to admit that it is very difficult to draw any conclusions as to trade between one country and another, unless you took into consideration the trade with other countries too?—I quite admit that.

1823. That there may be what I should call a three-cornered trade?—There is that here, India, China, England.

1824. Exactly. Then I wanted to draw your attention to some figures which have been laid before us to-day; I wanted to draw your attention to the figures in the line 1842-1846, and the line 1854-1858?—Yes.

1825. You pointed out to us that the export of British goods to China in those two periods shows a very small increase?—Yes.

1826. And you said that that was a very disappointing thing?—It was.

1827. And you also showed us that there was a considerable increase in the export of opium from India to China?—Yes, two and a half millions.

1828. Now, I wish to draw your attention to the figures in the column of the export of British produce to India, which shows a very large increase in those two periods—an increase of 6,000,000?—Yes.

1829. And also to the very enormously increased imports from China to the United Kingdom, which show an increase of nearly 4,000,000?—Which year is that?

1830. I am taking the same two periods, 1842-46 and 1854-1858, in your paper?—Yes.

1831. An increase of nearly 4,000,000?—Yes.

1832. From 5,300,000 odd to 9,100,000?—Yes.

1833. Well, now I wish to put it to you whether it is not possible that the increase in British trade to China, which might have been expected, went directly in an increase in British trade to India, and an increase in the Indian trade of opium to China?—In the first place I said, when I had the honour of being summoned here,

that I am not here to give opinions so much as to present the facts for the Commission to form their own conclusions; but I think there is not the slightest doubt that a large part of the importation of goods from China to this country were paid for by opium from India to China. There is no doubt about that; that is what I want to prove. A man sends home a quantity of tea to this country—10,000*l.* worth—and the importer of the tea, when he finds that he cannot get manufactures to send out, except at a loss, sends an order to India, and opium is sent in payment.

1834. I wish to ask you whether it is not possible that although you do not get the increase directly with China you do get an increase, an increase which here figures as 6,000,000*l.* in the exports in that period to India?—It is very possible; but you will observe that the trade with India has been increasing very steadily all through, and also along with that, the next column—the trade to all countries. If British trade with China has been falling off it is not because we have been losing our ground with other countries.

1835. But that suggestion of mine is a possible interpretation of your figures?—It is well worth consideration.

1836. Then the only other point about your figures I should like to ask you about is that the trade with China, so far as I understand those figures, for the last 15 years has been practically stationary?—Very much so.

1837. But that the export of opium from India to China during the corresponding period has been very largely reduced?—Very largely reduced indeed. Of course the reason for that is obvious. The enormous increase of poppy growth in China.

1838. Still the reduction of the export of opium from India to China has not led to a corresponding increase of direct export from England to China?—No, for this very good reason, that the Chinese were smoking their own opium, and were no more able to buy our manufactures than if they had smoked Indian opium.

1839. Are you of the opinion that if the Indian Government were to prohibit the export of Indian opium, the smoking of native opium would cease?—I think Sir Rutherford Alcock came all the way from Peking to Simla, and expressed his opinion at that time; he said, “There is something at work in the Chinese Government’s mind which makes me persuaded they “would give up their revenue from opium to-morrow “if we would do it.”

1840. The only other point I should like to put to you is that the trade with Japan, which has grown so enormously, according to your figures, in the last 10 years is practically a new trade?—Excuse me, you cannot call it a new trade.

1841. Not perhaps in the last 10 years?—No.

1842. But taking from the original starting of your figures which was 30 years ago?—30 years ago.

1843. Yes?—Why I do not call it a new trade; 30 years ago, as things go now-a-days. We do not call that a new trade.

1844. Japan 30 years ago was a new market?—It was a new market then, yes.

1845. And would you not naturally expect that trade, with an entirely new market in the first 30 years for which that market was open, would increase in a larger ratio than with a country which had previously been open?—I should think it would increase in a larger ratio, certainly for the first 8 or 10 years; but that will not account for the contrast when you come up 20 or 30 years. May I say about that that the increase with Japan has been a very steady increase. My tables do not give the figures for last year; but the Blue Books show that the trade with Japan has not increased in the last year. That can be seen by looking at the Blue Book; but however that may be, there is a very remarkable increase, you will observe, of the trade to India, in this last table, which you are now examining me upon. The periods are different from those in the previous table. They are the regular averages of every consecutive four years from 1860, and to begin with they are 19,000,000 in the first four years, and when we come up to the last they are 35,500,000. So that our trade with India has very steadily increased.

1846. Has nearly doubled?—Well, not quite; roughly speaking.

Mr.
D. McLaren.
16 Sept. 1898.

Mr.
McLaren.
Sept. 1898.

1847. If we were to take the same figures with regard to China, I think you will find the figures have very nearly doubled too?—Yes.

1848. I admit they are much smaller?—Yes, but what were they when they began? If they begin small they will very soon double.

1849. (Mr. Wilson.) The general purport of your evidence is, it would appear from figures which you have put before us, that in your opinion if the opium trade with China were to cease, we might expect a considerable increase of British exports to China?—I have very little doubt of it.

1850. That would be a gain to England; would not that be a serious financial loss to India?—If no substitute could be got, it would; but I do not think it follows of necessity that the only resource of India in reserve is in opium. I may mention I spoke about the acreage which is given to poppy. I speak under the correction of gentlemen who know better than I do,—poppy land is generally the very best land, and the best irrigated land. An acre of such land, according to the opinion of an eminent agriculturist in Scotland, of whom I inquired, would produce about 1 ton of wheat or 7 tons of potatoes, instead of which it produces 12 lbs. 4 oz. of opium, if so much now. I cannot help thinking that there is surely some room for development there of what would be a material benefit both to the people of India and to the revenue.

1851. I think reference was made to some trade in cotton to China; is there any trade in manufactured cotton from India to China now?—Manufactured cotton?

1852. Yes?—Yes, there is some now—not so much as of yarn twist.

1853. Yarn?—Yes.

1854. Would you think it at all likely that that would increase to any substantial extent?—I am not at all an authority on that subject. I have not been in India or China, nor have I been in that trade. I had those figures to the Commission for their examination.

1855. (Chairman.) Mr. McLaren, summing up your evidence as given us, does it come to this, that appearing before us as a commercial man you have wished to press upon the Commission that it is advantageous to British commercial interests to prohibit the export of opium from India to China?—That is it.

1856. And has it not been your contention that, if China spent less on the purchase of opium from India, she might possibly be able to buy British manufactures more freely?—I said I would not express an opinion, but really I think that is self-evident.

1857. That is your view of it?—Yes.

1858. Then you have called attention to the stationary condition of the export trade in British manufactures to China, and you have compared it with the more progressive condition of our export trade to Japan?—Yes.

1859. China being a country which takes opium largely, and Japan being a country which refuses to import opium?—In which it is contraband altogether.

1860. I think you have said that in your opinion the ability of China to pay for British goods has been prejudicially affected by the large expenditure by China in the purchase of Indian opium?—That is my own opinion.

1861. That is your view, is it not?—But it is a'co the opinion of Chinese statesmen. I quoted the Taoutai, of Shanghai, who summed it up in the pithy saying, "Cease sending us your opium, and we will be able to buy your manufactures."

1862. I think, to conclude, you have also admitted yourself that it may be the case that China has become less able to pay for British goods because Chinese teas have deteriorated in quality, and Indian tea has become more popular in the British market?—Quite so.

The witness withdrew after putting in the following Tables, which are printed as part of his evidence:—

[Trade Statistics (Tables I. and II.) submitted by Mr. David McLaren to the Commission, and cited repeatedly in his evidence given above.]

I.

STATISTICS OF TRADE BETWEEN INDIA, CHINA, JAPAN, AND THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Period.	Average Annual Exports from India to China.				Average Annual Imports from China to United Kingdom.	Average Annual Exports of British produce and manufactures to			Period.	
	Opium.	Per cent.	Cotton.	Per cent.		Total.	China.	India.		All Countries.
1821-25. (Statistics imperfect at this period.)	Rx. 1,059,253 (This for year 1827.)	54	Rx. 670,445 (This for year 1825.)	84	Rx. 1,800,001	£ 3,092,100	£ 610,687	£ 3,092,102 (This for year 1827.)	1821-2	
1825-35. East India Company Monopoly expired 1834.	1,955,288	65	878,042	25	3,014,770	3,779,398	850,169	2,977,861	1825-3	
1837-50. Preceding the Opium War.	3,209,958	69	1,189,162	25	4,597,476	4,273,898	911,300	4,079,259	1837-50	
1842-46. After Treaty of Nankin.	3,712,020	74	1,097,377	21	5,013,459	5,323,988	1,783,896	6,841,961	53,997,803	1842-4
1854-58. Preceding the second China War.	6,595,510	72	673,587	9	7,333,728	9,187,001	1,904,242	12,824,921	109,474,924	1854-8
1859-62. After Treaty of Tientsin.	9,540,211	87	1,068,745	9	10,574,650	9,986,468	4,440,402	18,857,504	129,856,993	1859-62
1878-82. Under Chefoo Convention.	11,900,815	84	911,461	5	14,162,738	15,602,027	9,054,925	59,897,715	216,586,191	1878-82
1883-87.	9,770,775	75	627,673	4	13,090,399	9,961,794	7,956,468	39,897,300	321,948,231	1883-87
1888-91.	8,207,818	284	325,318	2	13,826,005	6,717,515	8,669,911	32,078,482	249,569,300	1888-91

N. B.—"Rx" is the sign for 10 rupees, formerly equivalent to 1*l.* or nearly so, before the fall in exchange.
The column Total of exports from India to China includes Treasure. The balance of Treasure imported from China to India, over that exported from India to China, for the 30 years between 1857 and 1867, was Rx 91,234,274. The returns consulted do not give Treasure statistics of an earlier date.
The foregoing table is compiled for the first four columns from a continuous series of returns, "India and China (Exports and Imports)" 33, Session 2—1850: 347—1871: and 234—1888. The averages in the remaining columns are compiled from the abstracts of the Board of Trade Returns—in the greater part of the Table from the abstracts given in Oliver and Boyd's Almanac, in the remainder from the official returns.

II.

STATISTICS OF INDIA EXPORTS TO JAPAN and of BRITISH EXPORTS TO JAPAN, CHINA, and INDIA.

Annual Export of Indian Produce and Manufactures to Japan from 1885-6 to 1891-2.			Export of British Manufactures and Produce in Periods of Four Years consecutively from 1860 to 1891.			
Years.	Rx.	Average of Years.	Japan.	China.	India, including Strait Settlements and Ceylon.*	
			£	£	£	
1885-6	273,504	1860-63	481,792	4,298,490	19,015,796	
1886-7	374,089	1864-67	1,298,713	6,202,285	22,518,137	
1887-8	711,994	1868-71	1,436,337	9,108,884	21,790,747	
1888-9	1,035,305	1872-75	1,846,177	8,680,557	25,411,503	
1889-90	1,218,998	1876-79	2,372,364	7,452,775	26,037,020	
1890-91	1,210,276	1880-83	2,627,812	8,295,891	33,417,794	
1891-92	1,289,787	1884-87	2,509,236	8,166,521	33,453,342	
		1888-91	3,707,444	8,585,911	35,517,083	

* It will be observed that in this Table the column for "India" includes the Strait Settlements and Ceylon; in the other Table, India only is included under that heading. Hence the difference in the figures in the last line of that column in the two Tables.

Rev. T. G. SELBY called in and examined.

1863. (Chairman.) You have been a missionary in China in connexion with the Wesleyan Mission?—Yes, I was 12 years in the interior of China.

1864. I believe you have published a pamphlet on the subject which has been referred to the consideration of this Commission?—Yes, your Lordship.

1865. Will you briefly state to us what are the points that you wish to put before the Commission?—I have read carefully through the evidence given by the missionaries who have spoken; I do not wish to go over the same ground again.

1866. Thank you; we are obliged to limit repetitions?—I am in almost complete agreement, and I believe that evidence is very conscientious and very carefully sifted.

1867. I should like to ask you one question which you have suggested. Can you give us any explanation of the conflicting accounts which have been given by European residents in China as to the effects of opium smoking?—I think that the missionaries come into contact with very much larger numbers of the Chinese people. If I may be allowed to take my own experience as an illustration, I have addressed 100 or 200 Chinamen every day for 12 years, and the pew in China has perfect liberty of reply. Very long discussions always follow the addresses given in mission halls, and we get at a very wide area of Chinese opinion in this way. Some of the officials of the British Government in the different parts of China, whilst they are admirable Chinese scholars, do not speak the local dialects. They get their information at second hand; we get ours at direct hand from the Chinese masses themselves, and I think that the judgment of the missionaries represents a very much wider observation of Chinese life than is possible even to merchants or to consular officials.

1868. How many years were you in China?—12 years, your Lordship.

1869. What parts of China have you resided in?—In the Canton Province, in the town of Fatsan for seven years, and in the city of Shih-Chau-Foo, on the Canton North River, for four or five years.

1870. You have been kind enough to place upon each of our desks a pamphlet, entitled "The Poppy Harvest. A Study of Anglo-Indian Ethics"?—Yes.

1871. I presume that that pamphlet represents your deliberate views on this question?—Certainly.

1872. I will promise faithfully to read the pamphlet?—Thank you.

1873. I have no doubt my colleagues will be equally prepared to give it their attention. And may we take it that that pamphlet is a complete general summary of the results which you have arrived at from your con-

siderable experience in China?—Certainly. I can sustain it by further evidence if it is wished for on any of these points.

1874. Well, we have been hearing, of course, as you know during several long days, important evidence on this subject, and, as you have said, it is very valuable to hear from you that you in a general sense confirm what has been stated to us on this subject by the missionaries who have been examined. I do not think it will advance the case if I ask you to repeat what you have already, in the general statement that you have made, confirmed?—Certainly.

1875. (Mr. Pease.) How far do you think these pictures represent current public opinion upon the opium question in China?—They are drawn from Chinese sources entirely; the colouring only is English. I have met with them distributed through every part of the Canton Province; in some parts of the Kwang-si Province as well. I think that they very fairly reflect the average opinion of the Chinese themselves upon the subject.

1876. (Mr. Wilson.) I think you said in your opening sentence that you agreed in almost every particular with the evidence which has previously been given here by other missionaries?—Yes.

1877. Are there any points upon which you do not agree; that you would like to qualify at all?—No, I do not know that there are. The guesses at the percentages of smokers were, of course, very vague. I did form an estimate once of the per-centage of the smokers and of the per-centage of the mortality amongst the smokers through opium smoking. It was by a rough and ready method. I sent my teacher round to every opium shop in the city of Shih-Chau-Foo. I collected from each proprietor statistics of amounts sold each day. The Chinese opium smoker generally buys twice a day because there is a morning and evening boiling of the opium, and my conclusion was, taking the use of an ounce of opium as the line at which it was almost sure to become fatal in the course of a few years, that the opium we supplied to the Chinese cost China at the very lowest estimate half to three-quarters of a million lives every year, besides, of course, the Chinese who were demoralised, and the women and children who suffered through the opium debauchery of the head of the household.

1878. (Sir W. Roberts.) How did you arrive at the conclusion that the amount of opium supplied through India was responsible for the loss, I think you said of three-quarters of a million lives?—I got out tables of the amounts consumed by certain numbers of opium smokers, and then where the ounce was consumed daily, I took that as a proof of the fact that it would

Mr.
D. McLaren.
16 Sept. 1893.

Rev.
T. G. Selby.

Rev. T. G. Selby.
16 Sept. 1893.

probably prove fatal in the course of a few years, and then I compared that with the total import of Indian opium into China.

1879. And was your assumption, as it were, that this ounce would be given daily to each man?—To one smoker, I presume.

1880. At a single dose?—Well, it would be smoked in the course of the day. I have known exceptional cases where Chinamen have smoked two or three ounces a day. I know the case of one of the Chinese officials who had servants standing by his bedside getting his pipes ready the whole of the day. Of course these are very extraordinary cases, and opium smoking very often proves fatal at a much earlier period than that, in fact, comparatively small doses in some cases prove very debilitating, and at times fatal. The temperament of the smoker has to be taken into account, the occupation, the food, and many other things.

The witness withdrew.

Deputy-Surgeon-General W. P. PARTRIDGE called in and examined.

Deputy-Surg.-General W. P. Partridge.

1884. (Chairman.) Will you state to us what means you have had from your previous experience of forming a judgment upon the matters which have been referred to this Commission?—I am a Deputy Surgeon-General in the Bombay Army, and I have served there for 30 years from 1855 to 1885. I have been in charge of two gaoles in Bombay for 14 years, and also I have had charge of civil surgeoncies in different places in Gujerat and Bombay and Upper Sind. I have been once to Hong Kong; that was only on sick leave.

1885. So that you are in a position to have formed an opinion—a professional opinion—as to the effect of the consumption of opium upon those who resort to the practice?—Yes.

1886. Well, will you sum up in a general statement the conclusions at which you have arrived?—The first point I want to bring before the Commission is with regard to opium being a harmless thing, as it has been represented by Sir George Birdwood and others. Sir George argued that men became ill from debauchery and from rheumatism and various illnesses, and that they took opium as a palliative; that that was the reason why the opium dens were filled; and that opium in that sense became a blessing rather than a curse. He argued that the burning of the opium destroyed its powers of intoxication to a great extent. To show that that is a mistake, I just mention what I know to be the case in some of the low huts where opium is smoked by the father of a family, when he goes away for a week the children become restless and fretful, and do not know what is the matter; this shows that the mere fumes in the place have a direct effect upon the children while they are there.

1887. (Mr. Pease.) Is this effect not produced as long as the smoking is continued?—No as long as the children get their stimulant, they are soothed and quiet, but directly the father goes away for a time, they miss it, and they do not know what it is they miss.

1888. Then the children have been the consumers, as well as the parents?—Through the smoke—of course. Sir George Birdwood says that opium-smoking is as innocuous as smoking hay, and he re-affirmed that here, that it was absolutely innocent. Well, if that was the case, it would be absolutely impossible to do any harm by smoking to excess. There can be no doubt that there is ample evidence that you can smoke to excess, so of course that statement cannot hold water. Then with regard to the opium dens, in Bombay, I only can meet a theory with facts. It is said that simply the low people who commit crimes and so on are found there. Well, that is, to a certain extent, true, and it is also true that people—and a great many people—found in the dens have taken to it for rheumatism and pain, and thus acquired the habit. But I want just to show—I will only mention the cases in a few words, on account of the lateness of the time—I want to show from positive evidence, that a great many of the people who are found in the dens do not come from sickness or anything of the kind. The evidence that I want to lay before you is derived from the personal knowledge of a lady, Miss Sunderbair Powar, who has been lately in England lecturing about opium. That lady is a Christian, she was of high caste Brahmin parentage, and she was one

1881. I think you are not a medical man, are you?—I am not, sir.

1882. Then you do not agree in the evidence we have had from medical men who have appeared before us, some of them, that the opium habit had very little effect on the mortality rate in China?—Well, take the evidence of Hong Kong where the deaths are registered. There is not the certificate of a qualified English doctor. I assume that the word of the native practitioner is taken upon a question of that sort. And then in a colony like Hong Kong, where you have a floating population, those who become incapacitated from opium, naturally go back to their homes, and the men in the full vigour of their power are kept there.

1883. Then your impression is that the opium habit in the districts that you have known had an unfavourable effect upon the general health of the population?—Certainly; and I have seen opium smokers die almost at my feet.

of the first seven pupils in the normal school which my wife started in Bombay.

1889. (Sir J. Lyall.) I suppose you know, sir, that the dens are abolished, I mean if the argument is in favour of the abolition of the dens, it is hardly worth while going on with it?—I am not referring now to the abolition of the dens, but to the kind of people who are found there. I have known Miss Sunderbair Powar for 14 or 15 years, at any rate, so I can absolutely rely upon her statements. She mentions a case here of one of her own relatives, who was very rich, and some years ago he took to smoking opium. The consequence was, that he sold and lost everything, and has sunk so low that he beats his wife nearly every day; he is a mere skeleton in appearance.

1890. I think we all admit that a large proportion of people who take opium take it to excess, and that a good many take it merely for intoxication. I do not suppose you would deny that some of these have taken to opium because they have been previously diseased?—I said that some do because they are previously diseased, but I want to show, by actual cases, that there are a great many miserable emaciated creatures who were not diseased at all, but were strong, well, and healthy, when they commenced the habit.

1891. I think that is admitted?—Of course the time is very short. If you will allow me to put in these papers, and read them for yourselves, I shall be very glad to do so.

1892. (Chairman.) Just give us the points that you want to insist upon?—I want to show case after case of actual people who we know were brought down to this degraded condition, simply through taking opium. Here is one case from the "Bombay Guardian" of August 5th, 1893, of a lad, stated to be "the only son of a horse merchant. The father was sufficiently wealthy to spend ten thousand rupees on the wedding of his son, when, according to custom, the latter was married while a little boy. Unfortunately for the child his father had a quarrel with his partner in business. The partner, to revenge himself, bribed the servant, who had control of the boy, to give his young charge, regularly, sweetmeats mixed with opium. There was no difficulty in carrying out the wicked design. Very soon the opium crave began. When the parents discovered it, they were alarmed, and tried to rescue their boy from the imperious habit, but to no purpose. At last, he ran away from home, never communicating with his parents and young wife, and when the photograph that we reproduce was taken, he was a confirmed frequenter of opium dens in Bombay, wrecked body and soul by opium, albeit for that reason a valuable contributor to the Government revenue."

1893. We may take it from you that cases that answered to that description are numerous?—These are positive facts, not mere theories.

1894-5. That there are many people whom you could individually name, and that other witnesses from their experience could individually name, who have been brought to a state of degradation by the excessive use of opium. That is your testimony, and we accept it?—Yes; many who became what we find them, from opium smoking and not from sickness.

Deputy-Surg
General W. F.
Partridge.

16 Sept. 1893.

1896. It is established, I think, to the satisfaction of every member of the Commission that such cases are unhappily numerous?—Yes; well my opinion about the opium eating, and smoking, and drinking is that it is a vice, that it injures the health, and that it degrades, as all vices do, the moral nature of those who indulge in it, only to a greater degree than other vices; and that it is far more detrimental than alcohol, bad as that is; that the opium crave soon overcomes habitual opium takers, whether they consume much or little, and that it cannot be overcome except by the grace of God. That opium takers are conscious of their degradation and bewail it, but cannot, unaided, leave off the habit. We know this from the fact that we have had petitions for the abolition of the opium trade sent in by the frequenters of the opium dens themselves. That the manufacture and sale of opium, except as a medicine, is a great sin. I just want to emphasise that the Government of India sends out annually to China, say, 80,000 chests, or 5,000 tons of opium or 78,400,000 grains; 4 grains would kill a man if he is not accustomed to take it, and, therefore, we send, simply for the sake of revenue, to China every year as much as would kill 19,600,000,000 of people.

1897. (Sir W. Roberts.) Are you aware that a similar calculation, or an analogous calculation, with regard to the salt that we take would bring out the same astounding sort of conclusion?—No, I not know anything about salt.

1898. In this way, that about 1 lb. of salt is a fatal dose?—Yes.

1899. But people in the course of a year take about 12 lbs. of salt; the salt that you take would kill you 12 times over in a year. Such a calculation as that is not of much value?—Supposing that is so—well it is a fact that so much poison is sent out.

1900. It applies to salt in the same way?—Very well. Here is some testimony up to the date of 31st July 1893, about the closing of those opium dens, which Sir James Lyall was speaking about. They were closed for smoking only, of course, and we know that a private and confidential circular was sent by the Commissioner North-West Provinces to all Commissioners and collectors North-West Provinces and Oudh, to tell them that there was nothing illegal in opening an opium den next door and providing pipes, so that in other words, though they must not smoke opium in the dens, they might smoke it next door. When that was known in Bombay the people—

1901. (Chairman.) You say that confidential circulars have been issued by the Government of the North-West Provinces in that sense?—I will show you the date—the circular was issued on the 26th July 1892; “by the Government order of the 26th September 1891, the Viceroy ordered that in future in all provinces of British India clauses should be inserted in opium licences prohibiting the smoking or consumption of opium, and its preparation in any other form on the premises”; that is Resolution, No. 4,033, the object being apparently to reduce the evil to a minimum by giving no facilities for its consumption on licensed premises. Then Mr. Stoker, of the Civil Service, Commissioner of Excise for the North-West Provinces and Oudh, issued the following circular:—

“To all Commissioners and Collectors.

“N.W. Prov. and Oudh,
26th July 1892.

“SIR, “You are already aware that henceforth the Chaudu and Madak smoking is absolutely prohibited on the premises licensed for the sale of the drug. It is impossible to doubt that this prohibition will be followed by the opening in many places of unlicensed places of resort where smokers can obtain the facilities which they require, and that such places will have to be kept under observation both for general reasons and also with a view to prevent the use of illicit opium. As the law now stands the authorities have no power to suppress consumption on premises where opium or its preparations are not sold. There is nothing in the law to prevent anyone opening a saloon for the accommodation of opium smokers, who bring their own chaudu. He can supply lamps and service and charge a fee for their use, and the law cannot touch him! Unless he is detected selling opium or its preparations, or found in possession of more than legal quantity. On this point the opinion of the Board of Revenue is, that it is not altogether advisable that such places should be suppressed. Collectors should watch such establishments carefully so as to prevent the sale of illicit opium. The

known conditions of chaudu smoking render the maintenance of some common place for the consumption of the drug an almost absolute necessity. No effort should be made to suppress such places as it is better that they should be known and thus liable to supervision.”

That was a private and confidential circular issued by Mr. Stoker. Mr. Caine, M.P., brought it out, and it has been ordered to be withdrawn, but the mischief of course is done; they can sell opium in the licensed shops, and open any number of dens elsewhere.

1902. (Sir J. Lyall.) Is it not a fact that they could not be suppressed. Is not that statement of the law correct. There is nothing in the law to prevent

“anyone opening a saloon for the accommodation of opium smokers who bring their own chaudu”?—The opium dens are practically not closed—

1903. What Government formerly did was to give the licence to a man to keep an opium shop open for opium smoking?—Yes, selling and smoking.

1904. And of course he was a vendor; he had a large amount of opium, or he had also a licence to manufacture the crude opium into smoking opium?—Yes.

1905. Well, that was done away with. I myself proposed it first, as long ago as 1883, as Financial Commissioner to the Punjab. It began to be done away with in the Punjab the following year, and a long time afterwards, in 1891, it was generally prohibited. But that circular says that there is no law to prevent men clubbing together, having got the amount of opium they can get from the licensed vendor, resorting to some other room, and either themselves boiling their opium or using a common servant to boil the opium, and then smoking it there. Unless you can prove that there is some man who keeps a shop and sells opium himself to other people, the law does not enable you to prohibit, but that is all that the circular says after all?—Mr. Stoker circulates the information for the benefit of those people who might think that they must stop.

1906. Not for the benefit of those people, but a confidential circular addressed to the officials to tell them how far they can go?—Yes, these men know he may do that.

1907. A man does not know it. The question is whether the police shall interfere with these people or not, or whether the Revenue officials should do so. He says you must look out and see whether this man sells opium in an illicit way?—Yes.

1908. But there is no law to prevent it?—There is no law to prevent them opening smoking dens. Many of these poor men have no pipes, and smoking would be prohibited if there were no dens.

1909. There is no law prohibiting the use of a pipe unfortunately. That circular is only a statement of fact?—It is only a statement; it is only a circular.

1910. You admit there was nothing wrong in the circular?—No. It was a decided hint to them to explain to these people that they might sell it for the purpose of smoking.

1911. It was not addressed to them, it was addressed merely to the officials?—To the officials.

1912. I believe the reason it was confidential—I do not know anything about it—was that it should not be said that they suggested it. If printed as a public circular, it would have been in the possession of all opium vendors as all circulars relating to their trade are, and then it would have proved a direct incitement no doubt, but being confidential that could not be said.

1913. (Chairman.) It was an instruction to the officials confidentially to tell them how far they might go in interfering themselves.

1914. (Mr. Mowbray.) It has as a matter of fact been withdrawn as “being capable of misinterpretation.” I think that was the language of the Government of India?—Yes, it was withdrawn when it became public.

1915. (Chairman.) I think that is all we need have on that point?—That was merely introductory to the evidence of two men. I will just give what they said on this very point. One of the dens in Bombay was visited, and they knew it was going to be closed, in fact, while it was being visited, this den was closed. When the men who were smoking were asked whether they were glad or sorry that the opium den was closed, there were only two who were sorry, and they said that they were so because they thought they would suffer so much pain on giving it up. Other groups were questioned, and they all agreed that it was a good thing to

Deputy-Surg-
General W. P.
Kartridge.
16 Sept. 1893.

close the shops for smoking. One said, "Curse it, curse the opium, it has shattered my body. Once I was strong enough to wrestle with 10 men, but now look at me now; a child can push me down." Another said, "Look at me, I am ruined and poor, and nearly dead, but what is done is done and cannot be helped. For 30 years I have been a slave to this habit, and it has eaten my strength away, dried up my blood, and deadened my senses. For every 4 pie (1d.) I spend for food, I spend 4 annas (4d) for opium. We are ruined, and soon may die and now the dens are closed there is hope for the children." That is just simply the testimony of two of the men, on the 31st of July last.

1916. (Sir J. Lyall.) What is this intended to prove; that the dens should be closed?—To show that the men themselves hated them.

1917. But the dens are closed?—They are closed for smoking only. It is said that they do not demoralise people; I have got in my mind, now, a lady, highly refined, educated, and polished, in England, a personal friend of mine—whom I know perfectly well. She took to opium in the form of chlorodyne, and she became filthy dirty, shut herself up in her room, would not wash herself, or do anything; she was deceitful and untruthful, and she became more like a beast than a woman. That was not from any previous disease at all, but simply from the habit.

1918. (Chairman.) That is a case establishing your general proposition, which we fully accept, that the cases are numerous in which people are grievously deteriorated by the excessive use of opium?—Like Dr. Heron and Neil, and some other murderers, who were all opium eaters. Well, I need not show that. Then a good deal has been said about opium eaters often being healthy men. Supposing that were so, I do not see that that alters the case at all. A vice is just as much a vice in a fat man as in a thin man. I do not see that that makes any difference at all, if the thing is a vice. It has been conclusively proved to my mind that opium renders a man insensible to ties of affection; renders him intensely selfish, so that he does not care about his wife or his children, or his family, or anything else; so it must be a vice and nothing but a vice. Sir William Moore praised opium because it enabled a Rajput gentleman to go a long journey, and the camelmen to endure privation, and to do with less food, and so on. All these effects we perfectly admit—I do at least. I know that in Upper Sind they have got little hardy mares that will travel 60 miles on a stretch straight on, and they have got a lump of opium round their bits; that is the way they enable these little mares to travel so far, and in the recent long-distance ride in Germany they injected morphia under the horses' skin to enable them to go. We admit all these facts. If I were in the mutiny and I was obliged to run whether I could help it or not, I would take any stimulant that I had, but these are merely exceptional cases, and it is not fair to take them as instances. I have ridden 40 miles in one night on a camel without any "stirrup cup" at all; I had nothing but a lot of dirty water out a camel's mussock to take on a hot Sind night, therefore I think Sir William Moore's Rajput gentleman could have done just the same without his opium drink. But it seems to me that the fallacy of all this that has been said by pro-opiumists about men being bright, clever, intelligent, and so on, all lies in this one point, that they are looked upon only while they are under the influence of opium. Everybody is bright; there is no doubt that up to a certain extent he may be while he is being stimulated. I think the strongest point that pro-opiumists have made for us was what Sir John Strachey said the other day, that the Sikhs could not go to war without a supply of opium. A man is all very well, while he is in camp; I have had Sikhs in some of the regiments I have been with; they are all right, but if you go on service and they cannot get their opium, they are done for.

1919. (Sir W. Roberts.) That is the same with daily meals?—Precisely, but you provide for daily meals; you do not provide opium, at least the Government does not. That is all I wish to say on the first subject. A good many points that tell in our favour have been admitted by the pro-opiumists. Then I wanted to say a word on another subject if you will allow me. Dr. Monat said that opium does not swell the number of patients in hospitals. Of course, I have had charge of lots of hospitals in the last 30 years, and I have had charge of jails also. Dr. Monat says that in the

statistics that he took in 1841-47 in Calcutta, out of 56,392 patients admitted into hospital, "not a single case of disease or death attributable to opium was found." Directly I heard that, I said "Why, there is not the slightest difficulty in explaining this." We have to send in Government Returns of the sick people under certain printed heads. Amongst these there are "diseases of the brain," "diseases of the spinal cord," "diseases of the respiratory organs," &c. There is a column for "alcoholism," there is no column for opium at all, and therefore a man who comes in with disease of any kind, dysentery or diarrhoea, caused by opium, is not put down as an opium patient, but is put down as a man with dysentery or diarrhoea. Dr. Monat ought to have said "attributed" and not "attributable." Then Dr. Sir George Birdwood, I think, and Dr. Monat and several others, if I remember right, said that there were no deaths from opium, that opium did not cause death. Well, if there were great neglect of sanitary arrangements in a street, and a man died of typhoid fever, if that man was put down in the Return as having died of typhoid fever, would it be true to say that he did not die of neglect of sanitary arrangements; and opium causes conditions of body in which certain diseases set in, and therefore it is not right to say that opium is not the cause of the death.

1920. You would call it a pre-disposing cause, would you not?—Just as the neglect of sanitary arrangements is a pre-disposing cause of typhoid fever—exactly the same thing, and that seems to me a very simple thing. Then Dr. Monat said that opium does not fill our jails with criminals. Well, I have had charge of the "House of Correction" and the common jail in Bombay for 14 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 any thing 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. I have always had the greatest trouble with those opium prisoners. They have to be examined most carefully; they conceal opium in their hair, in their mouths, under their nails, under their armpits, between their legs, and in all kinds of possible, and almost impossible, places. You have to search them all over. There was one man who pretended to have a great gumbol, and would not open his mouth. I insisted on opening it, and a great piece of opium came out. And then, besides that, there is no difficulty in an opium eater having a friend outside getting opium in the jail. I do not say anything about bribing the warders—that is done sometimes—but at a pre-concerted signal their friends throw it over the wall. It is in such a little quantity that they can easily get it. I have always stopped liquor entirely, even in cases of *delirium tremens*, and I have never been afraid of any bad effects from doing so; but I have been absolutely afraid to stop opium. I was afraid of the men killing themselves. If you stop the opium they howl all night. One witness said that he had never heard a man howling, but it is quite common. Of course, I am speaking of habitual opium eaters. A man will keep all the other prisoners awake at night with howling if you stop his opium. I have been obliged to give them a little opium from time to time. I always gave so little that they were not, of course, in the least bit satisfied with it, but I dared not stop it altogether. You cannot get any work out of these men; they are not fit for anything. Dr. C. Valentine, President of the Medical Training Institute, Agra, is not able to come here now, but you may see him in Agra, in India. He gives a testimony which will be important. He says: "25 years ago I made this matter a special study in the central prison of Jeypoor. There were from 800 to 900 prisoners, more than three-quarters of whom used opium, and quite half of them to excess. I had ample opportunities of studying its effects upon their moral and physical nature." This is not according to my experience, because we got the wretched miserable Hindoos in Bombay, but he is among the Rajputs. "Quite one-half of the violent forms of crime was committed under the effects of opium. With a pug of opium in his mouth a Rajput was ready to burn a village, loot a mail cart, cut a person down with a sword, cut off a woman's nose, or throw a child into a well. In the first or second stage of the action of the drug the opium eater was fit for any form of mischief. When the third stage has set in he was useless—a maudlin idiot. When the effect had passed off the opium eater was miserable and unable for

"mental or physical exertion. I have never known an instance of a confirmed opium eater voluntarily laying aside the habit." This can be confirmed by Dr. Valentine on the spot. So much with reference to prisons.

1921. (*Chairman.*) We must confine ourselves as far as possible at this late stage of our English inquiry to evidence at first hand.—The next point is, "Do you consider that opium is a prophylactic against fever." There is one authority, just to mention it in two words, Dr. Morrison, the medical missionary at Rampore Banlakh, Bengal. He has treated from 6,000 to 10,000 patients annually for 15 years, and though 80 per cent. suffered from malaria he never heard one native hint that opium prevented fever. That is my experience too. For 30 years I have been in India. I have been in malarious places. I have been in Gujerat, North Sind, and so on, but I have never once been asked by any native for opium as an antidote for fever; they never hinted at such a thing, and I do not believe that any of the natives use it as a prophylactic for fever. I should like to say one word about the children.

1922 We shall be glad to hear that?—In the petition sent to the House of Commons by 48 native medical men in Bombay—this is a copy of it; I bring it because there is a picture of two of the leading medical men in Bombay upon it, Dr. Atmaram Pandurang and Dr. E. N. Khory. It is stated in the 5th paragraph "That your petitioners also desire to draw your attention to the great harm which results from the practice of giving opium in the form of a small pill to children. This is done by parents to save themselves trouble, but the evils that spring from the practice are of a serious nature. Numerous cases of opium poisoning arise from it, many of which end fatally." And yet we find that Government is selling children's pills. Here is a translation of a Government notice posted up in the Null Bazar, Bombay, dated July 15th 1891, signed by "J. M. Campbell, Land Revenue, Customs, and Akhari Collector." "At present the right of selling children's pills has been given to the Bombay opium contractors, and such pills can be bought of all Government opium shops in Bombay." Government is selling pills for children, and children are remarkably susceptible to opium. My own grandchild, the daughter of the Chief Presidency Magistrate in Bombay, when six weeks old, was nearly poisoned by a nurse who put opium under her finger-nail and gave it to the child to suck to keep her quiet. She was insensible for 15 hours.

1923. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) I beg your pardon, did you say the Government are selling pills?—The Government are selling pills for children.

1924. You mean the licensed vendors, the retail vendors; that is not Government?—Yes, but Government has given the permission. "At present the right of selling children's pills has been given to the Bombay opium contractors." That is by the British Government. It is signed by the Collector of Customs and Akhari, Mr. Campbell. They have given them a special licence to sell children's pills in the bazar.

1925. (*Chairman.*) Do you admit that in certain cases these pills might be desirable as a treatment?—You might just as well turn a box of opium pills loose in a nursery and let the ignorant English nurse use them as she likes.

1926. In competent professional hands?—But they are not. Here is a picture of an opium baby I did myself in Bombay with his mother. They feed these children on opium until they are very thin, absolutely skeletons. I remember a child in the common jail in Bombay more like a dried monkey than a human being, a thousand times worse than that child. That one has got a great big belly, thin arms, and an old man's face.

1927. You are a limner of no mean skill, Dr. Partridge?—Well, I draw a good deal. Cases I have seen are a thousand times worse than that child.

1928. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) I was going to ask you whether these pills were sold by druggists?—No, they are only sold at opium shops by permission of Government.

1929. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) It would not require permission of Government?—Yes, nobody is allowed to sell opium pills.

1930. I mean to say, a man is allowed to sell opium only up to a certain limit, but it would require no separate permission to sell a pill?—Well, but these are called children's pills.

1931. That is a name that has been given them by the seller, not by Government?—But this is a Government notice, written and signed by Mr. Campbell on the 15th July. These are the words of the Government stink up in the Null Bazar, Bombay.

1932. What is the wording?—"At present the right of selling children's pills has been given to the Bombay opium contractors, and such pills can be bought of all Government opium shops in Bombay." That is the official document.

1933. What date is that?—15th July 1891, signed by J. M. Campbell, Land Revenue, Customs and Akhari Collector. It is one of the most staggering things I ever read when I know that children are so easily killed by opium.

1934. You are a man of a certain amount of Indian experience; do you not think that the fact was that the chemists were selling opium under the name of children's pills, and that it was found necessary to restrict the sale therefore to licensed opium vendors?—It would not restrict the sale; I should call it increasing it.

1935. I suppose the chemists were stopped?—I do not know anything about that.

1936. The native chemists?—The hakims give pills out of their own dispensaries. Somebody said the old women gave opium; they do not do that.

1937. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) Is there no explanation of that circular?—I have no explanation.

1938. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) Do you not think the explanation I gave is probably the right one?—I do not know at all, except the fact of the circular. Of course you can speculate to any extent about it.

1939. (*Chairman.*) I might put this question to you. Are you aware that after an inquiry in the House of Commons reference was made to India, and it was ascertained that there were formerly 300 unlicensed shops where children's pills could be bought, but since the matter has been put under regulations there are now only 12 such shops?—I did not know that; but it does not make the slightest difference if it is so, except in the quantity that is sold. You would have to go into one kind of shop instead of another. But if you ask any English mother if she would like an ordinary—sensible, if you like,—nurse to have a box of pills to give to the children just as she liked, why she would be half dead with horror.

1940. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) Is there anything in the English system which would prevent a mother giving opium pills to her child?—Well, they give it in some of these syrups and things.

1941. A mother may go to a chemist's shop and buy all the opium she likes and give it to her child?—They have no right to do it, whether they could or not.

1942. My opinion is that there is practically no restriction?—Oh, there is some restriction.

1943. There is no real restriction, I think.

1944. (*Chairman.*) There is no practical restriction in this country?—It is not prohibited; you cannot stop it, but you can hinder it; a chemist could be punished for doing it.

1945. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) He could for poisons, but I doubt if he could for opium?—He is bound to put a label "poison" on opium.

1946. (*Chairman.*) Persons can purchase a poisonous substance in England and use it for an injurious purpose?—Yes. There is another point; it is an important one, because it comes from the Ophthalmic Surgeon in Bombay, Dr. Machonachie, a man whom I know very well. "A boy aged 18 months was taken to him from Thana in February 1893. The child had been suffering from opium diarrhoea, and had been to Dr. Lazarus of the Scotch Free Dispensary, Thana, who told the parents that the practice of giving it opium must be stopped. This the parents promised to do. Soon, however, its eyes became ulcerated and it was taken to Bombay." "Dr. Machonachie pronounced the case hopeless. 'Its 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." They are ill-fed, and opium is given to quiet them. The child was taken back to Thana and shown to Surgeon.

Deputy-Surg-
General W. P.
Partridge.

16 Sept. 1898.

Major Kirtirkar 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 diarrhoea and often lose their eyesight by suppuration of the cornea. This is very common among natives." In further confirmation of this: there is a statement in "Bombay Guardian," August 5, 1893. From Captain Yeshwanti Bai of Salvation Army: "An infant one month old was brought to me from another village for medical treatment. The little mite's eyes had been utterly destroyed through the evident administration of opium, which the mother confessed to have given in large quantities, and its face was already getting that old mannish expression seen in opium-drugged babies. I am always having babies brought to me affected in some part or other through opium."

1947. (Mr. Wilson.) You referred to those unlicensed opium dens, or saloons as we call them, and the Despatch of Lord Kimberley on the subject, suggesting that the law wanted strengthening?—No; I do not myself know anything about it.

1948. The Despatch of the 16th March of this year; you do not know anything about it?—No; I do not know anything about it.

1949. It is a Parliamentary paper; I wanted just to ask you: You have referred to the opium criminals in jails, do you know anything at all about the proportions? You can only express a very common opinion?—No. We generally had, I suppose, eight or nine opium eaters—no smokers. I have never had an opium smoker in jail in my life; they do not smoke opium except in the dens in Bombay. Generally there were eight or nine I suppose, some of them bad enough to be in hospitals, some of them sent to their work.

1950. Do I understand that you consider that a good many of them had got into jail through crimes committed in order to obtain opium?—The usual crimes with opium criminals are gambling and stealing. These petty crimes are what they come into jail for. An opium eater must have his opium.

1951. My question was, whether you have any idea as to the proportion of those cases to the total number?—No, I cannot tell you for certain at all. We always had some seven or eight perhaps.

1952. (Sir J. Lyall.) You criticise Dr. Monat as to no deaths being attributable to opium according to Bengal jail returns?—Yes.

1953. Could not and would not Dr. Monat and the other doctors below him have had a column added of "Opium habit" as well as "Alcoholism" if they had thought the facts called for it; would it not have been their duty if they had thought that deaths were attributable to opium, to ask that a column should be

The witness withdrew.

Mr. P. Turner
and
Mr. T. Hutton.

Mr. POLHILL TURNER and Mr. THOMAS HUTTON called in and examined.

1961. (Chairman.) You have both been serving in China as missionaries?—(Mr. Hutton.) Yes.

1962. Are you generally acquainted with the testimony which has been given by the various representatives of the missionary societies whom we have had the advantage of hearing?—Yes.

1963. You will perhaps take it from me that so far as the Commission has had the opportunity of confirming the opinion, we are satisfied that the missionary bodies at any rate by a large majority are impressed by the fact that the opium trade has involved a great moral harm on the Chinese people. You may accept it that we have received this testimony, and so far as the evidence of the missionaries who have appeared before us is concerned it is practically almost unanimous; therefore we do not wish unnecessarily to repeat the same evidence. You have sought to appear before us, as I understand it, because your field of labour has been in the mountainous districts of China?—(Mr. Turner.) Exactly.

1964. In what parts of China have you been serving?—Kan-suh more especially, the most north-westerly province—three provinces, Kan-suh, Si-chuen, and Shen-si.

1965. Has Mr. Hutton been in the same districts? Will you state what they were?—(Mr. Hutton.) On the borders of Mongolia, in the north-west of Kan-suh, and also through the north of the Shen-si Province. I have mapped it out here (showing map).

added?—Yes, I think so. For a long time there was no column for alcoholism; I think that has been added comparatively recently; in fact, for many years I do not remember a column for alcoholism at all; that has been added lately.

1954. I suppose you know Dr. Monat pretty well; I suppose we may assume that he did not think that deaths were attributable to opium, or he would have had a column added?—On the principle, you see, that they do not look upon opium as the primary cause of it, and as I said, they would not necessarily put typhoid fever as "neglect of sanitary arrangements"; you would have in the return of mortality in England "typhoid fever."

1955. It would be just as much their duty to put in a column for "opium deaths" as to put a column for deaths due to alcoholism?—I should think so; if I were Inspector General of Prisons, I should.

1956. You referred to Dr. Valentine's evidence about the audacity of criminals under the effects of opium; do you not think that he would himself admit that the intention of committing violent crimes of that kind precedes the taking of the drug, and that it is taken by such criminals merely to give them temporary strength and courage?—No; I do not think that at all. I do not think that he means that at all.

1957. You have had much experience in India—medical experience—how would you propose to establish a system in India whereby opium would be available for medical purposes and not for such purposes as doses to keep children quiet. You referred to the common habit?—There would be more difficulty in doing it in India than in England. If we cannot restrain it in England altogether, of course it would be more difficult in India.

1958. There are no chemists you know, except perhaps one or two in the principal towns?—There are plenty of shops where native medical men dispense their own medicine.

1959. But are those people reliable? If you allowed them to deal in opium at all, would they not turn their shops into opium shops?—Very likely; they are all bribable, the lower classes as well as the others. Of course there are many who would not misuse the license, just like chemists in England.

1960. You would suggest no method?—There is but one method. Government could absolutely stop the sale of opium. The less opium there was in the market the less they would be able to get. Now it is as common a thing as dirt; a child could go and buy opium up to a certain amount. They never think of prohibiting it. You cannot stop children going to public-houses buying beer although it is illegal, but you can check it.

1966. We have had your missionary station map?—The red line is the route that I took through China.

1967. Would you say that there is a difference in type in the people among whom you have laboured as compared with the Chinese of the south?—(Mr. Turner.) In the province of Kan-suh they are a little more stolid, more like our northerners in England, but the main characteristics are the same.

1968. Will you tell us your general view as to the effect of the opium habit among the people among whom you have laboured?—My belief, sir, is just the same as that of those missionaries who have given testimony as to the physical and moral effect on the natives. The particular town in which I was labouring was a mountainous town, about 7000 feet above the level of the sea.

1969. The name of it was?—Sining, in the Province of Kan-suh. Wherever I have travelled opium is consumed just as largely as in any other province that I have visited. In that town they told me on more than one occasion that 50 years ago the drug was unknown, but now it is just as largely smoked as anywhere in China. The people themselves say by eight-tenths of the population. That is a little exaggerated of course, but I think one-third is not too large; but I have always wherever I have been had the introduction of opium attributed to us. Yang yen, foreign smoke, is the name they give to opium; Yang ren is the name we are called.—foreigners, and of course they couple the two together.

1970. The opium consumed in the vicinity of Sining bore the name of a foreign smoke?—Foreign smoke. Yes.

1971. But as a matter of fact was the opium smoked in the vicinity of Sining a local production?—It is now, probably at the beginning it was not, but they accused us of bringing it to them.

1972. But now at the present moment?—(Mr. Hutton.) Native opium is called a foreign smoke, although it is produced in Chinese territory; that is the stigma that is put upon us.

1973. We understand it is called foreign smoke, but, as a matter of fact, is the opium which is consumed in the vicinity of Sining a locally produced article?—(Mr. Turner.) It is now produced locally.

1974. Is there any other special point that you would like to bring before us?—(Mr. Turner.) No, your Lordship, I have not.

1975. And now, Mr. Hutton, you have put before me a map with a track upon it representing a journey that you have made?—(Mr. Hutton.) Yes, your Lordship.

1976. Describe your journey would you?—With regard to a letter which was read from a gentleman of the name of Mr. Duff this morning, if it is the same Mr. Duff as I think it may be, I think he was a merchant in the Port of Chin-Kiang. During the last three years I have been in China. I was also stationed in that port. There was one remark in the letter referring to the hill tribes; he says, "they are not so addicted to opium—smoking as the people who live in the plains." Well, on this journey that I took—

1977. Beginning at Shanghai was it?—From Shanghai to Hankow up the Hsu River and through Kan-suh to Ninghsia on the Mongolian frontier; then along the Great Wall through the province of Shan-si and Chih-ti to Tien-tsin. With the exception of a few missionaries that I met with at our different stations, and a few Roman Catholic priests, I did not meet with any European officials, Consuls, or merchants, until I reached Tien-tsin. I was away nearly two years on that journey. I wore the Chinese dress, to a great extent partook of Chinese food, and, except when I was travelling by boats, I stayed in Chinese inns; and throughout the hilly districts I should think that eight out of ten people who used to stay in the inns at night used to smoke opium.

1978. (Sir W. Roberts.) That would be only adult males you are speaking of?—Adult males. That is especially more in those parts which were higher and healthier than in the low and flat parts of the centre and south of China. I should think there were more opium smokers in the Province of Kan-suh than down south. The Province of Kan-suh is very much given up to it, and the statements of those gentlemen who, like Dr. Lockhart, have given evidence after being at home for 10 or 20 years confirm my conviction that of late years opium-smoking has very much increased. I asked a native at Ninghsia on the Mongolian border, a man that I employed as a teacher, how many smoked opium there, and he said that out of every 100 he thought 80 smoked opium.

1979. That is again speaking of the adults; the adult males?—Yes; but in some of the towns 20 or 30 per cent. of the women also smoke opium.

1980. (Chairman.) You have shown us that as far as your powers of observation have enabled you to form a judgment, and you have had unusual opportunities of travelling through a rarely visited part of China, the opium habit appears to be on the increase. Now what would you say as to its moral and physical effects?—I used to employ three men on a cart journey. Two of them did not appear to take opium, but the third man, an opium smoker, at nearly every place we got to had his cart detained on account of debts that he had contracted on a previous journey, and I finally had to abandon that man altogether, and sacrifice what I had advanced for the use of his cart, and I had to hire another man. Then we employed a man for a cook; he was an opium smoker. If we had known that, we should not have engaged him, for opium smokers are not to be trusted in buying things for us on the streets. We found that we had to pay for the provisions which he purchased nearly half as much again as we had to pay when we employed another man who did not smoke opium. In the practical experience that I have had of these men I should never, if possible, employ in any position of trust a man who smoked opium in any degree.

e 80970.

1981. (Sir J. Lyall.) All these remarks apply exactly to drinkers of spirits in England in the same class of life, do they not?—No, I do not think so. As far as I can see, I do not think that drinking has the same demoralising effect upon men as smoking opium. Of course, the Chinese are in a lower grade to some extent, than that of people here at home. I agree with the evidence that has been given by other missionaries that opium-smoking has a worse effect upon men, morally and physically, than alcoholic drinks.

1982. (Chairman.) In the North of China is the population of a higher physical ability, would you say, than the people living further south?—Yes.

1983. And notwithstanding the fact, as you say, that 80 per cent. are smokers of opium?—I was going to qualify this a little: that is true so far as they are not carried away by the opium habit. By the Chinese it is attributed to another reason. In the northern parts of China much more wheaten bread is eaten, whereas in the central and southern parts to a great extent the natives exist on rice, and of those who live on wheat the Chinese themselves say: "They are Northern men; they have been living on wheat."

1984. And they are stronger men?—They are stronger.

1985. And better able to take a certain quantity of opium with impunity; is that the case?—I have not met with any men that I have considered could take it with impunity.

1986. Any opium?—Yes.

1987. Now, Mr. Turner, you have heard the opinion of your colleague in the missionary field with reference to the moral and physical effects of the consumption of opium; what do you say on this point; do you confirm what he said?—(Mr. Turner.) Thoroughly. All my experience goes to show that a man who smokes opium has a barrier placed in the way of listening to any truth that you may tell him about Christianity, which is not in the way of a man who does not smoke opium. It is a barrier raised by the mere fact of the man becoming an opium smoker which does not exist without his smoking opium. And for the physical matter, I am sure anybody, who has laboured in the interior where we have, could not have any two opinions about it. A man beginning to smoke opium is on the downward road. I do not think the cases where a man goes on smoking a small quantity are many.

1988. You think that once you begin to use it at all you readily pass on to excess?—Yes.

1989. (Sir J. Lyall.) You seem to put some weight on the fact that opium is called "foreign smoke." I should like to know for what reason?—Yes. (Mr. Hutton.) I have been in China altogether about eight years; I had a chapel, kept it open in the afternoons, and had visitors coming in. Our preaching is in the form of question and answer to a large extent, and invariably the first question is, What country do you belong to? and when we said that we came from England, in many cases they replied, "Oh, that is where the opium comes from." I explained to them that it came from India; but that is not sufficient, for they said, "India is under British rule."

1990. And so the name affects the people's ideas and prepossesses them against you?—In the Chinese language there are several terms for opium, but the commonest is "yang," a term of reproach.

1991. I do not know whether it is the case in China, but it is the case in the great part of the East, is it not, that a terrible and disgusting disease is called a foreign disease in the same way?—Yes, the same term is used for that disease.

1992. It is so in China?—Yes; I have seen that placarded about too. It is understood that opium is a foreign thing, and, of course, the terminology is not changed in applying it to the opium which is grown by the natives themselves.

1993. But there is evidence that opium was imported by the Arabs and Portuguese before we ever imported it; and is it not probable the name dates from those times before we had anything to do with it?—I have read a good deal as to the original introduction of opium, but I am not qualified to give any opinion upon it at all; for practical purposes it is fathered upon the foreigners, and we are practically the foreigners in China.

B

Mr. P. Turner
and
Mr. T. Hutton.
16 Sept. 1893.

Mr. P. Turner
and
Mr. T. Hutton.
16 Sept. 1893.

1994. (Mr. Moubray.) Are there many other missionaries besides English missionaries in the part you have been? You mention that the first question asked was where you came from?—Yes, there are some American missionaries in the coast regions; but the only missionaries in the more distant stations that I have referred to are our own China Inland Missionaries, and the Roman Catholic priests in Kiang-su.

1995. Do the Chinese make any difference between the English missionaries and the American missionaries?—They are beginning to do so. These things are changing in China; the Chinese are getting much more enlightened on these matters than they were. They used to class all missionaries together; now they make a distinction between Protestants and Roman Catholics, and they have also got the length, to some extent, in the parts where missionaries are more commonly known, of distinguishing between French and English and German, and so forth.

1996. Would you say that the American missionaries succeeded better because they could not have the opium question thrown in their teeth?—That is a question which I could not answer.

1997. And can you say anything with regard to the Belgian priests that you have met with, whether their work was less hampered than your work?—I think the Roman Catholics are all agreed, so far as their profession goes, with all missionaries in China, that opium-smoking is wrong, and that no opium smoker should be admitted to their church. But many of the Chinese condemn all foreigners *en masse*; they want to get rid of them altogether.

1998. Whether they have introduced opium or not?—I do not think they can get the length of distinguishing sufficiently.

1999. (Mr. Wilson.) You have spoken about these servants that you have had, cartmen and others that you had, who were dishonest or unsatisfactory; were they what have been called in this room, confirmed sots, or were they what you would call moderate smokers, that is to say, how far have they gone?—I should say they were not as far gone as some I have seen. I have had men coming to me, and begging to be cured of the opium habit. I used to carry opium medicine and sell it, and the Chinese, who had not much money, would give really a large sum to buy that opium medicine. They felt the habit on them so strongly that they would do anything to get rid of it; so, while we gave other medicines away, we always made it a rule to sell opium medicine to these men, and they were willing to pay a good price in order to get cured.

2000. These servants of yours, would you call them moderate smokers, or would you call them confirmed sots?—Well, I do not approve of the phrase moderate at all, in the sense of moderate smoking of opium, because I think to any extent it is an injury. They were not so confirmed as many in the use of it, and did not take so much, but the Chinese vary greatly in the amount they use. (Mr. Turner.) I should say that a sot was a man that did nothing, who was unable to follow any other occupation than just smoke during the day, but a man who would be able to go with a cart could hardly be called a sot.

2001. (Sir W. Roberts.) I understand, Mr. Hutton, from you, that you passed through populations, or resided amongst populations of whom 80 per cent. of the adult males were opium smokers?—(Mr. Hutton.) This was the opinion given to me by my teacher. I asked his opinion on the number of smokers in Ning-hsia, and he said it was an exception to find a man who did not smoke.

2002. Did those populations appear to you weakly and degenerate?—Yes, the people in that city did.

2003. The entire population seemed to you to be degenerate?—Yes, and they complained to us—it is not exactly bearing upon this question; but they said that within 10 years rice has increased in price from 20 to 30 per cent., because the rice growers had taken to grow opium, and the whole outside of the city in every district was just covered with the poppy.

2004. You are quite clear that they were an unhealthy population?—Yes.

2005. (Sir J. Lyall.) Does not the same land grow rice that grows poppy?—The land was very rich there, it was irrigated by water from the Yellow River, and the opium from that place was said to be of very fine quality.

2006. I think I have read that they take a crop of rice off the land in the winter, and then a crop of opium in the spring?—I think it may be so.

2007. You say that the whole population of the town looked degenerate, which you attribute to opium, but a recent traveller in Yunnan said that, though the population was extraordinarily addicted to opium, they looked to him very robust and energetic, and they were extremely industrious. Can you explain that your impression is the other way?—My impression is, the opium is doing them a great injury.

2008. (Sir W. Roberts.) But were they affected, I mean speaking broadly of the entire population, did they appear to you affected, or were they successful commercial people?—Well, I have seen in the case of opium smokers, the same conditions as I have seen at home before I went out. Some of the best workmen that I knew at home were slaves to drink, and I knew a man at home that would come to work on a Thursday morning, and could earn as much money in a few days as the man who had been at work the whole of the week. I think that there may be some exceptions amongst the Chinese opium smokers in the same way; but my own conclusion would be that if that man had not taken the drink for three days in the week, he would have been so much better than the other men instead of reaching their level. I have had coolies in China that did not smoke opium, and I have just been amazed at what they could carry, and the hardships that they could undergo. I knew a non-smoker who started with me one morning about 7 o'clock, travelled all day on foot through the snow, carried a coolie load for me amounting to about 40 lbs., and all day long he kept in front of me. I was walking, and had nothing whatever to carry. We got to our destination about 8 o'clock in the evening, and during the time he travelled about 30 miles, and that man was quite fresh in the evening after travelling all day. There is no doubt about the Chinese being a wonderful race, of great powers and physical endurance; but they would be better than they are if it were not for the opium.

2009. (Chairman.) Have you anything more that you would like to say to us?—(Mr. Turner.) I think the Chinese, wherever I have met them, admit that opium is a curse, an unmitigated curse; and I have heard of some cases where coolie owners would not employ coolies who smoked; but now I believe the habit is getting so universal that it is very difficult to get two or three coolies who do not smoke. Three coolies are usually employed to carry a sedan chair, and it is very seldom that you can get two of them who do not smoke; it is most exceptional. As a rule they smoke very often, but one who does not smoke is almost an exception.

2010. (Sir J. Lyall.) Those chair-bearers perform extraordinary feats in the way of carrying, do they not?—They do, but no doubt the opium has a militating effect against their work. They have to stop at any rate once in the day and keep you waiting while they smoke their opium, and anybody who rides in those chairs with opium smokers know what the disadvantages are; you have men thoroughly unreliable. —(Mr. Hutton.) May I just add one thing. I was going to say I think most of the opium dens are brothels, that the two things go together; but I never met with a confirmed opium smoker that took wine to any extent. The two things cannot go together. Opium smokers have told me that they could not drink wine if they took opium. And opium smokers can take very little food. When we arrived at inns in the evenings after a day's journey, those that do not take opium can sit down and eat three or four big basins of rice and vegetables; but the poor opium smoker is shaking and wanting his pipe; that is all he cares for.

2011. That is sufficient to account almost by itself for the emaciation, I suppose, which is commonly observed?—Yes, that accounts in part for their weakness as compared with the other men.

The witnesses withdrew.

Mr. ALEXANDER MICHIE called in and examined.

Mr.
A. Michie
16 Sept. 18

2012. (Chairman.) You have had great experience have you not, Mr. Michie, in China and Japan?—As regards length of time, my Lord, yes.

2013. You have been 40 years years in Hong Kong, Shanghai, Tientsin, and Japan?—Yes 40 years from first to last.

2014. You have been occupied as a merchant, have you not?—Yes.

2015. You have also been in the interior of the Si-chuen Province?—Yes.

2016. As delegate of the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce?—Yes.

2017. You have had considerable acquaintance with Chinese officials have you not?—Yes, a certain amount.

2018. When did you return from China?—This summer; three months ago.

2019. Can you tell us what in your opinion, as far as you have been able to gather, is the general public opinion about the opium habit?—Amongst the Chinese, my Lord.

2020. Amongst the Chinese?—I think it may be said generally that the use of opium is deprecated. It is usually spoken of in an apologetic manner. A man who smokes opium heavily is always ready with some excuse for doing so.

2021. You think it more generally deprecated than the use of alcohol in European countries?—I do not think so.

2022. How far does the opium habit prevail, as far as your experience goes; is it very prevalent?—It is universal as regards area, but its prevalence in a particular community is a matter that is extremely difficult to be definite upon.

2023. Should you say that opium smoking was as common as tobacco smoking is in Europe or less common?—Probably much less common than tobacco.

2024. Is much tobacco smoked in China?—Yes very largely; they are constantly smoking tobacco.

2025. Do the same people smoke tobacco and opium?—Yes, sir.

2026. Have you had many employees who have smoked opium?—I have had large numbers one way and another in my employ, but I do not recall many cases of opium smokers. Probably they were numerous, but it is not easy to tell. It is not always easy to distinguish the opium smoker from a non-opium smoker, unless he has carried it to a great excess.

2027. You never had to dismiss a man, a clerk, or compositor, or any of those men, on account of opium smoking?—No, never, but I must say that I always shared the common prejudice against employing an opium smoker. If you could help it you would prefer a man who was not an opium smoker; for one thing, if you are travelling he is a nuisance because the odour is unpleasant, like the smell of stale tobacco about the clothes. And you can tell at once if there is anyone in a boat's crew that smokes opium, the smell is disagreeable; and so on board steamers the same objection is felt, and in restaurants and so on.

2028. It has been said by a great many witnesses that they do not believe in such a thing as the moderate use of opium, that is, they believe that, if a man once takes to the habit of smoking opium, he must inevitably become an immoderate smoker of opium sooner or later, and probably sooner?—I have heard these statements for many years, but I must say I have never been able to see on what ground they rested. And so far as my own observation goes the fact is not so. I think moderate smoking is very much more common than inveterate smoking. For example, you can hardly go to a Chinese dinner without having the opium pipe there; and when the guests have sat a long time at the table, and eaten a great deal, and drunk a good deal, one will retire to the divan where the opium pipe is and have a whiff of opium, and by-and-by when he has finished he rejoins the other guests; another one will go, and so on, just as you take a cigarette after dinner, or a glass of wine. That is the common practice. And amongst the men who did so I did not notice that there were many whom you would call confirmed opium smokers. The difficulty, of course, of obtaining information on such subjects in China is very great. I have often myself

tried to get some details, but could rarely get beyond generalities. Even medical missionaries, friends of my own, whom I have asked what is the effect of opium, what is the pathological effect, and so on, could only answer in generalities, and they said that they really had not the opportunity of following the thing out. They see a man to-day, and they do not see him again; perhaps they have him under their observation for a few weeks, and they do not hear of him any more, and so it is in what you may call society, you cannot trace the history of the man, at least I have never been able to get any facts of that sort.

2029. (Mr. Pease.) With regard to your saying they leave the table where they are and take a whiff and come back again, on many occasions do they not lie down and take a dose after they have taken a whiff?—Many of them will lie down and smoke opium the whole night.

2030. But those who just leave the table and go and take a whiff and come back, do you find them bright and lively—there is no sleepiness about them?—On the contrary, they are brightened by it.

2031. You did not observe any reaction after the opium?—Well, you do not see them afterwards; you go home to bed, and they go home to bed, and there is an end of it.

2032. (Sir J. Lyall.) It has been said by many witnesses that the habit of opium-smoking destroys the honesty and the truthfulness of the people who use it. Have you in your dealings with Chinamen—you have had to deal with a great many Chinese merchants and people I suppose; have you noticed any difference in honesty and truthfulness between the opium smokers and the non-opium smokers?—I cannot say that I have. Dishonesty in opium smokers is common enough amongst the poor people, who become dishonest in order to buy opium; but amongst the merchants and official classes I have not noticed that which has been stated by so many people, in my own experience. Perhaps I have been singularly fortunate, but it so happens that amongst the men whom I have been obliged to trust in an extraordinary degree, more so than I have had to trust anyone, even of my own countrymen, amongst those have been some of the most inveterate smokers, and I have never found that my confidence was abused on that account.

2033. Opium-smoking is not known in Japan; it is prohibited in Japan?—No; opium-smoking is not known in Japan.

2034. How do the Japanese compare with the Chinese in honesty and truthfulness?—Well, it is generally asserted that they are inferior to the Chinese in solidity of character and solidity of physique, and all that.

2035. I suppose you went out to China with some views about opium; did you change or modify your views?—I got some ideas when I got there, I think; in fact I took for granted the general report that was current, chiefly on the authority of missionaries. Perhaps I took exaggerated views of it—I was very young—but I almost expected China to be depopulated in a few years; but after 40 years' experience I do not find that such expectations have been verified at all.

2036. It has been very commonly said that our connexion with the opium trade has had an important effect on the Chinese attitude towards Englishmen?—I do not believe anything of the sort; I have never found a trace of that. I think a Chinaman will always say what he thinks you want him to say, and I think it is exceedingly dangerous to draw any general conclusions from what a Chinaman tells you, especially in answer to leading questions. If it is permitted to refer to an illustration, perhaps wide of the mark, I would say that we have had lately a great deal of a particularly offensive class of literature published by the Chinese, in which every conceivable thing is raked up that would detract from the character of foreigners generally. The most disgusting and extravagant charges have been circulated broadcast by eminent literary men, and I think that, if there had been any strong feeling in regard to opium, there would have been some trace of it in some of these publications; but, so far as I am aware, it is quite silent, and I take that as tolerably conclusive evidence that that strong anti-English feeling is not on account of opium.

2037. Do you think there is any difference observable in their attitude towards, for instance, the

Mr.
Michie
Sept. 1898.

Germans and the French, and towards us?—No, not certainly not to our detriment. May I refer to the evidence given by one of the last witnesses?

2038. (*Chairman.*) If it is with a view of expressing an opinion of your own, yes?—I heard one of the gentlemen saying that the Chinese were beginning to discriminate between the English and the American missionaries. That recalled to my mind a circumstance that occurred in Peking some years ago when there was an American Bishop or some high official connected with some of the mission churches. He had interviews with certain Chinese officials, and he was employing as his interpreter another American missionary whom I knew very well and who told me the history. He was perhaps the most apostolic missionary that I ever came into contact with. And the Bishop wished him to say to the Chinese that the Americans occupied a different position from the English missionaries, that they had not done this and that, and that particularly they had not gone to war with them and they had not brought opium to them and so on. But his interpreter refused to translate. He said it was mean and it was in its effect untrue.

2039. What are your views as to the relative effects of excess in opium or alcohol?—Well, that is an exceedingly difficult question to answer. I can only say that I have had very intimate friends who were addicted to both, and of the two I think I prefer those that were slaves to opium rather than those who were slaves to drink; I would trust them more. I would trust an opium-smoker sooner than a drunkard. I speak without prejudice, having had among my friends some of my own countrymen who were unfortunately slaves to drink, and I have had Chinese friends who were slaves to opium, and of the two I would prefer—it is a matter of my own judgment—to trust the Chinese.

2040. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) You have mixed a good deal with the better classes of Chinese apparently, the literati and merchants?—Yes to a certain extent, a very moderate extent. No foreigner mixes much with the literary class.

2041. You have seen them in their inner life?—Yes.

2042. And is a large proportion of that class opium smokers?—No doubt.

2043. Would you roughly say one-half of them?—Such an estimate would be a mere guess.

2044. Would it be your impression that fully one-half of them were opium smokers?—Probably; yes, I should say so, but still these estimates must always be taken as being vague.

2045. You would not call that class a degraded class?—Certainly not.

2046. Or a class showing degenerate health?—No, certainly not.

2047. Has this habit of opium smoking, among these better classes been going on for two or three generations, or more successive generations?—I should think so, but that is another point in which it is extremely difficult to be accurate, because foreigners who get out to China for the first time are very apt to be told that everything is new; that everything that is objectionable is recent; that it was not so in the old times. I found that when I was in the Si-chuen Province 25 years ago; they were saying then what they say now, that they had just begun to smoke opium.

2048. And we may take it from you, that from your long experience in China you have known persons who were opium smokers filling respectable positions, having good characters, and being good citizens all that time?—I think so. I have left men with whom I have had to do in Chinese ports so far gone with opium, having taken it for many years, that I considered their lives were not worth a year's purchase, and I have returned after many years and, to my surprise, have found them as vigorous as myself and carrying on their business as keenly as ever.

2049. You look on the opium habit as like the alcoholic habit and that you think if they moderately indulged in opium they would not be injured?—I would not say that they would not be injured, all I say is I know habitual opium smokers who have carried on their business with great vigour and for many years.

The witness withdrew.

The Commission adjourned till the 15th November at Calcutta.

APPENDIX I.

PAPER read by Mr. G. H. M. BATTEN before "The Society of Arts," on the 24th March 1891.

[Mr. Batten was unable to give evidence before the Commission, as he was out of England. His paper was cited in Sir John Strachey's evidence. And the Commission directed that it should be printed as an appendix to Sir John Strachey's evidence.]

THE OPIUM QUESTION.

By G. H. M. BATTEN (formerly of the Bengal Civil Service).

The violent and persistent attack, by an English association, on one of the most valuable of the products of India, with the avowed object of sweeping it from the face of the earth, renders it the duty of everyone who has the welfare of India at heart to examine the grounds on which that attack is made. Having for a long period served the Government of Her Majesty the Queen in India, and having had special opportunities of making myself familiar with the facts relating to Indian opium, I accepted the invitation of this Society to read a paper on the subject, with the desire to help, so far as in me lies, to clear away the widespread ignorance of it which prevails in this country.

Apart from moral considerations, the question, so far as India is concerned, is generally discussed as if it were one affecting only the public resources of the Indian Administration, but it is much more far-reaching. The amount of revenue realised is but a part, and not the greater part, of the actual pecuniary value of the poppy crop and its products, while the well-being and happiness of hundreds of thousands of the people of India would be greatly affected by its extinction. I propose in this paper first to show the real value of that crop, and what it is that India is asked to sacrifice in order to satisfy the theories of a party of English philanthropists, whose excellent intentions in the cause of morality are only equalled by their determination to ignore all but the one side of the question, on which they have fixed their attention, and which serves their purpose.

It must be admitted that one of the surest signs of the progressive prosperity of a country is the increase of its external trade. The conditions which favour the development of foreign commerce are peace and liberty; the establishment of good and equitable laws and their just administration; the utmost freedom, consistent with the rights of others, to individuals in utilising the sources of production at their disposal; the extension of facilities of communication within the country and with other countries; lightness of taxation—in a word, all the conditions of good government. Tried by this test, the British Government of India can show a splendid record. So long as the exclusive-trading privileges of the East India Company existed they acted as a check on the free development of foreign trade, but on their final abolition in 1833, when the trade of India was thrown open to the mercantile world, it rapidly increased. In 1833-34 the value of the total exports of merchandise from British India was under $\text{Rs. } 8,000,000$ sterling. In fifteen years after that they had about doubled. The increase then became more rapid, and, when assisted by the extension of railways in India, advanced by leaps and bounds. In the year 1890-91 the value of merchandise exported from India was over $\text{Rs. } 100,000,000$, or more than twelve times the exports of 1833-34.

Long before British rule was established in India, opium was exported thence to China, and the trade in it, in common with all other trade, naturally developed under that rule. In the five years ending with 1833-34, the average quantity of opium exported was about 17,500 chests. The highest point to which it has ever attained was in 1879-80, when 105,508 chests were exported, but the present average is about 90,000 chests. Thus, while the general exports have increased twelve fold, opium exports have increased only about five and a half times in volume in fifty-seven years. The cause of this will be found in the restrictive measures of the Government of India, to which I shall presently refer.

India is essentially an agricultural country, and nearly the whole of its exports consists of products of the soil. One of the most important and valuable of

these products is the opium-yielding poppy. It is impossible to state with accuracy when this plant was first introduced into India. There is little record of its early history, but it is known that the Muhammadans had succeeded, in the 15th century, in introducing the cultivation of the poppy into Cambay and Malwa, and that when the Emperor Akbar, in the latter half of the next century, established the Moghal Empire over Central India, he found Malwa opium a characteristic product of that country.

Dr. George Watt, who has recently compiled a complete monograph on the subject of opium, which has been printed by order of the House of Commons, points out that Abul Fazl (the historian of Akbar's times) specially states that poppy culture was chiefly practised in Fatehpur, Allahabad, and Ghazipur. We learn that the founder of the Moghal civil dynasty and his successors regarded opium as of necessity a State monopoly. They found it, however, at once the most convenient and successful course to farm out the right to manufacture and to sell the drug. Dr. Bernier, the French traveller, who was in India from 1656 to 1668, speaking of the Rajputs and their martial qualities, wrote: "From an early age they are accustomed to the use of opium, and I have been astonished to see the large quantity they swallow." Tavernier, who was in India at the same period, incidentally mentions the Dutch trade in opium, which they obtained from Burhanpur in exchange for their pepper.

Captain A. Hamilton, in 1727, wrote: "The Chiefs of Calicut for many years had traded between 500 and 1,000 chests of Bengal opium yearly up in the inland countries, where it is very much used."

The Abbé Reynal, in 1770, described Patna as being the most celebrated place in the world for the cultivation of opium, and stated that, besides what was carried into the inland parts, there were annually 3,000 or 4,000 chests exported, each weighing 300 lbs.

There is ample evidence in the old records of the India Office, which have lately been examined by Sir George Birdwood, to prove that a large trade had been going on in opium between India and surrounding countries long before the East India Company, in 1773, undertook the supervision of the manufacture of opium in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

The Company, in fact, inherited from the Moghal Government this important and legitimate source of revenue on an article of luxury which India had shown itself capable of producing in high perfection, and for which there was a large demand both in and out of that country. At first they continued the system of farming out the exclusive right of opium manufacture, but this was found to entail many abuses. Amongst them was the pressure brought by the contractors, in spite of the most stringent regulations to the contrary, on the cultivators, whom they forced to carry on the cultivation, and whom they cheated in various ways. It also led to the adulteration of the drug and its illicit vend. The consequences were so injurious to the revenue, that, in 1797, the contract system was abandoned, and the Government assumed the monopoly of manufacture through its own agencies, a system which has remained in force until the present day. There was, indeed, at that time, no practical alternative. The strongest opponent to the system of Government manufacture would hardly contend that the growth of the poppy and the manufacture of opium should have been left free and unrestricted, as that would infallibly have led to a great increase in the produce of the drug, and probably to its deterioration. On the other hand, if it ever entered into the conception of the court of directors to suppress, in the interests of morality, the cultivation of the poppy in the territories then in their possession, it is doubtful whether they would have had the power in those times to have done so, and it is certain that they could not have controlled the production of the vast poppy-growing tracts outside those territories in Malwa, Cambay, and elsewhere. The only result would have been, that the opium consumers in India would have been supplied from sources outside British territory, and that the export trade would have been trans-

ferred to ports other than British. It would certainly have been impossible in those days to establish a Customs line to prevent the entry of opium into the Company's possessions. The Company would have sacrificed its revenue, and no one would have been benefited except the people of the territories outside the Company's possessions, at the expense of those within them.

The State monopoly continues to be administered by the Bengal Government, although its operations now extend into the North-west Provinces and Oudh. Under it, no person may cultivate the poppy except with a licence from the Government, and every cultivator is bound to sell the opium produced from his crop to the Government, in whose two factories, at Patna and Ghazipur, it is manufactured into the opium of commerce. A portion of the manufactured opium is retained for consumption in India through vendors licensed by the Excise Department, and the remainder is sold monthly, by auction, in Calcutta to merchants, who export it. The Government prescribes rules for the cultivation of the poppy, the manufacture, possession, transport, import or export, and sale of opium, and any contravention of such rules is subject to stringent penalties, which may extend to imprisonment for one year or fine of 1,000 rupees, or both. Poppy illegally cultivated, and opium the subject of any offence against the law, is liable to confiscation, together with the vessels, packages, and coverings in which it is found, and their other contents, and the animals and conveyances used in carrying it.

Like most crops, the poppy is subject to wide seasonal fluctuations, which formerly greatly affected the market prices of opium, led to speculation and gambling amongst the buyers for export, and caused corresponding uncertainty in the Government revenue. When, owing to the shortness of the supply, the price in Calcutta rose high, the direct effect was to stimulate the production of other opium competing in the foreign market with the Bengal drug, and amongst these the native production of China. Thus—and I would call particular attention to this fact, as having an important bearing on the question before us—the diminution of the supply of Indian opium to China was an incentive to the extension of poppy cultivation in China. To remedy the evils thus arising from the uncertainties of the seasons, the Government decided, twenty-five years ago, to limit the sales of opium in Calcutta to a quantity which would permit the formation of a reserve stock in plenteous years to meet deficiency in years of scarcity.

In the six years previous to 1867, the number of chests sold in a year varied from 21,423 to 64,111, and the price from Rs. 1,449 to Rs. 956 per chest. In 1867 the system of regulating the quantities annually sold, with the view of preventing such extreme oscillations in the price, was commenced.

In 1869, owing to short crops, before there had been time to form a sufficient reserve, there were less than 45,000 chests brought to auction. Sir Richard Temple, who was in charge of the financial department, in his Budget statement, made the following remarks:—

“The Government of Bengal is taking active measures for increasing the supply of opium for the China market to 50,000 chests annually, and for securing a reserve supply which may assure the public as to the quantity to be brought to sale, and may conduce to the checking of undue speculation in prices. There is fear that unless the supply can be improved next season, after these two deficient seasons, the cultivation of the poppy in China itself will be stimulated. For some time past positive accounts have been received of the increase of this culture in China. So it is clear that unless Bengal produces enough opium the Chinese will raise it for themselves. And if the Chinese will have opium, they may as well get it first-rate from us, as second-rate at home, and they may as well consume it taxed as untaxed. Again, if they do not procure it from us, they might procure it from other countries of Asia. The culture of the poppy in Persia is increasing, and some 4,000 chests are exported annually from that country.”

Here we have an exposition of the policy of the Government of India. Recognising the fact that the Chinese demand a large supply of opium, and that to whatever extent India was unable to satisfy that demand, it would be met, either by increase of the produce in China itself, or by increased imports from other countries, the Government of India has thought it right, in the interests of the people of India, to shape its measures so as not to lose the natural advantages India possesses in the superior quality of its produce. Any one familiar with the records of the Government

of India relating to this subject, must admit this is a fair representation of its policy and motives, and that nowhere in those records can be found any indication of a desire to stimulate the consumption of opium by the Chinese.

In pursuance of this policy, the Government yearly regulates the extent of the poppy cultivation, guided chiefly by the market prices and the stock of opium in hand. No one is forced to grow a crop of poppy against his will. The sole inducement is the price offered by the Government for the produce. For the past ten years this price has been 5 rupees a seer, which is exactly equivalent to 2½ lbs. troy. The Government makes advances, not bearing interest, before the crop is sown, and from time to time during its progress, thus saving the ryots from the exorbitant demands of the village money-lender. The crop, which is sown in the autumn and gathered in the spring, succeeds an autumn crop usually of Indian corn. The yield of opium per acre varies. For the five years ending 1889-90, the average produce per acre was a little over 18 lbs. avoirdupois, which, at 5 rupees a seer, gave the cultivator a gross return of near 40 rupees per acre. In addition to this, he receives payment for the poppy flower petals and the stalks and leaves, which are used in the factory for packing the opium cakes. The total average annual payments by the Bengal Government to the poppy cultivators exceed Rs. 2,000,000.

Besides the produce purchased by the Government, the seeds of the poppy are an important article of consumption and commerce. They are eaten parched, or employed as a condiment in the preparation of food; but perhaps their chief use is for the expression of oil, for which purpose they are not only largely used in India, but are exported in considerable quantities, chiefly to Belgium, France, and the United Kingdom. The average produce of seed per acre, after deducting what is required for sowing, is stated to be about 260 lbs., yielding, by native processes, from 80 to 100 lbs. of oil. This oil is edible, and is used largely in Europe, either as a substitute for, or adulteration of, salad oil. It is also used for illumination, mixing with paints, soap, and varnish-making. The oil-cake is eaten by the poorer classes and by cattle, being rich in nitrogen. The young seedlings, which are removed at the first weedings of the crop, are sold and eaten as a salad. I may state that these by-products of the poppy crop are perfectly free from opium.

In spite, therefore, of the labour entailed in the culture of the poppy, which requires frequent watering, and in spite of the vicissitudes of the season, which greatly affect this crop, the cultivation is popular, and the refusal of licences is looked upon as a grievance by the ryots, as well as the landowners, to whom they pay their rent.

As I have already stated, the cultivator is bound by law to deliver the whole of the opium produced to the Government agents. It is then manufactured at the factories at Ghazipur or Patna, into the opium of commerce, under the supervision of the scientific experts who are employed by the Government. The greatest care is taken to preserve the purity of the drug and the uniformity of its consistence. It is owing to this care, added to the natural advantages of soil and climate, that Indian opium has maintained its high reputation in the Chinese market, where it is admitted by the practical test of price to be far superior to the drug produced in China. Sir Robert Hart, the Inspector-General in China, in a report written in 1881, states that “the native product sells for one-half of the price obtained for the foreign drug.” By “consistence” is meant the per-centage of fine opium obtained after evaporating the moisture. The standard differs in the two agencies. At the Patna factory (Behar Agency) the standard is 75, and at Ghazipur (Benares Agency) the standard is 70, for what is called “Provision opium,” that is, opium to be sold for export, while for Excise opium, intended for consumption in India, the standard at each factory is 90. By the end of July, the manufacture is finished, but the airing and drying are continued until October, when it is formed into balls, weighing each 3½ lbs. avoirdupois, and packed in chests. Forty balls are allotted to each chest of provision opium, which thus contains 140 lbs. From the difference of consistence a Behar chest contains 105 lbs. of fine opium, while a Benares chest only 96 lbs. of fine opium. A chest of Excise opium from the superior consistence contains one cwt. of fine opium.

The Provision opium is sent to Calcutta, where it is sold for export at auction by monthly instalments. The average quantity sold annually for the five years

ending 1889-90 was 55,349 chests. During the last three of these years, and to the end of 1891, it was 57,000 a year. During the present calendar year, 1892, it has been notified that not more than 54,000 chests will be sold. In determining the number of chests to be annually manufactured and sold the Government is guided principally by the state of the reserve stock, the aim being to keep up a reserve equal to half a year's supply. It is also guided, as I have already stated, by the prices obtained at auction. If the prices rise much, production in China and Persia is stimulated, and it is necessary to increase the production in India to maintain its market; on the other hand, if the prices fall low, and opium becomes cheap, consumption is stimulated, and the production has to be restricted. The object of the Government, as I have explained, is to maintain, so far as possible, uniformity in the price, and thus to avoid fluctuations in the market and in the revenue.

The average annual auction sale proceeds for the five years ending 1889-90, were Rs. 6,267,703, giving the average of Rs. 1,132 per chest. In the year 1890-91 they fell below Rs. 6,000,000, owing to the extension of the cultivation in China. The published statistics of the exports of opium from Calcutta, closely conform to these figures, showing an average export of 56,388 chests, valued at Rs. 6,175,542.

The Bengal Government supplies the Excise Department not only in Bengal, but also in all the other provinces, except the Madras and Bombay presidencies, with opium for consumption in India. The average quantity so supplied is about 4,500 chests a year, and the price credited to the Opium Department is Rs. 7½ a seer, equivalent to Rs. 435 a chest. The average receipts from this source amount to Rs. 200,000 a year. The opium is sold to the consumers through licensed vendors, to whom it is supplied at an enhanced price, and who have to pay fees for the licenses to vend. The average receipts by the local governments from this source amount to about Rs. 800,000 a year.

The declared value of the poppy seed exported from Bengal on the average of the five years ending 1890-91, was Rs. 175,000.

Summing up these figures, we obtain the following result for the Bengal poppy crop:—

	Rs.
Auction sale proceeds on opium for export	6,000,000
Excise opium credited to opium department	200,000
Receipts of Provincial Government from the vend of Excise opium	800,000
Value of poppy seed exported	175,000
Total Rs.	7,175,000

In order to arrive at the ultimate annual value of the Bengal poppy crop, we must add several items which cannot be precisely estimated. These are the profits to Indian merchants and shippers on the opium exported, the profits to the Indian vendors of Excise opium, the value of the poppy seed consumed in India as seed-oil or oil-cake, and of the young plants used as food, and finally, the value of the illicit opium, which, in spite of all precautions, the cultivators are able to pass into consumption. On a moderate estimate, the value of this large trade cannot be taken at less than Rs. 3,000,000, bringing up the annual total value of the Bengal poppy crop to over Rs. 10,000,000, or, say, 7,000,000, sterling.

The territory in which this crop is produced may be described as a belt of country between 500 and 600 miles in length, with an average breadth of 180 miles, running north-west and south-east, between the 78th and 85th parallels of longitude, and the 24th and 29th parallels of latitude. The total area may be taken at about 100,000 square miles lying in the provinces of Behar (Bengal), the North-West Provinces and Oudh. The average area cultivated with poppy for the five years ending 1889-90 was 527,200 acres, but in the last of those years was only 482,557, or 754 square miles, only three-quarters per cent. of the whole tract referred to, and this for only half the year, as another crop is almost invariably obtained from the same land during the other half. In the year 1889-90, no fewer than 1,322,355 cultivators were employed on the crop, while over 3,000 Hindoos and Muhammedans were employed by the Government in the factories and administration of the department.

The only other province in British India where the poppy is allowed to be cultivated is the Punjab. It is

there grown under license in nearly every district. In 1889-90, the total area so cultivated was 14,458 acres, or under 23 square miles. Formerly, an acreage duty of Rs. 2 per acre was charged throughout the province, but, under new rules, it may be increased to Rs. 8, and has been increased to Rs. 4 in several districts. The cultivator may dispose of his poppy crop standing, to license-holders, who extract the opium; or he may extract the opium himself, and dispose of it, or of the produce, in the shape of poppy heads, to licensed vendors. The average annual supply of opium from this source, for the three years ending 1889-90, was something over 1,650 mannds, which would be equivalent to 1,100 Bengal Excise chests, though, probably, the opium is less carefully manufactured, and is of a lower consistency. The poppy heads are used as an infusion, forming a poppy tea, which is drunk by the Sikhs, who are forbidden by their religion to use tobacco in any form. The value of the Punjab poppy crop can only be estimated. The average retail price of the opium is about Rs. 20 a seer, or Rs. 800 a mandd, so that, from this source alone, it yields Rs. 132,000 on the average annual produce. Adding the value of the poppy heads, seed, and other by-products, and of illicit opium, which cannot fall short of Rs. 18,000, we get a total of Rs. 150,000, or say 100,000.

Outside of British India, the cultivation of the poppy is confined to certain native states in Central India and Rajputana, and the territory of the Gaikwar. The opium there produced is known by the generic name of Malwa opium. There are no trustworthy statistics showing the acreage under poppy, or the total quantity of opium produced. After providing for the home consumption within the native states, which must be a very large quantity, as the habit of consuming opium there has been long established and is widespread, the remainder is consumed in those parts of British India not supplied with Bengal opium, also in Hyderabad and Mysore, or is exported by sea to China, the Straits Settlements, &c.

The importation of Malwa opium into British territory is subject to very stringent regulations. Previous to the year 1831, by separate treaties with the native States, the British Government reserved to itself a monopoly of Malwa opium, which was purchased by the British Resident at Indore, and sold by auction either at Bombay or Calcutta. But in that year it was deemed advisable, chiefly on account of the large quantity of opium smuggled to the Portuguese settlements on the coast, to relinquish the monopoly (which involved much unpalatable interference in the internal affairs of the native States), to open the trade to the operations of private enterprise, and to substitute, as a source of revenue, the grant, at a specified rate of duty, of passes to cover the transit of Malwa opium through British territory. This rate was at first fixed at Rs. 175 a chest, but as the resources of the administration for the prevention of smuggling improved, the British Government have been enabled gradually to increase the pass duty until it amounted to Rs. 700 per chest. In fixing the rate, regard is had to the prices obtained for Bengal opium. If the rate be too low, Malwa opium is unduly favoured in its competition with Bengal opium, and if it be too high, not only is smuggling encouraged, but the price of Bengal opium rises, leading to an increased cultivation of the poppy either in Bengal or in China. The present rate on opium for foreign export is Rs. 600 a chest, except on a small number of chests, weighed at Ajmere, where the rate is Rs. 625. The rate on opium imported for local consumption in the Bombay Presidency remains at Rs. 700 per chest.

All opium transported out of the native States of Central India, Rajputana, and Baroda, has to be weighed and tested at scales established at convenient places in those States under the superintendence of officers of the British Government. The transport is permitted only under passes granted on payment of the duty and by certain specified railway routes. The annual quantity passed at the scales may be taken now at 30,000 chests. A chest of Malwa opium contains the same quantity as a chest of Bengal provision opium, namely 140½ lb. avoirdupois; but its consistency is considerably higher, being from 90 to 95 per cent. of fine opium. Consequently, it has a higher average value. The average exports for the five years ending 1890-91 were 32,540 chests, valued at over Rs. 4,000,000. The remainder of the Malwa opium leaving the native States—about 2,000 chests—is consumed in India, chiefly in the Bombay Presidency; but the Madras Presidency, Hyderabad, and Mysore are also supplied

from this source, and some goes to the Punjab. The value of these 2,000 chests may be taken at about Rs. 250,000, making a total value, for 32,000 chests, of Rs. 4,250,000. To this must be added, as in the case of the Bengal opium, the profits of the merchants and shippers exporting the opium, and of the vendors in India, say nearly Rs. 1,500,000.

The average annual exports of poppy seed from Bombay are valued at Rs. 212,697. They amounted, in 1890-1, to Rs. 310,930. Thus, the total annual value of the Malwa opium brought into British territory, and of the Malwa poppy seed exported from India, cannot be less than 4,000,000.

There remains to be considered the value of the Malwa opium consumed in the native states of Central India, Rajputana, and Baroda; also the value of the Malwa poppy seed not exported from India, and of the other by-products of the crop. As I have already said, there are no data available for ascertaining or estimating the acreage under poppy cultivation in the native states in question, much less for determining the quantity and value of the whole products of that crop. The population of those states is 21,750,000, or about one-tenth of the population of the rest of India. We know that the people of these states have, for centuries, been in the habit of consuming opium, we know that the restrictions placed on the cultivation of the poppy, and on the vend of opium in British India, do not exist in these states, and we know that a vast quantity of opium is smuggled out of them. If we estimate the value of the crop, exclusive of the value of the product licitly exported, at 2,000,000, it will certainly be under the real value.

The total annual value of the poppy crops in India thus appears to be as follows:—

	£
Bengal crop	7,000,000
Punjab crop	100,000
Malwa crop, licitly consumed in British India and exported by sea	4,000,000
Malwa crop, consumed in Central India, Rajputana, and Baroda, and smuggled thence	2,000,000
Total	£13,100,000

This is divided between the producers and manufacturers, the landlords, the British and native administrations, the middlemen, merchants, shippers, vendors, &c. of India, and is paid by the ultimate consumers, principally Chinese.

Before leaving the commercial side of the question, there is one point to which I should like shortly to refer. It is the effect on the rupee exchange which would be produced by the cessation of the opium trade from India to China. The disbursements of the Government of India in England, usually called the Home Expenditure, are now about 17,000,000, annually. In order to provide this sum, the Secretary of State draws bills on India, which are purchased by persons in England who have to make payments, chiefly for the purchase of produce to be brought from the East for sale here. The Secretary of State's bills are, therefore, paid by the excess of exports from India over the imports to India. It is evident that, if there were a reduction in the excess exports from India, the demand for the Secretary of State's bills would be *pro tanto* reduced, and the exchange value of the rupee would fall. India exports to China—including the Treaty Ports—annually, merchandise to the value of near 14,000,000 of tens of rupees, the greater part of which is opium, and imports from thence merchandise and treasure of the value of very little over 5,000,000. How and where is the account adjusted? It is in England, to which China sends tea, silks, and other produce. Practically, therefore, the opium sent by India to China is paid for by remittances from England to India, which form part of the demand for the Secretary of State's bills. The cessation of this part of the demand would, therefore, have a very injurious effect on the rate of exchange at which those bills are sold, and would increase the heavy loss to which India is put by the rise in the silver price of gold.

Thirteen millions sterling is a very moderate estimate of the sum India is asked to sacrifice annually by suppressing her opium trade. The demand for this sacrifice is made not by the people of India, not by the people of China, not by the responsible administrators of those countries, but by an irresponsible

party of philanthropists seeking to obtain their ends by the despotic action of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, in which India has no representatives.

What are the reasons put forth for demanding the despotic destruction by a foreign country of a valuable Indian industry, which, besides satisfying an internal demand in India itself, provides one-tenth of the whole export trade of merchandise from India?

The basis of this demand is the hypothesis that, except for medicinal purposes, the use of opium is wholly pernicious, that it demoralises and ruins, body and soul, the consumer, and that it produces no countervailing benefits which for a moment can be compared with the evils it causes.

A second reason given is that the English people have created the demand for opium by the Chinese, that they have compelled the importation of Indian opium into China by force of arms, and that they are, therefore, morally responsible for the asserted degradation of the Chinese from the use of this drug.

I shall now proceed to examine the validity of these reasons, and I shall begin with the second.

If there is one fact more certain than any other connected with this question, it is that the people of China have used opium for centuries before the people of England had any voice in the affairs of India. A valuable "Historical Note on Opium in China" has recently been drawn up by Dr. Edkins, of the Chinese Customs Service, and published by order of Sir Robert Hart, the Inspector-General of the Imperial Maritime Customs of China. From this note it appears that opium was first brought to China by the Arabs early in the 8th century, and it is frequently mentioned by Chinese writers of that time. It seems at first to have been valued for its medicinal qualities; but that it was not confined to this is proved by quotations from the Chinese poets of the 10th century. One, named Su Ché, writing on the poppy, which he grew in his garden, says:—

"It is sown with wheat, and ripens with panieled millet; when growing, it may be eaten like the vegetables in spring. The seeds are like autumn millet. When ground, they yield a sap like cow's milk; when boiled, they become a drink fit for Buddhas. Old men, whose powers have decayed, who have little appetite, who, when they eat meat, cannot digest it, and when they eat vegetables cannot distinguish their flavour, should take this drink. Use a willow mallet and a stone basin to beat it. Boil it in water that has been sweetened with honey. It restores tranquility to the lungs and nourishes the stomach. For three years the door has been closed, and I have gone nowhere and come back from nowhere. I see here the 'Hermit of the Shade' (a Taoist priest) and the long-robed Buddhist priest; when they sit opposite I forget to speak. Then I have but to drink a cup of this poppy-seed decoction. I laugh, I am happy, I have come to Ying-ch'nan, and am wandering on the banks of its river. I seem to be climbing the slopes of the Lu Mountain in the far West."

Recipes for the use of opium medicinally appear from time to time in the works of Chinese writers of every subsequent century. Barbosa, a Portuguese geographical discoverer, who wrote early in the 16th century, affords evidence that the Arabs had begun to grow opium in India, and that it was exported to Siam and Pegu; and that it was brought to Malacca by Arabs and Gentiles (Hindoes) to exchange for cargoes of Chinese junks. In the Chinese tariffs of 1,589 and 1,615 opium is entered and rated. After citing a mass of evidence on the subject, Dr. Edkins concludes that—

"It appears plain that from the latter part of the 15th century, the manufacture of native opium has existed in China; and it is not only in recent years that there has been both native and foreign opium in the country."

It was not, however, until the first half of the 17th century that the practice of smoking opium commenced in China. This practice followed on the introduction of tobacco which was brought to China about 1620. Dr. Edkins writes:—

"In the time of the last Ming Emperor, who reigned from 1628 to 1644, tobacco smoking was prohibited, but the habit spread too rapidly to be checked by law. The origin of opium smoking is thus accounted for. Various ingredients were in various countries mixed with tobacco to try their effect; among them was opium."

In spite of repeated prohibitory edicts the habit of tobacco smoking became almost universal.

"This immense popularity of tobacco smoking was an indication of the readiness of the Chinese nation to adopt the use of narcotics. The same thing which took place in the 19th century with opium smoking occurred in the 17th century with tobacco smoking. The Confucian mind was shocked, the sense of propriety was wounded; but this did not prevent the rapid spread of both these modes of indulgence in all circles. Prohibitory edicts were issued in vain by Emperors animated by paternal affection for their people."

Opium smoking seems first to have commenced in Formosa. A native author quoted in 1746 described the process of smoking opium mixed with tobacco and hemp. It was used as an aid to sensual indulgence. In the year 1799 an edict was issued on opium smoking, prohibiting under the severest penalties the sale of opium, and the opening of opium-smoking houses. From that time forward they have been in theory a crime, but in practice have never been so treated. Opium continued to be imported and passed at the custom-houses, and the cultivation of the poppy in China continued to extend. It was not until 1773, after the conquest of Bengal by Clive that English merchants took up the import trade, which had steadily increased in the hands of the Portuguese, and it was not until 1781 that the East India Company became the traders in the drug. In 1767 the imports into China are said to have reached 1,000 chests, and the duty was three taels a chest. The statistics of trade from India were not then registered with the care and accuracy introduced later by the East India Company. It will be seen that the Abbé Raynal, in 1770, gives an export of from 3,000 to 4,000 chests from Patna alone. It was nominally imported as a medicinal drug, but in practice was used as a medicine and for smoking. It is thus amply proved that the English are not responsible for the introduction or use of opium in China.

In the beginning of this paper I have shown that the extension of the opium trade is only a part, and not an undue part, of the general extension of foreign trade which has developed under the English administration of India. But, it is said, the English have forced this trade on the Chinese. This was with China, which terminated in 1842, has been called the Opium War, and its immediate cause was no doubt the seizure and destruction by the Chinese of a large number of chests of Indian opium belonging to English merchants. But contemporary history shows that the real objections of the Chinese were not to the import of opium, but to the necessity of paying for it in silver. Commander J. Eliot Bingham, who served in that war, and wrote its history, shows that the imports into China of opium, metals, cotton, &c., exceeded the exports of tea, silk, &c., by 2,500,000 sterling. The Chinese held the economic fallacy that this state of things was injurious to their country, as it drained away their silver. The Imperial edicts enlarged more on the abstraction of their sycee silver than on the injury from opium to the morals of the people. One high Chinese official memorialised the Emperor "to permit the barbarian merchants to import opium as a medicine, and to require that, after having passed the Custom House it shall be delivered to the Hong merchants only in exchange for merchandise, and that no money be paid for it;" and further, that the exportation of money and sycee silver be prohibited. But to whatever extent the wars with China were connected with smuggling of Indian opium, it is certain that since 1858, when the Treaty of Tientsin was signed the Chinese Government has had a perfectly free hand in the matter of the importation of opium. By that treaty certain commercial concessions were arranged which included the legitimatising of the import of opium, subject to a duty being levied thereon. But in the treaty itself there was no mention of or allusion to the opium trade. Lord Elgin wrote that he intentionally abstained from urging any treaty recognition of that trade. The preparation of the tariff devolved on Mr. Lay, the Chinese Secretary to Lord Elgin's special mission, at the desire of the Chinese no less than that of Lord Elgin. Mr. Lay, in a letter to the "Times" of the 22nd October 1859, wrote:—

"When I came to 'opium,' I inquired what course they proposed to take in respect to it. The answer was, 'We have resolved to put it into the tariff as foreign medicine.' I urged a moderate duty in view of the cost of collection, which was agreed to. This represents with strict accuracy the amount of 'extortion' resorted to. . . . The Chinese Government admitted opium as a legal article of import, not under constraint, but of their own free will deliberately."

e 80970.

In the "Times" of the 25th of same month, a letter appeared from Mr. Laurence Oliphant, who was secretary to Lord Elgin's Mission, in which he confirmed the statement made by Mr. Lay. He says he, with the Commissioner appointed by the Chinese Government, went through the tariff elaborated by Mr. Lay with the subordinate Chinese officials:—

"When we came to the article 'opium' I informed the Commissioner that I had received instructions from Lord Elgin not to insist on the insertion of the drug in the tariff, should the Chinese Government wish to omit it. This he declined to do. I then proposed that the duty should be increased beyond the figures suggested in the tariff; but to this he objected, on the ground that it would increase the inducements to smuggling. . . . I trust that the delusion that the opium trade now existing with China was 'extorted' from that country by the British Ambassador may be finally dispelled."

In 1876, a convention or agreement, called the Chefoo Convention, was arrived at between the Governments of Great Britain and China, in which the British Minister, Sir Thomas Wade, promised to move his Government to make certain special arrangements as to the import of opium. These arrangements were finally carried out by an additional Article, signed at London in 1883. By this Article an addition to the import duty of 30 taels per chest was agreed to. It amounts to a further 80 taels per chest, and frees the opium from any further duty or tax whilst in transport in the interior, being, in fact, a composition of the *likin* tax. When the package is opened at the place of consumption, it is subject to any tax which may be levied on native opium.

During the three years ending 1890, the average import of opium into China was 78,360 piculs or chests, valued at 30,577,235 Haikwan taels. The average import duty was 2,355,650 taels; the opium *likin*, 6,278,922 taels, making a total receipt averaging 8,634,572 Haikwan taels per annum. What is called the par value of a Haikwan tael, measured in gold is 6s. 8d., that is, there are three such taels to the pound sterling. At this rate, the receipts of the Chinese Government from the import of opium are equivalent to 2,878,000l. a year. The great appreciation which has taken place in the value of gold has, of course, lowered the exchange value of the silver tael, and this, no doubt, affects China in the payment of debts to gold standard countries; but for internal purposes the value of the tael has been little affected. This large revenue, equal now to about 2,000,000l., and forming more than one third of the entire Customs revenue of China, is collected by the department presided over by Sir Robert Hart—a department admirably administered, and scrupulously accounting for its collections to the Imperial Government at Peking. The *likin* for which the payment of 80 taels per chest is a composition, was formerly collected as transit duties by the local Chinese authorities through whose provinces the opium passed. The Imperial Government received only such portion of the collections as they could manage to get out of the Provincial Governments, who, on the other hand, strove to retain as much as possible. The arrangements under the Chefoo Convention are, therefore, very advantageous to the Imperial Government at Peking, which cannot afford to dispense with this large revenue derived from the import of opium.

Another result of the Chefoo Convention has been greatly improved arrangements for the prevention of smuggling of opium from Hong Kong. A mixed Commission was appointed, including a Chinese officer of high rank, which resulted in an Ordinance of the Hong Kong Legislature passed in May 1887, by which the movement of opium into, within, and from Hong Kong is strictly regulated with the view to the prevention of smuggling into China.

It is clear then that Indian opium is now imported into China with the full approval and consent of the Chinese Government, who are at liberty to terminate the present arrangement at any time by giving twelve months' notice of their desire to terminate it. It is equally certain that Great Britain would never fire a gun to force Indian opium on the Chinese.

I have already referred to the early history of opium in China. Sir Robert Hart said, in 1881, that "Native opium was known, produced, and used long before any European began the sale of the drug along the coast." The production of opium in China has gone on steadily increasing, and has been encouraged by the restrictions and heavy taxation placed on India opium by the Government of India. All travellers and the consular

S

authorities testify to the vast areas under poppy cultivation. The produce of native opium has been estimated to be from three to ten times the quantity of the imported drug. Chinese opium is now much better prepared than it formerly was, and it has practically driven Indian opium out of the markets of Northern China, and, so far as we know, it supplies the bulk of the demand in the inland and western provinces. The local drug is much cheaper than imported opium. The Burma revenue officers are constantly striving to prevent importation of cheap Chinese opium into Burma.

Of the numerous recent travellers in China I will quote only Mr. Hosie, a consular agent, who, in 1883, travelled from February to June through the provinces of Sse-ch'uan, Yunnan, and Kueichon. His diary has almost daily references to the extensive poppy cultivation through which he passed. In many places it was the principal crop. With regard to the Government prohibition he writes:—

"I have noticed in several places west of the provincial capital a proclamation, dated the 9th November 1882, by the Governor-General of Sse-ch'uan, prohibiting the cultivation of the poppy, and enjoining a more extended sowing of the cereals. It was always more or less mutilated, whether intentionally or not I cannot say. At all events poppy was frequently growing on the side of the road opposite to that on which the proclamation was posted. It is one thing to issue instructions, another to see that they are carried out."

The prohibition is evidently in the nature of a pious opinion, meant for show and not for use.

Mr. Hosie, writing on the 5th June 1883, says:—

"It seems superfluous daily to mention poppy as a crop. To-day, however, it was exceedingly prominent, growing everywhere on the hill-sides and bottom lands. Large rice bowls, heaped with the drug, were exposed at the door of almost every shop in every hamlet and village, not a bowl here and there, but several, eight being a very common number. In fact the whole country reeks and stinks of opium."

With these facts before us, how can it be maintained that the consumption of opium in China can be affected by the imports of Indian opium, except in so far that these supply a purer and more expensive article, the suppression of which would lead to larger products of native opium of inferior quality?

I will here quote the opinion of the Rev. F. Galpin, of the English Methodist Free Church, a respected missionary at Ningpo, an important port on the east coast of China. When asked, about ten years ago, to join in a petition to the House of Commons against the opium, he refused to do so, and, in his letter of refusal, wrote:—

"I beg to express my hearty dissent from the idea presented in the petition that the Chinese people or Government are really anxious to remove the abuse of opium. The remedy has always been, as it is now, in their own hands. Neither do I believe that if the importation of Indian opium ceased at once, the Chinese Government would set about destroying a very fruitful means of revenue. On the contrary, I feel sure that the growth of Chinese opium would be increased forthwith."

I could multiply to any extent the evidence of the extensive cultivation of poppy in China, but I think I have said enough to show that it is a fact which cannot be denied.

I will now proceed to discuss the crucial question as to the effects of consuming opium, of which there are various forms. In China the usual form is by what is called smoking opium. In India it is eaten. In Europe it is drunk in the form of laudanum, or a tincture prepared in spirits of wine. We must consider what is the effect on the average consumer, and not confine our attention to the cases of those persons only who indulge in the habit to excess, cases which I shall show are exceptional.

The Anti-Opium Society look at only one side of this question, and they arrive at their conclusions by generalising over the whole number of opium consumers the results observed or recorded in the case of frequenters of what are called "opium dens." Even in these cases they make no allowance for the fact that many of the indulgers in the drug have been led to the habit by painful diseases, from which they have sought and found relief in opium, and that these diseases—not due but antecedent to the resort to the drug—largely account for the wretched appearance and condition of the patients. This is much as if one who derived his knowledge of the effects of alcohol solely from the gin palaces, or lower drinking shops in London, should con-

clude that habits of intoxication, brutality, and social and physical degradation there to be seen, were typical of the mass of alcohol consumers in England; in short that everyone who was not a total abstainer was a confirmed drunkard. We know this is untrue, and that the great body of Englishmen, whether of the upper or the working classes, take their liquor in moderation, and with positive benefit to themselves. So, too, with the consumers of opium in China and India. To prove this there is the evidence of numerous Englishmen who have resided for a long time in those countries, and whose duty it has been to acquaint themselves with the facts. Some of this evidence I will put before you.

It may be safely said that all but a very small percentage of the people of this country are absolutely ignorant of the normal effects of the habit of using opium. The popular ideas on the subject which prevail are largely due to Thomas De Quincey, who, in 1822, published the confessions of an English opium eater. Many have read this fascinating work, and many more have heard of it, and look upon De Quincey as the "shocking example" of such a habit. But I venture to say that his confessions completely disprove the allegations put forward by the opponents of the use of the drug. De Quincey (I am quoting Mr. Henry Morley) inherited a delicate and nervous constitution. His father died of consumption at the age of 39. In his youth he ran away from school, and, in the course of his subsequent adventures, passed through a period of hardship and want. He wrote that while wandering in Wales, where he seldom slept under a roof, he was reduced to one meal a day.

"From the keen appetite he says, produced by constant exercise and mountain air, acting on a youthful stomach, I soon began to suffer greatly on this slender regimen, for the single meal which I could venture to order was coffee or tea. Even this was at length withdrawn, and afterwards, so long as I remained in Wales, I subsisted either on blackberries, hips, haws, &c., or on the casual hospitalities which I now and then received in return for such little services as I had opportunity of rendering."

Soon after this he came to London.

"And now began the latter and fiercer stage of my long sufferings; without using a disproportionate expression, I might say, of my agony. For I now suffered, for upwards of 16 weeks, the physical anguish of hunger in various degrees of intensity, but as little perhaps as ever any human being can have suffered who has survived. . . . Let it suffice to say that a few fragments of bread from the breakfast-table of one individual (who supposed me to be ill, but did not know of my being in utter want), and these at uncertain intervals, constituted my whole support."

To these hardships he attributes the pains, which subsequently drove him to the daily use of opium. In 1804, when he was just 19 years of age, after suffering for about 20 days from excruciating rheumatic pains of the head and face, with hardly any respite, at the advice of a friend he took his first dose of laudanum. He thus describes the result:—

"That my pains had vanished was now a trifle in my eyes; this negative effect was swallowed up in the immensity of those positive effects which had opened before me—in the abyss of divine enjoyment thus suddenly revealed."

From this time, for about eight years, he regularly took laudanum, though not daily. He writes: "And how do I find my health after all this opium eating?" And he thus answers the question:—

"If I dared to say the real and simple truth, though to satisfy the theories of medical men I ought to be ill, I never was better in my life than in the spring of 1812; and I hope sincerely that the quantity of claret, port, or 'particular Madeira' which, in all probability you, good reader, have taken, and design to take, for every term of eight years during your natural life, may as little disorder your health as mine was disordered by the opium I had taken for eight years between 1804 and 1812."

In this last year he suffered much in bodily health from distress of mind connected with a very melancholy event, and in 1813 the internal pains he had suffered from in his boyhood again attacked him. He then began to take opium daily, and the habit so grew upon him that in a few years he was taking it at the rate of 340 grains a day, or about half a pint of laudanum. With marriage in view he gradually reduced it 40 grains. In 1816 he married, and had a large family of sons and daughters. He occasionally relapsed into excess of opium-taking, until the close of 1844. From that time

he reduced his allowance to 6 grains a day, and in his latter years De Quincey's life passed peacefully, free wholly from distress of mind. He died in 1859, in his 75th year. Here we have, then, the instance of a man, of a naturally delicate and nervous constitution, whose early life was subject to great physical hardship, who from the age of 19 indulged in the use of opium—for a long period in excessive quantities—and who yet retained his mental qualities unimpaired, led an active literary life, was one of the most brilliant, accomplished, and intellectual writers England has produced, and who lived to the good age of 75 years.

Now what does De Quincey, with his unparalleled experience, say of the effects of opium-taking? Here are his own words with respect to its bodily effects:—

"Upon all that has hitherto been written on the subject of opium, whether by travellers in Turkey (who may plead the privilege of lying as an immemorial right) or by professors of medicine, writing *ex cathedra*, I have but one emphatic criticism to pronounce—Lies! lies! lies!"

Again—
"It is not so much affirmed as taken for granted, by all who ever mention opium, formally and incidentally, that it does or can produce intoxication. Now, reader, assure yourself, *meo periculo*, that no quantity of opium ever did or could intoxicate. As to the tincture of opium (commonly called laudanum), that might intoxicate if a man could bear enough of it. But why? Because it contains so much proof spirit, and not because it contains so much opium. But crude opium, I affirm peremptorily, is incapable of producing any state of body at all resembling that which is produced by alcohol, and not in *degrees* only incapable, but even in *kind*. It is not in the quantity of its effects merely, but in the quality that it differs altogether. . . . The main distinction lies in this, that whereas wine disorders the mental faculties, opium on the contrary (if taken in a proper manner), introduces amongst them most exquisite order, legislation, and harmony."

With respect to the allegation that the elevation of spirits produced by opium is necessarily followed by a proportionate depression, De Quincey simply denies it—

"Assuring my reader that for 10 years, during which I took opium at intervals, the day succeeding to that on which I allowed myself this luxury was always a day of unusually good spirits."

Again—
"With respect to the torpor supposed to follow, or, rather (if we were to credit the numerous pictures of Turkish opium eaters), to accompany the practice of opium eating, I deny that also. Certainly, opium is classed under the head of narcotics, and some such effect it may produce in the end; but the primary effects of opium are always, and in the highest degree, to excite and stimulate the system. This first stage of action always lasted with me, during my novitiate, for upwards of eight hours; so that it must be the fault of the opium eater himself if he does not so time his exhibiting of the dose (to speak medically) as that the whole weight of its narcotic influence may descend upon his sleep."

De Quincey, in fact, used to take his dose before going to the Italian Opera, as he found it greatly increased his mental activity and appreciation of the entertainment. He observes that it is remarkable that, during the whole period of years through which he had taken opium, he had never once caught cold (as the phrase is), not even the slightest cough. It was not until De Quincey commenced to wean himself from the habit of taking excessive doses of the drug, that he experienced what he calls the pangs of opium. It kept its hold on him "by the tortures connected with the attempt to abjure it." Nevertheless, he succeeded, in a few weeks, in bringing down the quantities to a moderate amount. He writes: "The issue of my case" is at least a proof that opium, after a 17 years' use "and an eight years' abuse of its powers, may still be renounced."

So much for the experiences of an English opium eater. They are quite consistent with the assertion that the moderate use of opium, by a person in good health, may be continued for years, not only without any harmful effects, but with absolute benefit.

* Since De Quincey wrote this, the views of the medical profession as to the effects of opium consumption (especially such members of the profession as have had wide experience in India and China) have greatly modified, and are now more in accordance with the conclusions of De Quincey.

Let us now see what is the effect on the Chinese, who resort to the more innocuous habit of smoking opium. In February 1862 three lectures were given in St. James's Hall by the late Mr. William Brereton, and were subsequently published under the title, "The Truth About Opium." Mr. Brereton lived and practised as a solicitor for nearly fifteen years in Hong Kong, where he had daily experience of the custom and effects of opium smoking. He was in no way engaged in the opium trade, and had no pecuniary interest in it, but felt it his duty to endeavour to dispel what he called the unfounded delusions which have taken possession of the public mind on the subject. His book is a storehouse of facts and arguments. It is written in a bright and intelligent style, and I strongly recommended its perusal to anyone interested in the question. The fact have never been denied, or the arguments answered by anyone having a personal knowledge of the subject. I shall take the liberty of quoting largely from this book.

Mr. Brereton commences by stating that, having had daily intercourse with the people from whom the best and most trustworthy information on the subject of opium and opium smoking could be obtained, his experience is that opium smoking as practised by the Chinese is perfectly innocuous, and that this is a fact so patent that it forces itself upon the attention of every intelligent resident in China who has given ordinary attention to the subject. He quotes numerous high authorities in support of this view. The first is Dr. Philip Ayres, Inspector of Hospitals of Hong Kong for many years, who both in India and in China made the subject of opium consumption a special study, and who had a large native practice amongst the Chinese.

In a report to the Government of Hong Kong for the year 1881, Dr. Ayres wrote:—

"I have come to the conclusion that opium smoking is a luxury of a very harmless description."

In an article of the "Friend of China," written by Dr. Ayres, he says:—

"My opinion is that it (opium smoking) may become a habit, but that that habit is not necessarily an increasing one. Nine out of twelve men smoke a certain number of pipes a day, just as a tobacco smoker would, or as a wine or beer drinker might drink his two or three glasses a day, without desiring more. I think the excessive opium smoker is in a greater minority than the excessive spirit drinker or tobacco smoker. In my experience, the habit does no physical harm in moderation. . . . I do not wish to defend the practice of opium smoking, but in the face of the rash opinions and exaggerated statements in respect of this vice, it is only right to record that no China resident believes in the terrible frequency of the dull, sodden-witted, debilitated opium smoker met with in print, nor have I found many Europeans who believe that they ever get the better of their opium smoking comrades in matters of business."

Another authority is Mr. John Crawford, F.R.S., a *sevant* of high reputation, who had been Governor of the Straits Settlements, and who had resided and travelled for many years in those parts of the East and India. In 1856, he published a "Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries." This is what he writes about opium:—

"Opium is at present largely consumed in the Malayan Islands, in China, in the Indo-Chinese countries, and in a few parts of Hindustan, much in the same way in which ardent spirits, malt liquor, and cider are consumed in Europe. Its deleterious character has been much insisted on, but, generally, by parties who have had no experience of its effects. Like any other narcotic, or stimulant, the habitual use of it is amenable to abuse, and as being more seductive than other stimulants, perhaps more so, but this is certainly the utmost that can be safely charged to it. Thousands consume it without any pernicious results, as thousands do wine and spirits, without any evil consequence. I know of no person of long experience and competent judgment who has not come to this common-sense conclusion."

He then proceeds to quote Dr. Oxley—

"A physician and naturalist of eminence, and who has had a larger experience than any man of Singapore, where there is the highest rate of the consumption of the drug."

Dr. Oxley wrote:—

"The inordinate use, or rather abuse, of the drug most decidedly does bring on early decrepitude, loss of appetite, and a morbid state of the secretions; but I have seen a man who has used the drug for 50 years

in moderation, without any evil effects; and one man I recollect in Malacca who had so used it was upwards of eighty. Several in the habit of smoking it have assured me that, in moderation, it neither impaired the functions nor shortened life; at the same time, fully admitting the deleterious effects of too much."

Mr. Crawford sums up the question by this assertion:—

"Not the use, then, but the abuse of opium is prejudicial to health, but in this respect it does not materially differ from wine, distilled spirits, malt liquor, or hemp juice."

Dr. Eatwell, First Assistant Opium Examiner in the service of the Government, gave the following evidence:—

"Having passed three years in China, I may be allowed to state, as the result of my observation, and I can affirm thus far, that the effects of the abuse of the drug do not come very frequently under observation, and that when cases do occur, the habit is frequently found to have induced by the presence of some painful chronic disease, to escape from the suffering of which the patient has fled to this resource. . . . As regards the effects of the habitual use of the drug on the mass of the people, I must affirm that no injurious results are visible. The people are generally a muscular and well-formed race, the labouring portion being capable of great and prolonged exertion under a fierce sun, in an unhealthy climate."

Dr. Eatwell concludes by observing that:—

"The proofs are still wanting to show that the moderate use of opium produces more pernicious effects upon the constitution than does the moderate use of spirituous liquors; whilst, at the same time, it is certain that the consequences of the abuse of the former are less appalling in their effect upon the victims, and less disastrous to society at large, than are the consequences of the abuse of the latter."

For many years previous to 1858, Dr. Sinibaldo de Mae had been the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Court of Spain at Peking. He had travelled much in China, India, Java, Borneo, and Malacca, and learned the Chinese language. In 1858 he published a book in French entitled "*L'Angleterre, le Chine, et l'Inde*," in which special reference is made to the opium question, with which he says he had made himself fully acquainted. I will only quote a few words:—

"It is a well known fact that in all these countries, notwithstanding their unwholesome climates, the opium-smoking Chinese are remarkably healthy and strong. These very opium-smokers are employed as farm labourers, masons, and porters, enduring great fatigue and performing the most arduous labours: they have acquired such an excellent reputation as colonists that efforts have been made during the last few years to induce them to settle in Lima and Cuba. The percentage of deaths among these people does not exceed the usual rate, and I must confess that having known numbers of Chinese emigrants in the various countries I have mentioned, I have never heard of a single death or any serious illness having been caused by opium smoking."

Baron Richthofen, the most experienced traveller who ever visited Sse-ch'uan, after noticing the extraordinary prevalence there of the habit of opium smoking, says:—

"In no other province except Hunan did I find the effects of the use of opium so little perceptible as in Sse-ch'uan."

Mr. Colman Baler, who knew more of that province and its people than any living Englishman, says:—

"Nowhere in China are the people so well off, or so hardy, and nowhere do they smoke so much opium."

Mr. W. Donald Spence, Her Majesty's Consul at Tchang, in 1881, visited the capital of Sse-ch'uan. He reported the enormous extent of the cultivation of the poppy, and described whole districts as being one vast poppy field, and he thus speaks of the people:—

"I found the people of Sse-ch'uan stout, able-bodied men, better housed, clad, and fed, and healthier looking than the Chinese of the Lower Yang-tze. I did not see amongst them more emaciated faces and wasted forms than disease causes in all lands. People with slow wasting diseases, such as consumption, are, if they smoke opium, apt to be classed amongst the 'ruined victims' of hasty observers; and amongst the cases of combined debility and opium smoking I saw, some were, by their own account, pseudo-victims of this type. There were some, too, whose health was com-

pletely sapped by smoking combined with other forms of sensual excess. And no doubt there were others weakened by excessive smoking simply, for excess in all things has its penalty. But the general health and well-being of the Sse-ch'uan community is remarkable: to their capacity for work and endurance of hardship, as well as to the material comforts of life they surround themselves with, all travellers bear enthusiastic testimony."

Time will not allow me to extend these quotations, although there is a mass of concurrent evidence on the subject. I will, however, add that of Sir Henry Pottinger, H.M.'s Governor-General and Minister Plenipotentiary in China, contained in a despatch written some 60 years ago, to the Foreign Office:—

"I cannot admit in any manner the idea adopted by many persons, that the introduction of opium into China is a source of unmitigated evil of every kind and a cause of misery. Personally, I have been unable to discover a single case of this kind, although I admit that, when abused, opium may become most hurtful. Besides, the same remark applies to every kind of enjoyment when carried to excess; but, from personal observations since my arrival in China; from information taken upon all points; and, lastly, from what the mandarins themselves say, I am convinced that the demoralisation and ruin which some persons attribute to the use of opium, arise more likely from imperfect knowledge of the subject and exaggeration, and that not one hundredth part of the evil arises in China from opium smoking which one sees daily arising in England, as well as in India, from the use of ardent spirits, so largely taken in excess in those countries."

The picture drawn by the opponents of opium is that those who are in the habit of using it are a set of degraded, depraved, miserable wretches, enfeebled in mind and body, unfit for the active duties of life—thieves, vagabonds, and beggars. They do not admit—or, at any rate, never refer to the possibility of—the existence of moderate consumers, who, although they take their daily dose, are not only none the worse for it, but are actually benefited. The only exception which I have found is the Venerable Archdeacon Moule, who was for many years a missionary in China, and who has recently published his recollections of his life in that country. The Archdeacon is violently opposed to the opium trade, and has no words too bad for it: but he writes:—

"Instances which have come under my notice make me think that opium smoking is already taking the place, not of abuse of alcohol (which it has hitherto held) in Chinese moral estimation, but of the use of alcohol; and that it is becoming possible to take the drug in moderation." He very sensibly adds that the Chinese have a fair right to say to the English people, "If you would prohibit our opium, abolish your alcohol."

But this ingenious discovery of the possibility of the Chinese taking opium in moderation, as the mass of Englishmen take alcohol in moderation, has been known to every resident of China who has taken the trouble to inform himself of all the facts, and has not confined his attention to opium dens.

I will now examine the evidence as to the effect of opium consumption by the people of India. A Parliamentary Blue Book was published on this subject a few weeks ago. It contains the reply of the Government of India to a memorial of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, complaining of the increased consumption of the drug in India—a complaint which has been triumphantly disproved. This Blue Book contains the opinions of experienced officers engaged in the administration of the country, writing from their own personal knowledge, which it was a part of their duty to acquire, as to the effects of opium consumption on the people of India.

Now, let us see what these experienced gentlemen say. I will quote their evidence from every part of India.

The Province of Assam has a population of a little over 4,000,000, or about 2 per cent. of the whole population of British India. They consume 13 per cent. of the whole quantity of opium retailed by licensed vendors in British India. The following is the testimony of Mr. Driberg, Commissioner of Excise in Assam:—

"I am not prepared to admit that the present use of opium in Assam is a 'vice.' In most cases it is a necessity. When we first acquired Assam (I now speak of the Assam Valley) every villager grew his own opium, just as he now does his vegetables or his

chillies for his curry. He has no tax to pay for his opium field, no restrictions placed on him. The former rulers recognised that a certain amount of the drug was necessary. Taking it broadly, and excluding tea gardens, the valley is inhabited by two classes; the Cacharies, Lalongs, Mechees, and other aboriginal tribes, who reside on the higher submontane tracts, or along the high banks of the larger rivers, and the Hindus, the Kolitas, Koshes, Keots, and others who reside in the low-lying country, subject annually to inundation, and always damp. The former people do not use opium; they do not require it; but the lowlanders use it. They are the opium eaters of Assam. They live in a low, damp part of the country. Year after year parts of their villages are submerged and temporarily abandoned; and these people use opium to counteract the damp and malaria. They themselves say that they would die from fevers, if they did not use opium; and I have known medical men, who have had much experience of the province, hold the same view. These people are opium eaters, but not of the class described in the papers. They are good agriculturists, good subjects, and good fathers of families. They take their opium just as a good Englishman would take his peg. Of course, there are Assamese who take too much opium, just as there are Englishmen who take too much liquor; but, that opium eating is always a vice I am not prepared to admit, so far as Assamese are concerned; and, that it is increasing, I deny, and the statement I have referred to proves my view. In the Surma Valley, little opium is consumed. The people there use ganja, rather than opium; and even there, the consumption of this drug is smaller now than it was in 1874-75, and the duty is higher."

The views of Sir Charles Elliott, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, an officer of long and wide experience in India, will be gathered from the following paragraph of his report to the Government of India:

"As to the proposal to limit the possession of opium to one tolah instead of five, its effect on the ordinary consumer of opium would be undesirable. A quarter of a tolah is a common, perhaps the commonest, dose taken daily by those who are addicted to the use of opium, and it is within Sir Charles Elliott's personal knowledge and experience that this quantity is taken by innumerable persons in all parts of India, from Rajputana and the Punjab to Assam, without any injury or physical deterioration; that heavy tasks are easily performed under the stimulus it supplies; and that the prevalent belief is that the stimulus is wholesome, even in a dry climate, and is especially beneficial in moist and marshy countries like Eastern Bengal. The consumer of such a dose can now procure his supply for 20 days by one visit to an opium shop; if the limit were reduced to one tolah, he would require to visit the shop every four days—an annoyance which there is no reason for imposing upon him, and the imposition of which would lead to increased smuggling and to breaches of the law."

The opium agent of Behar writes:—

"We have to consider the consumers of opium in the malarious alluvial tracts which form a great proportion of the area of these provinces. The use of opium by these people is not so much a vice as a necessity. Their vegetable diet would not keep them alive without stimulants, and I doubt whether it would be for their benefit to stop their opium and drive them to ganja or spirits. On the comparatively dry laterite soil the people are spirit drinkers. On the alluvial mud they either use opium or the far more deleterious ganja.* I do not believe that the prevention of the cultivation of the poppy in British India would cut off the supply of a drug which bears so high a value as opium, which the people believe to be so necessary to them, and which from its small bulk is, if the smell is disguised, very easily smuggled. I also doubt whether there is any equally efficient febrifuge within the reach of the people, and whether their health would not suffer greatly if they could not procure opium. It does not appear to produce such insanity as ganja does, and where people are as well fed as the Mahomedan ryots of Eastern Bengal, I am informed that opium smoking does not injure them. It is said to be opium smoking on insufficient food that affects the health."

"In conclusion, I may say that I believe there has been much exaggeration as to the scenes of intoxication to be witnessed in the chandu and madak shops. As I have already said, there is none in the retail opium

shops. I have visited shops in which more than a score of persons have been smoking chandu or madak without seeing any person lying intoxicated, or unable to answer my questions intelligently. I have also, however, seen persons in other shops lying asleep, and presumably intoxicated, but not many. It is, I believe, usual for the smokers of chandu, the Chinese preparation of opium, to sleep, presumably intoxicated, before leaving the premises; but in the madak shops this is by no means always the case, and I have seen many get up and go away quietly from the shop after smoking the drug. They have told me that they have no desire to sleep after it."

The Commissioner of Excise in the Central Provinces writes:—

"The eating of opium (as distinguished from smoking it) in moderate quantities, though generally held in disrepute and regarded as a vice by those who do not indulge in it, is not considered to be always harmful. Indeed, the current belief is that in certain localities and for certain ages and constitutions its use may be actually beneficial and conducive to health and longevity."

The Financial Commissioner of Burma says:—

"The Chinese at Bhamo and also in Mergui assured me that they could not exist in malarious countries, such as those in which the jade and amber mines and the tin mines are situated, without opium. As far as I know the use of opium is universal amongst the Chinese and hill tribes in feverish tracts. I believe that they seldom abuse the use of the drug, and I have every reason to suppose that its use is beneficial under certain conditions."

Sir Charles Aitchison, who was Chief Commissioner of Burma, says:—

"There are large numbers of the non-Burmese community, constituting perhaps the most thriving and industrious section of the population, to whom the drug is a necessity of life, and by whom it is rarely abused."

Mr. Copleston, the Commissioner of Excise in Burma, gives similar testimony. He says:—

"The use of opium by the Chinese and natives of Madras, who consume a considerable quantity, is not known or believed to work special evil either to individuals or to society, the reason being that these people do not abandon labour and active pursuits in order to eat or smoke opium, and its bad effects are therefore thrown off. The Chinese especially are well nourished, and this fact, too, appears to be an important one. In this case opium may almost be called a legitimate luxury."

It is true that the authorities in Burma seem to have arrived at the strange conclusion that opium is a benefit to everyone in that country, except the Burmese themselves, to whom it is said to be an unmitigated evil. No definite evidence of this is adduced. It seems to be based on the expressed opinion of certain Burmese gentlemen who do not use the drug.

The Government of Madras reports the result of the visit by an official to most of the "opium dens" in the town of Madras:—

"1. Most of the smoking dens were visited, and in each from 10 to 20 smokers were seen. They were of all ages—from 20 to 60 years of age—and comprised both Mahammadans and Hindus. Several professions were represented—jutka drivers, native doctors, musicians, professional beggars, butchers, sweetmeat sellers, and petty shop-keepers. Some were smokers of a few months, some of 20 and 30 years' standing."

"2. In most cases the smokers left immediately after they had finished their smoke. They purchased 3 pies to 3 annas and 6 pies worth each. Each smoker usually brought some sweetmeats or sugar-cane with him, and ate or chewed it while smoking. This, it was said, was done as the opium produced a bitter taste in the mouth."

"3. To see any smoker more affected than a man who had taken his usual glass of liquor was very rare, and in such cases it was said that the man had either taken his smoke out of time or had smoked more than he was used to."

"4. No women or children were seen in the dens, and it was stated that they do not frequent them."

"5. Cases of emaciation from the effects of opium smoking were not seen. Many of the old smokers seen were, on the contrary, very robust and well-conditioned; notably among these might be mentioned the keeper of one of the dens, a Chinaman, who is reported to have smoked for over 30 years, and who is now over 50 years of age; a vendor of country spirits, a smoker for over

* Bemp.

20 years; and a Muhammeden Hakim of about 45, who has smoked for over 10 years.

"6. Most of those spoken to admitted that the habit once contracted was difficult to give up, but they said that it did them no more harm than the workmen's glass of liquor did, if they did not exceed their usual quantity.

"7. Several complaints were made that the opium was now so dear, that what a few years ago cost 3 or 4 pies could not now be purchased for 1 anna."

The report from the Government of the North-West Provinces does not enter into the question of the effect of consumption of opium on the people. The poppy is largely cultivated in these provinces, and the facilities for the illicit use of the drug are naturally great. The absence of any mention in the Government reports of any marked evil effects on the population is, at any rate, negative evidence that no glaring abuses exist.

The Government of the Punjab reports:—

"The ratio of consumption of opium to population is not so high as to be a cause of anxiety in regard to the health and morals of the people. In the few tracts where the habit may be said to be general among certain classes of the population, it is of old standing, and does not seem to do so much harm as might be expected. The people, on the contrary, assert that they find it a protection against fever."

The Commissioner of Excise in that province writes:—

"The Government of India requests that the general questions raised may be discussed as far as they affect the Punjab, and in replying to the Government of India it should, I think, be forcibly pointed out that, apart from financial considerations, any attempt to prohibit the sale of opium, except for medicinal purposes, would in this province be most unpopular, and consequently politically inexpedient; while, if the poppy were grown without restriction, and the sale of opium were allowed free, the consumption of opium and its preparations would inevitably increase. Sikhs, Hindus, and Muhammadans alike eat opium, and at present the residents in the Phulkian States are the largest consumers.

"The memorialists themselves admit that in malarious tracts opium is useful as a prophylactic, and I think that the opportunity afforded by the presentation of this memorial should be taken to state clearly that the poppy has been cultivated and opium eaten in the Punjab from a period antecedent to British rule: that the drug, when taken in this form in moderation, is not believed to be necessarily prejudicial; and that, although indulgence in the habit may legitimately be restricted by taxation, and thereby made a source of revenue to the State, prohibition and unrestricted consumption are alike out of the question."

The collector of Nasik, in the Bombay Presidency, writes:—

"My own opinion is—and it is formed after 23 years service actually among the people and in nearly every part of the Bombay Presidency and of the Mysore Province—

"1. That opium smoking or eating, as practised by the vast majority of people who use the drug, is not carried to excess.

"2. That the moderate consumption of opium is no more harmful than the moderate consumption of liquor, and in many cases, like the moderate consumption of liquor, is distinctly beneficial.

"3. That the increased revenue from opium is due (a) to the more effectual steps to prevent smuggling, (b) to the increasing population, and (c) to the increasing prosperity of the people, which gives them more money to spend on luxuries.

"4. That the 'opium set' is a much less harmful person to his family and to his neighbours, and the community generally, than the drunkard; and

"5. That Government, even if it tried, could no more prevent the consumption of opium than the consumption of drink. It would be useless to attempt to achieve either end: it would be worse than useless. It would, in my opinion, be a blunder, for I can see no weight in the reasoning that would prevent the vast bulk of the population indulging moderately in the opium luxury, simply because a very small minority harm themselves by indulging in it to excess.

"As regards those parts of India which I know well, and those alone, it is a gratuitous assumption that opium smoking causes 'widespread misery and demoralisation,' and so also is it that 'the British connexion with the opium trade' is a 'serious hindrance to missionary work.' Apart from the fact that the Govern-

ment of India has nothing to do with missionary work, I have never once in 23 years heard a single missionary—and I have met dozens—specially refer to or quote the opium trade as interfering with his endeavours. The proposition is true in the abstract, no doubt, but in the same manner that the abstract proposition is true that the existence of public-houses in the slums of London interferes with Christian effort there."

The Collector of Khandesh, also in the Bombay Presidency, who has served many years in that district, expresses his disbelief that the consumption of opium is having any bad effects on the people of agricultural districts. He writes:—

"Reading the extracts printed in the selections forwarded by the Government of India, it strikes me that the gentlemen who penned the highly coloured accounts of opium dens must have been shown the worst haunts in large towns, and that they and those who think with them inveigh against the use of opium much as teetotaliers at home attack the use of spirits and beer and wine, because of the evils of the gin palaces of our great cities. I am not prepared to admit that the use of opium in moderation is more harmful than the use of whisky. Every one who has served in Gujarat must have seen many sturdy Rajputs who took their opium regularly and were none the worse for it."

Mr. Campbell, collector of Bombay, after quoting the accounts of opium dens given by the Anti-Opium Society, goes on to say:—

"In my judgment, the picture which these accounts give of the opium smokers is overdrawn and misleading. The statement that in Bombay houses children smoke, is supported by so much precision and detail as to make it difficult to suppose the writer was mistaken. At the same time, cases of allowing children to smoke must be extremely rare. I have never seen a child smoking, or who had smoked, or who was intended to smoke. I have never seen a child in a smoking house, except the child of one of the shopmen, who professed to be, and was, I believe, aghast at the idea of allowing his child to smoke. I have not heard, either from inspectors or smokers, of the case of a child being allowed to smoke; on the contrary, after special inquiry, the Chief Inspector assures me that such cases are unknown. As to the men smokers, and the effect of smoking on their character, appearance, and health, the descriptions under their review seems to me misleading. I have no fault to find with the general description of a Bombay chandul house, given at page 9 of the reprint:—'A dirty, dilapidated, nondescript shop, with its shutters up. . . . Raised platforms, with some hundred recumbent and semi-recumbent figures, all men, except three women and a few lads. . . . Groups of smokers, some half lying, half sitting, others curled up, or reclining at full length.' Except that, so far as I have seen or can learn, no youths under 11 attend these smoking-houses, this description seems to me accurate. The Poonah description is also moderate:—'A low-roofed room, with 25 to 30 persons, in groups of five or six round each lamp, most of them intent on their pipes, a few in a semi-conscious state.' On the other hand, I have seen nothing to justify the following passages:—'Human swine of both sexes . . . most immodest attitudes . . . handsome young women sprawling on the senseless bodies of men.' Such sights, I believe, are not to be found in Bombay smoking houses. In a room of 40 or 50 smokers all but three or four are awake. The bulk of them have done a hard day's work. They are tired and indolent. In opium-smoking houses assaults or acts of violence are almost unknown. Of the smokers very few are unable to answer questions clearly and readily. Even those asleep awake when lightly shaken. Even when suddenly aroused they can at once tell their name and calling. 'If you had to go out now and work, could you go?' Almost always the answer is 'Yes, we could.' Again, as to the effect of opium smoking on character. It is true a share of the smokers are beggars, and a share of them are bad characters. It is true the houses are watched by the police, for thieves meet in them and scheme crimes. Still, are all or nearly all the smokers ne'er-do-wells? Not nearly all. So far as I have seen, a Bombay opium-smoking house is much like Dr. Morrison's description of a Bengal smoking house—'Almost all the smokers are of the labouring classes, tailors, day labourers, and one or two shopkeepers. So far as I could judge by questioning the smokers in Bombay smoking houses, about two-thirds are regular working craftsmen and labourers.

I asked the assistant collector to frame a separate estimate. His estimate was—'At the lowest 70 per cent. regular craftsmen and labourers; at the most 20 per cent. beggars, and 10 per cent. bad characters.' I made a further personal test in three houses taken at random. The result was—'In one house of 11 smokers all were craftsmen in regular work; in a second house of 25 smokers all were craftsmen in work; in a third house of 47 smokers one was a woman, nine were beggars, and the rest were craftsmen and labourers. I have made the chief inspector take a similar test in 14 more houses. The result is, of 227 smokers 188 are workers, 38 are beggars, and one is a thief. It is probable that some among the workers are bad characters. Still care was taken to ascertain that in most cases the smokers are actually employed on the work they named. The estimate that two-thirds of the whole smokers are able to do, and do, regular work as labourers, weavers, embroiderers, sailors, drivers, cartmen, blacksmiths, mill hands, fitters, barbers, and also as small traders and shopkeepers, sellers of firewood, fish, tea, coffee, tobacco, and cloth seems well within the mark.

"Similarly, as regards the effect of the smoking on the health and the appearance of the smokers, the descriptions seem to me overdrawn and misleading. 'Of horrible destructions of God's image more terrible than delirium tremens, idiocy, or lunacy,' I have seen none. Of the starved and emaciated shrivelled warnings I have seen surprisingly few. The bulk of the men, I should say over two-thirds, though smokers of 5, 12, 20, and in one case of 40 years' standing, were in body and face to look at well nourished and healthy. To many of them I, in surprise, asked the question which Dr. Morison asked in Bengal:—'You have smoked four or five years and are stout and strong. How is this? The explanation in Bombay is the same as the explanation in Bengal:—Smoking does not injure those who are well fed as it injures the starving. On the point of appearance and harm to health I checked my first impression by my assistant's experience. His answer was:—'Almost none, except the old and the beggars, not more than 10 per cent. in all are emaciated.' I made a personal test in three houses. In one of 11 smokers all seemed healthy and well nourished; in a second of 25 smokers, one old man was emaciated; in a third of 47, though the beggars looked dissipated, none were notably withered or broken. In the 14 houses specially tested by the chief inspector, 10 were found emaciated or slightly withered. In almost every case the emaciated and withered were over 50 years of age. So far as I can judge, the assistant collector's estimate is correct, that, except some of the old and some beggars, very few opium smokers are notably withered or emaciated."

The whole of Mr. Campbell's report deserves attentive perusal.

The last report I shall quote is that of the Commissioner in Sind. He says:—

"The society assumes that the consumption of opium, even in a moderate degree, is detrimental to man both physically and mentally. It is far from certain, however, that this assumption is correct, and we have the evidence afforded by whole tribes who have habitually, from generation to generation, taken opium. Its instances may be taken the Rajputs and Bheels. Their energy, endurance, and bravery cannot be said to have been affected by their addiction to opium. Throughout the country one meets with people who take opium in moderation, and for much the same purpose and with much the same result as the English gentlemen of the present days takes his wine."

Such is the evidence of persons who are in the best position to know the facts. I could add much more to the same effect. It completely establishes the contention that it is the abuse and not the use of opium which is harmful, that the moderate use is the rule, and that excess is the exception.

I now come to the proposals of the "Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade," as to the actual practical steps to be taken to arrive at their object. I find them in a pamphlet published by the Secretary of that Society in 1890. The first two and the fourth are thus stated:—

1. That the Bengal system of licensing the growth of the poppy and of manufacturing opium be at once stopped, except so far as may be needful for legitimate medical use.
2. That the necessary measures be at once taken, by raising the tax or otherwise, to prevent any extension of the cultivation of the poppy in Malwa, so as to compensate for the diminution of the supply from Bengal.

4. That the retail sale of opium throughout India be limited by measures having the same object as the provisions of the Pharmacy Act in Great Britain, namely, to restrict the sale to that which is required for medical use alone.

It will be observed that nothing is said of the poppy cultivation in the Punjab; perhaps the Society are not aware of its existence. I assume that they would propose to stop that also. Otherwise smuggling from that province would assume enormous dimensions. Then I would ask, what is meant by "legitimate medical use?" When we find whole tribes of people, living in malarious and fever-stricken tracts, using the opium daily as a prophylactic, is that a legitimate medical use? Or is it intended that no one shall be permitted to purchase opium except under the written authority of a duly certificated member of the medical profession? How many of the opium consumers in India are within reach of an English doctor? Could you trust the native Baidis Hakims, and Panáris, the doctors and druggists of the country, with this power? Anybody with any knowledge of India would laugh at such an idea. How then are you to meet this great practical difficulty?

It may be possible in British territory, by the exercise of despotic power, to prevent the poppy being grown, but what are "the necessary measures" so vaguely suggested for preventing its extension in the native States? Every tyro in Excise or Customs administration knows that the power to raise duties on an article in large demand is limited by the means of preventing its illicit production and sale, and that if you increase the profits of smuggling, you will proportionately have to increase your preventive measures. Unless British officers and establishments were appointed to overrun the native states, and to interfere with the agricultural operations of the people, the cessation of the growth of the poppy in British territory would infallibly lead to an enormous extension of the cultivation in native states. The export thence of opium could only be prevented by Customs barriers and patrols round Rajputana and Central India, involving a line between 2,000 and 3,000 miles in length, and heavy expenditure on the establishment. How would the native states concerned regard such measures? I have no hesitation in saying that the discontent occasioned not only in those states, but amongst our own people, including the Sikhs—from whom the flower of our native army is recruited—would constitute a very serious political danger.

I was myself in charge of a Customs' line, 2,500 miles in length, the greater part of which was maintained to keep salt produced in native states from entering British territory without the payment of a heavy duty. I am well acquainted with the evils of that barbarous system, the destruction of which I was one of the first to advocate, and spared no efforts to accomplish. It was achieved by entering into treaties with the states possessing salt sources, under which British establishments are permitted to supervise their salt works, and tax the produce before it leaves them. But this could be accomplished only by paying the states concerned compensation, in the shape of lump sums of money and annual assignments, which are net from the taxation of the salt consumed by the native people. But how are you to conciliate the native states for interference in their poppy cultivation? Will the people of India, or the people of this country, submit to be taxed in order to compensate these native states, and to reconcile their rulers to an army of British preventive officers scattered over their territories? And if you reconcile the rulers by paying them, how are you to conciliate their people, who have been accustomed for centuries to the unrestricted use of opium? Without such preventive measures British India will be supplied with the Malwa drug, which, from its great value in a small bulk, is comparatively easy to smuggle. And these preventive measures must be of the strictest kind, involving the searching of the persons and goods of all travellers, and domiciliary visits, to detect the carriage, and prevent the storing of the drug.

I now come to the third proposal of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade. It is as follows:—

3. That the Chinese Government be approached with proposals for diminishing the export of Malwa opium, simultaneously with the suppression of the growth of the poppy throughout China.

I do not wish to use disrespectful language, but I can hardly speak of such a proposal with gravity. The Chinese Government, who have for centuries furlminated futile edicts, threatening the heaviest pains and penalties against the growth of the poppy and the use of opium, but whose officials have never had the will or the power to enforce them, and who are known to connive at the open and un concealed infringement of the law, are to be "approached" by the British Government, with this request: "Now that we are doing our best to deprive you of Indian opium, which your people for centuries have demanded on account of its superior quality; now that we have, by our restrictive measures, encouraged the growth of the poppy in China, and the home production of an inferior article, to such an extent that whole provinces are covered with its cultivation; now that we are mulcting your import customs revenue of about 2,000,000 sterling a year; will you be good enough at once to stop the cultivation in China, and deprive your people of an article which we believe to be an unmitigated evil, although there is a large body of Englishmen who, from personal experience, have testified that it is harmless to the great mass, who are moderate consumers?" How would such a request be met? If the solemn and self-possessed Chinaman has any sense of humour, by inextinguishable laughter.

But why should our philanthropy stop here? I read a statement a short time ago in a paper called the "Foochow Echo," to the effect that some of the Chinese are planting poppy in the place of tea. If they meet with success, it is said others will follow their example and give up tea altogether. It is the competition of Indian tea in the markets of Europe which has lowered the profits on China tea. Let us trust that India will not be asked by the Anti-Opium Society to give up producing tea in order to prevent the Chinese turning their tea gardens into poppy fields. And what of the hypocrisy of a people who not only derive nearly half of their public revenue from the consumption of alcohol and tobacco, but support from this consumption an enormous commercial industry of brewers, distillers, hop and barley growers, merchants, importers, agents, and vendors, what of their hypocrisy in asking India and China to forego the profit derived from the opium trade?

I am aware that many of the opponents of opium would also prohibit the use of alcoholic drinks in the United Kingdom, but before "approaching" China let the people of this country set the example and make the liquor traffic, except for purely medicinal purposes, illegal; let them forbid by law the cultivation of the hop plant, and the growth of barley for distillation or malting; let them forbid the import of wine and spirits from the Continent of Europe and elsewhere, and then they will be in a position to "approach" China with a prayer for the destruction of the poppy cultivation and the trade in opium.

It has been suggested that if the culture of poppy were prohibited other crops would take its place and thus supply a great part of the loss. But would the farmers of Kent be satisfied if the temperance party were to say to them, "We will pass a law to prohibit your cultivating hops. You can, however, grow potatoes or gooseberries instead?"

It is true that a more moderate party in this country does not go the length of prohibiting the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of opium in Bengal. They are shocked at the direct management by the Government of these industries. No question has been more fully discussed in India than this, there are volumes of correspondence relating to it, but the upshot of all these discussions has invariably been the recognition of the fact that, under any other system, the cultivation could not be so well restricted, that smuggling would be more rife, that the cultivators would be more rife, that the cultivators would be brought under influences of speculators, from which they are at present guarded, and that whatever evils now exist would be largely increased. The Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade recognise this, and in the pamphlet I have quoted declare that the proposal is entirely inadequate, and that their demand is nothing short of absolute prohibition.

India has had the advantage of drawing from England, for more than 100 years, a number of upright, honest, and able administrators. It is remarkable that there is not a single instance of an Englishman who has been directly responsible for the well-being of India, and who has had an important voice in its administra-

tion, who has ever suggested the prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy. That has been left for a party of irresponsible persons in this country, whose want of knowledge is patent to everyone who has studied the question on the spot.

I will give one recent and striking instance. There is internal evidence that no one who joined in the memorial of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, of the 30th July 1880, which is published in the recent Blue Book on the consumption of opium in India, had the most elementary knowledge of India, or if there were such a person he could not have read the memorial. In it Lucknow is described as being in the Punjab, and Lahore as being in the North-Western Provinces! This blunder is as stupendous as would be that of persons memorialising for the suppression of alcohol in Europe, who should place Paris in Scotland and Dublin in Holland.

There have just come into my hands two articles from native newspapers, published, one in Calcutta, the other in Bombay. The Calcutta paper is called "Bengavasi." It has the largest circulation of any of the Bengal papers, being about 20,000. The following is a translation of an article which appeared in that paper on the 30th January last:—

"What harm does Government's opium business do to us? Does Government press us to eat the drug? Or is it that the sight of an opium shop creates such a craving for the article that one cannot help eating it? Now, the opium shops, as such, possess no attractions for the people, their existence merely making it easy for habitual opium eaters to buy it for their use. We believe that most of those who use opium suffer from some disease, and use it medicinally. Opium is a medicine in gout and in all diseases of the bowels and kidneys. That opium used in old age prolongs life is also a common belief. For all these reasons many people use the drug in large or small doses, and gradually become confirmed opium-eaters. It is not the sight or appearance of the opium shops, which by the way is the most revolting possible, that attracts men thereto. Nor is it the case that men eat opium for the purpose of showing their loyalty to Government, which trades in that article. Nor, again, do people go to the opium shops from the consideration that by buying opium they would help to rescue Government from its financial embarrassment. Habitual opium-eaters can do without their daily bread rather than forego their regulation dose of the drug. Again opium is largely used as a medicine in all systems of the medical treatment—allopathic, homoeopathic, ayurvedik. People resort to the opium shops for all these purposes, and not a man is attracted to them by their mere appearance, as is the case with liquor shops. An opium shop has nothing of the wine shop's attractive glitter of glass and beauty of label. Nor does a dose of opium produce that exhilaration of spirits which makes the wine-bibber sing and dance in joy. What attractions then does an opium shop possess for the public? We do not really see that an opium shop licensed by Government can hold out any temptations to men. Its appearance is rather calculated to repel men from it. If it had been otherwise, if the mere sight of an opium shop had been enough to attract customers, we would have freely condemned the opium business of the Government.

"A person under the influence of opium does not become querulous or boisterous. Nor does a habitual opium eater bring beggary and destitution upon himself and family, and die an untimely death. The number of untimely deaths among opium eaters is very few. If it had been otherwise, we should have been the first to condemn the opium trade, and ask Government to discontinue the sinful business.

"It is true that opium is used for committing suicide. But those that will commit suicide will commit it even if they do not get opium for the purpose. Government does not trade in arsenic or ropes, and yet many people put an end to their lives by swallowing the former or drawing the latter round their necks. If Government discontinues its opium business, others will take it up, and there will still be cases of suicide from opium poisoning. We are, therefore, really unable to understand what harm is done by the Government's trade in raw opium.

"These remarks apply in some measure to the different preparations of opium, and particularly to the gull shops present a most repulsive appearance. As it is, however, desirable on various grounds that such shops should cease to exist, the writer would not object to Government's directing their abolition.

"What good will the changes now proposed to be made in connexion with Government's opium business do to the country? And is it possible to do the amount of good that is expected? We do not see that the Government's opium business does any harm to anybody. Opium cultivation will not cease even if Government gives up the business. Now, suppose Government gives up the business, and somebody finds himself at liberty to grow and sell and purchase opium. Suppose the opium shops, flourishing as before, with this difference only, that the signboards put up in front of the shops no longer contain the words 'By order of Government.' The accounts are made up, and they disclose a large deficit in the finances. Government, however, must meet its regular expenditure, and that means that the people must raise the money from other sources. It is thus clear that the people will gain nothing by the abolition of the Government's trade in opium."

The "Bombay Samáchar," a Guzeráti paper, which has the largest daily circulation in Bombay, has the following article on the 19th February last:—

"The opium agitators in England seem to be insensible to the great pecuniary loss that would be inflicted on the people of India by a prohibition against the production of opium in India and its export to China. To the ranks of the opium agitators in England an addition has now been made in the person of Miss Sundrábí Powár, an Indian lady. In an address recently delivered by her at Sheffield, Miss Powár asserted that the use of opium had created great mischief in India, and that as she could not quietly bear this sight she had gone to England to plead for the abolition of the opium monopoly. It is not known in Bombay who Miss Powár is, and what she did while she was in India to stop the alleged evil effects of the consumption of this drug. Miss Powár accuses the Government of India of having encouraged the opium trade in the interests of revenue, but no mischief whatever, we assert, has been created in India by the consumption of opium. On the other hand, considerable evil has been caused by a free use of country and European spirits, particularly among the educated persons, and the Government of India is very particular about increasing its revenue from this source. Miss Powár ought to bear in mind that there is more need for checking the consumption of spirituous drinks than the use of opium."

Mr. Samuel Laing, when Finance Minister of India in 1862, made the following remarks:—

"This much seems certain in speculating on the probable continuance of a demand for opium in China. Every civilised or semi-civilised race of mankind seems to affect some peculiar form of nervous stimulant, and as the natives of Northern Europe take to alcohol, so the Chinese take to opium. Possibly, in each case, the craving is for something to supply an innate want. The Englishman, the Dane, the German, and the Russian resort to that the specific effect of which is to raise the spirits and produce temporary exhilaration. The Chinese, whose greatest deficiency, as shown by the whole history, religion, and literature of the race, is in the imaginative faculties, resorts to that which stimulates the imagination, and makes his sluggish brain see visions and dream dreams. Be this as it may, the fact is certain that, under all circumstances and in all climates, as the Englishman is a drinker of beer, so is the Chinaman a smoker of opium. We have, at the bottom of our opium revenue, one of the great natural instincts of a large population, upon which English Chancellors of the Exchequer confidently rely for half their revenue."

I have not dealt with the comparative physiological effects produced by the use of alcohol and opium, and other drugs; but I hope some of the more scientific gentlemen here this evening will speak on this point. From all I have learnt on the subject, I believe that the excess of the use of alcohol is far more destructive to the human frame than that of opium, for one attacks the tissues and the other produces only functional derangement. If the people of India are deprived of opium, the consumers of it, it will infallibly have recourse to alcohol or to hemp, which grows wild in many parts of the country, and the effects of which are, when taken in excess, maddening.

Indeed much of the evil character which is given to opium is due to its being frequently adulterated with or used with herop. The *hashish*, from which the English word "assassin" is derived, and the *bang*, which is notoriously the stimulant used by fanatics in

India when intent on reckless slaughter, are nothing but hemp. It would be beyond the power even of Parliament to eradicate hemp from India.

From the mass of evidence to be found in the writings of members of the medical profession who have acquired their experience amongst the people who use opium as a stimulant, I will quote a few passages.

Dr. W. B. O'Shaughnessy, in the "Bengal Dispensatory," 1841, writes:—

"The longevity of opium eaters is, in many parts of the East, of proverbial notoriety. . . . When the habit is but moderately followed, it appears to occasion no greater evil than the proportionate indulgence in wine or other spirituous liquors."

Dr. D. McPherson, in his book on "The War in China," 1843, has the following passage:—

"From the earliest periods in every nation, and among every people, we find some description of stimulus in common use among them; and were we to be led away by the popular opinion that the habitual use of opium injures the health and shortens life, we should expect to find the Chinese a shrivelled, and emaciated, and idiotic race. On the contrary, although the habit of opium smoking is universal amongst the rich and poor, we find them to be a powerful, muscular, and athletic people, and the lower orders more intelligent and far superior in mental acquirements to those of corresponding rank in our own country. The Chinese themselves affirm that the use of the drug acts as a preventive against disease, and, in this opinion, when smoked in moderation, I am inclined in part to agree with him. The particles, by their direct and topical influence on the nerves of the lungs, which carry the impressions they receive to the heart, brain, and spinal cord, and through them to all parts of the body, may thus, to a certain extent, guard the system against disease, and, by its tonic influence, strengthen the several organs. This opinion gains strength, when we call to mind that a peculiar active principle in opium—the narcotine—has of late been employed, with considerable success, in Bengal, as a substitute for quinine. It may also be mentioned that, at the time fevers prevailed so extensively among our troops at Hong-Kong, but comparatively few of the Chinese suffered, though exposed throughout to the same exciting causes."

Dr. Cornish, Sanitary Commissioner for Madras, drew the attention of the Government to the great consumption of opium in the Godavery district. An investigation was ordered, and the officer who reported on it, in 1874, came to the following conclusion:—

"I believe that the extensive use of opium in this district is due to the extensive prevalence of fever, and that if fever could be checked, so would the use of the drug. Conversely, I think it unadvisable to attempt arbitrarily to stop its consumption at present."

Dr. Vincent Richards, who was in medical charge of Balasor, in Orissa, where opium eating is very common, made very careful inquiries into the matter, and collected elaborate statistics connected with it. He wrote, in 1877:—

"I estimated that about one in every twelve or fourteen of the adult population used the drug, and I believe the habit is somewhat increasing. The greatly increased consumption of the drug dates from the famine year 1866, when it was, if I remember rightly, nearly trebled; since when it has, I believe, pretty steadily increased. This is not the result of a growing abuse of the drug by individual consumers, but of a more extended use of it amongst the general population. There can be no doubt that opium eating was greatly resorted to in the famine year, because it mitigated the sufferings arising from hunger and sickness, and enabled the poor people to live on less food. . . . Opium eating—at any rate at Balasor—does not conduce to either crime or insanity, since the inhabitants are a particularly law-abiding race, and the insane are only 0.009 per cent. of the population. . . . The general conclusions I arrive at are—1st, that opium is taken habitually by about 2 to 10 per cent. of the adult population of Balasor, and that the average daily allowance for a man is 7 grains, and for a woman 5 grains; 2nd, that moderation is the rule; 3rd, that moderate doses include from 2 to 16 grains *per diem*, according to circumstances; 4th, that opium eating is much more common in unhealthy localities than in healthy ones, even though they are situated in the same district; 5th, that the drug may be, and is sometimes, taken in very large doses—30 grains and upwards—without producing any very serious ill-effects, much depending on the constitution of the individual,

and his habituation to its use; 6th, that whatever the effects of the excessive use of the drug may be, when taken in moderation, it is positively beneficial, where such diseases as fever, elephantiasis, rheumatism, &c., are prevalent, and when food is scarce; 7th, that the effects of even the excessive use of opium are harmless, both to the individual and to society, compared with those of the excessive use of alcohol."

The views of Sir William J. Moore, who had an extended experience in Rajputana, and was afterwards Surgeon-General with the Government of Bombay, are well known, and I hope that he will again state them on this occasion. They fully accord with those I have already quoted. There are literally volumes of evidence of a similar character.

We have, then, a great *consensus* of opinion arrived at by a number of independent persons of high character and reputation; gentlemen of ability and integrity, who have attained to responsible positions, in which they have had the best opportunities of ascertaining the truth; whose duty it has been to state the truth; and who have had no personal interest in perverting it. They deliberately declare that the daily use of opium in moderation is not only harmless, but of positive benefit, and frequently even a necessity of life; that this moderate use is the rule, and that excess is the exception. On the other hand, we are told by a society, chiefly consisting of Englishmen who have no personal knowledge of the facts, that all this evidence goes for nothing, and that the use of opium, except for strictly medicinal purposes, is an unmitigated evil, and ruins everyone who habitually has resort to it. If we accept this view, which differentiates opium from every other stimulant used by great masses of people, we must believe that all those experienced persons who have testified to the direct contrary are either grossly incapable or grossly dishonest. It is no use mincing words; a man must be one or the other who, having lived for years amongst an opium-consuming people, and having made a careful study of the effects of the habit, deliberately declares as the result of his inquiries that which is untrue. And on what is the opposition based? Chiefly on the statements of English missionaries in China. I respect the sincerity and the high and noble purposes of these gentlemen, but as the French phrase it, they have the defects of their qualities. They are filled with a burning zeal to better the physical and spiritual condition of the poor and miserable Chinese with whom they are brought into contact. In the prosecution of the objects for which they are struggling, they find numerous instances of the

degradation which is produced by the abuse of opium. They are met by the astute Chinaman with the argument that opium is an evil thing, and that the English who import it into China are out of court when advocating morality. They fall into the trap, and jump to the conclusion that it is the opium trade which prevents their making faster progress in the evangelisation of China. Only one side of the question is brought prominently to their notice, and that the worst side. Their experience is almost entirely confined to towns on the sea coast. They knew little or nothing of the millions of the healthy, industrious population in the interior of the country to whom the use of opium is as common, as moderate, and as beneficial as that of beer is to the people of England.

In conclusion, I would say to the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade—You may make this a party question; you may win votes relying on the uneducated philanthropy of your fellow countrymen; you may, through Parliament, use the despotic power of the British Government to destroy one of the most valuable products of India, and subject the people to new taxation in order to supply the loss of revenue now paid chiefly by the Chinese; you may deprive hundreds of thousands of Her Majesty's Indian subjects of a prophylactic which enables them to resist fatigue, to sustain privation, and to save life; you may thereby increase suffering, sickness, and mortality; you may cover India with an army of preventive officers to watch another army of smugglers, created to satisfy a natural demand of which you have suppressed the legitimate supply; you may harass the people by personal searches and domiciliary visits; you may thus create discontent amongst our native subjects, and disaffection in the best forces of our native army; you may, by unwarranted and unprecedented interference in their internal administration, and, owing to the pecuniary losses both rulers and subjects will sustain, disgust and alienate the native States of Central India and Rajputana, our bravest and most loyal allies; you may drive the consumers of opium to alcohol and hemp; you may do all this, but you will never persuade the Chinese to follow in your footsteps, and abandon the ever-increasing culture of the poppy. In short, you may inflict on India a cruel injury, the extent and the consequences of which you are incapable of calculating; but you will fail in any way to benefit China, unless you count it a benefit greatly to extend the cultivation of the poppy, and the manufacture of opium within her borders.

APPENDIX II.

HISTORICAL NOTE ON OPIUM AND THE POPPY IN CHINA.—By DR. EDKINS, of the Chinese Customs Service.

Shanghai, May 1889.

[This paper was cited by witnesses before the Commission; it is now out of print and unobtainable. The Commission therefore ordered it to be reprinted as an Appendix to the China evidence.]

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page
Introduction	147
The poppy among the Greeks and Romans	147
The poppy among the Arabs	147
The Arabs in China	148
The Arabs at Canton	148
First mention of cultivation of the poppy in China in the eighth century	148
Second mention of cultivation of the poppy in China in the eighth century	148
Early poem on the poppy	148
The two Arab travellers	148
The poppy enters the Chinese <i>Pharmacopœia</i>	148

	Page
Poem of Su Tung-p'o	148
Poem of Su Ont	148
Notes on Su Ont's poem	148
<i>Materia Medica</i> of the eleventh century by Su Sung	148
Cultivation of the poppy mentioned	149
Medical use of poppy seeds	149
The white variety of <i>Papaver somniferum</i>	149
Twelfth century use of seeds to counteract the effects of mercury	149
First use of capsules in twelfth century	149
Another poem on the poppy	149
Use of capsules in dysentery shown by extracts from three authors	149
Use of capsules probably derived from the West, but this is still not proved	149
Use of capsules in North China in twelfth century	149
Use of capsules in North China in thirteenth century	149
Use of capsules in South China in thirteenth century	149
The capsule "kills like a knife"	150
Use of capsules in fourteenth century	150

	Page		Page
First mention of opium extract was in fifteenth century	150	KAMFFER'S <i>Amanitales exoticae</i>	153
Arabian method of obtaining opium	150	Tobacco: KAMFFER'S account	153
WANG HSI'S directions for use of opium	150	Hookah or water pipe	154
WANG HSI'S directions for procuring opium from the poppy	150	Summary of KAMFFER'S account	154
WANG HSI'S knowledge, how acquired	150	Object of the water pipe	154
Fullest details, where found	150	Cigars	154
Mode of preparing opium in the sixteenth century	150	How opium is made in Persia	154
Medical use of opium in the sixteenth century	151	Preparation of opium	154
Prohibition of foreign trade encouraged Native production	151	KAMFFER'S visit to Java in 1688	155
KUNG YUN-LIN'S prescription	151	Mention of use of opium	155
Medical use of poppy bracts of red and white varieties of <i>Papaver somniferum</i>	151	First opium-smoking shops	155
Golden elixir pill	151	Medical use of opium in 1723	155
Native account of foreign trade before the prohibition	151	Early opium-smoking in Formosa	155
Bad effects of prohibition	151	Opium-smoking came to Formosa from Java	155
Good effects of permission to trade	151	Another account of early opium-smoking in Formosa	155
Duties levied	151	Prohibitory edict of 1729	156
Tariff of A.D. 1589	151	Spread of opium-smoking in the eighteenth century	156
Tariff of A.D. 1615	151	Native opium in Yunnan	156
LI SHUN-CHEN'S <i>Materia Medica</i>	151	Who cultivated the poppy in Yunnan?	156
Poppy as a flower	152	Use of capsules in 1744	156
Another account of the mode of obtaining opium from the poppy	152	Present use of capsules	157
<i>Résumé</i>	152	<i>Hoppo Book</i> of 1753	157
Opium in Java in 1629	152	Five kinds of duties in 1753	157
BOWEN'S opinion of opium	152	The three tariff books	157
Opium-smoking arose from tobacco-smoking	153	Prices ruling in 1755	157
Tobacco-smoking, when introduced	153	Opium-smuggling in 1762	157
Prohibition of tobacco-smoking	153	Opium-smoking in 1793	157
Manchu prohibition of tobacco-smoking	153	Opium-smoking in 1800	157
Spread of tobacco-smoking	153	Statements in <i>Hak-kuo-t'u-chih</i>	157
Opium-smoking in Formosa	153	Local arrangement in 1822	157
		Native testimony on the deleterious effect of opium	158
		Statistics of the present Native production	158
		Concluding note	158

INTRODUCTION.

This Historical Note on Opium in China, which has been prepared by Dr. Edkins, of the Chinese Customs Service, is published by order of the Inspector General of Customs.

E. MCKEAN,

Statistical Secretary.

Inspectorate General of Customs,
Statistical Department,
Shanghai, May 1889.

OPIUM: HISTORICAL NOTE, OR THE POPPY IN CHINA.

1°.

That the poppy was cultivated very early in Italy is clear from a passage in Cornelius Nepos, who, in his account of Tarquin, mentions it in a way to show that in the time of the last of the Roman Kings it was commonly sown in gardens. Tarquin's son was in a city of Etruria, devising means to betray it to his father without himself losing the confidence of the people, who believed father and son to be in a state of hopeless alienation, he having come to their city with wounds on his body, which he said had been inflicted by his father as a punishment. He sent a messenger to his father for advice. The father* took the envoy into his garden and struck down all the tallest poppies. Sextus Tarquinius knew what this meant, and by procuring the death or removal from the city of all the chief inhabitants, succeeded in persuading the remainder to submit to his father's rule.

The poppy is also alluded to in Homer as a garden flower. He describes an arrow aimed at Hector as missing him, but striking in the chest another son of Priam. He proceeds, "Just as a poppy in a garden hangs " on one side, its head laden with fruit and with the " dew of spring, so he bent on one side his head, made " heavy by his helmet."† The first mention of poppy

* *Hic, nuntio, quis, credo, dubie fidei videbatur, nihil voce responsum est. Rex, velut doliberebuntus, in hortum eadum transit, sequente nuntio filii: ibi, immoluitans tacitus, summas papaverum capita dicitur hinc succutisse.*—Livy, l. 24.
† *μῆλον δ' ἄς ἐπέπεσε κίρην ἄδελφον, ἢ' ἐπὶ κέφαλον, κενεῖν ἀποβύσσιν πορτοῖν τε κίρην.*
ἢς ἐπέπεσε, ἄρκεν κίρην ἄδελφον, ἢς ἐπέπεσε.—Iliad, viii. 306-8.

juice is by Hippocrates, who calls it *ἄρκεν μῆλον*. From *ἄρκεν*, "juice," was formed *ἄρκεν* in Greek, and *Opium* in Latin. *μῆλον* is the Greek name of the poppy. Hippocrates lived in the fifth century before Christ. He was famous as the founder of Greek medical literature, and to him certainly the virtues of the poppy were known.

In Virgil we find the poppy described as pervaded by lethean sleep ("Lethæo perfusa papavera somno."—*Georg.*, i, 78), and he sometimes speaks of the "lethean poppy" or the "sleep-giving poppy" ("soporiferumque papaver."—*Æneid*, iv. 486). He borrowed from Greek mythology, according to which the waters of the river Lethe, which flows through the regions of the dead, cause those who drink of them to forget everything, as is said also to have been the case with the lotus-eaters of Homer. The poppy is in Virgil connected not only with the mythology of the world of the dead, but with the worship of Ceres. This goddess is represented as holding the poppy in her hands. Conjecture has been busy in attempting to account for this, and it has been supposed that it was because the poppy grows wild in corn fields in European countries, or because the seeds of the white poppy were eaten as food to give an appetite, Ceres being thought of by the ancient mind as the bountiful giver of food. To the ancient imagination, however, it would be quite enough to think of the poppy as the prettiest of the flowers which grow up wild in the midst of wheat, and on this account to dedicate it to the service of the goddess of the wheat-field. When, in the first Christian century, Pliny wrote his "Natural History" (20, 18 (76), 139) and Dioscorides his "Materia Medica," the word "Opium" was already introduced, and the sleepy effects of it were everywhere known.

2°.

The Arabians of the Caliphate studied Greek medicine and practised it. Opium became well known among them by its Greek name, which took the form *afyūn*, through the Semitic habit of changing *y*. to *f*. In Persia it appeared with the same form (*afyūn*), interchanged with *abyūn* and *apyūn*, which latter became, as will be seen, the parent of the Chinese name *ya-pien*. Both the Arabs and the Persians had national names for the poppy: the Arab called it *khakh-khakh*, and the Persian *kohshār*. Hence we may gather that the poppy was anciently known as a garden flower as far eastward

The por among Arabs.

as Persia, while its medical applications were made by the Greeks.*

The Arabs
in China.

In the times of the Caliphs the Arabs began to visit China,† especially after the founding of Baghdad, A.D. 763, and became traders in drugs, precious stones, brocade, rose water, and such things. Previous to the T'ang dynasty the poppy was apparently unknown to the Chinese botanists and physicians, and when it was brought to them their attention was drawn to the form of the heads which enclosed the seeds, then used in making a soporiferous decoction according to the directions of the Arab doctors; consequently they invented names for it, based on the appearance of the poppy heads. The seeds looked like millet seeds, if not in colour, at least in shape, and therefore they called the heads *mi-nang*, "millet bags."

The Arabs
at Canton.

The early arrival of the Arabs by sea at Canton may be illustrated by the following extract from the "Fan-yü-hsien-chih":—"In the T'ang dynasty, on occasion of the opening of trade with foreign ships, the Mahomedan King Mahomet sent his mother's brother from Western countries to China to trade. He built a tomb and monastery, called respectively 'Chien-kuang-t'a and Huaiehing-ssü. Soon after the monastery was completed he died, and was buried in the tomb [still existing outside the North Gate], in accordance with his intention."

3°.

First
mention of
cultivation
of the poppy
in China in
the eighth
century.

In the reign of T'ang Ming Huang, in the first half of the eighth century, an author named Ch'ên Ts'ang-ch'i, in a work which he calls "A Supplement to the Pên-t's'ao," quotes from an earlier writer, Sung Yang-t'ü, a statement that "The poppy has four petals. It is white and red. Above them is a pale red rim. The seeds are in a bag, which is like one of those arrow-heads which have air-holes to make a sound as the arrow cuts through the air. Within there are seeds like those of millet."

At this time, early in the eighth century, the Arabs had been trading with China for at least a century, for Mahomet's death occurred A.D. 632, and that of his uncle not long afterwards. It was easy for the poppy to be cultivated with the jasmine and the rose everywhere throughout the country. We know, indeed, from the "Nan-fang-t's'ao-mu-chuang," a work which dates from the beginning of the fourth century, that the jasmine and the henna, plants which must have come with the Arabian commerce, were already in China when that book was written. But the first distinct mention of the poppy is in the work of Ch'ên Ts'ang-ch'i.

Second
mention.

In the work on trees, called "Chung-shu-shu," written by Kuo T'o-t'o, it is said that "The poppy, *ying-su*, if sown on the 9th of the 9th month or on the 15th of the 8th month, the flowers will be large and the heads full of seeds." This passage occurs in the "T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng." The author's biography was written by Liu Tsung-yüan, and we therefore know that he was living in the latter part of the eighth century. He resided near the capital, in Shensi. From this it must be concluded that the poppy was then cultivated in the neighbourhood of what is now Si-an-fu (provincial capital of Shensi).

Early poem
on the
poppy.

The poet Yang T'ao, a native of Ch'êng-tu-fu, in Szechwan, in the closing years of the T'ang dynasty, wrote a poem, entitled "A poem on leaving a winding Valley and approaching my Western Home." It says "Passing the dangerous staircase I issued from the winding defile of the Pao Valley. After travelling across all the intervening plains and rivers I am now near my home. The sadness of the traveller in his journey of 10,000 li is to-day dissipated. Before my horse I see the *mi-nang* flower." This short poem shows that at the time when it was written the poppy was cultivated near Ch'êng-tu-fu.

4°.

From about 756 to 960, a space of two centuries, little is said in Chinese books of the Arabs; yet at that time two Mahomedan travellers came to China and wrote accounts of what they saw and heard. Recently their works have been translated into European languages. This shows that the Arabs did not cease during this interval to visit China. Information in regard to the medical qualities of the poppy would be originally furnished to the Chinese by the Arabs; it is on this account that in the *Pên-t's'ao* of the K'ai Pao period (A.D. 968 to 976) the poppy is introduced as a healing plant.

5°.

In the year 973 the Emperor Sung T'ai-tan gave an order that Liu Han, and a Taoist, Ma Chih, with others, nine in all, should prepare the medical work known as "K'ai-pao-pên-t's'ao." In this the poppy is called *ying-t'ü-su*, and it is stated that "Its seeds have healing powers. When men have been taking the stone that confers immortality, feel it powerfully operating, and cannot eat with appetite, they may be benefited by mixing these seeds with bamboo juice boiled into gruel and taking this." The name *ying-su* here used, and previously by the earliest T'ang dynasty authors on this point, means "jar millet," from the resemblance of the poppy head to the kind of jar which the Chinese call *ying*.

Among the poets of this period were two brothers named Su; one was the celebrated Su Tung-p'o. In a poem of his occurs the following passage: "The Taoist advises you strongly to partake of the drink called *chi-su-shu*. The boy may prepare for you the broth of the *ying-su*."

The brother, named Su Chê, wrote a poem which he called "A Poem on the Cultivation of the Medical Plant (*Ying-su*), or Poppy":—

"I built a house on the west of the city. The ground in the centre was laid out in rectangular divisions. Where the windows and doors left a space, five and bamboos helped to fill up the vacancy. The thorny bushes were pulled up, and a garden made to grow good vegetables and other plants. The gardener came to me to say, 'The *ying-su* (poppy) is a good plant to have. It is called *ying* because, though small, it is shaped like a *ying* (jar); it is called *su* because the seeds are small and look like *su* (millet). It is sown with wheat and ripens with panicked millet — *chi* (*Panicum miliaceum*); when growing it may be eaten like the vegetables of spring. Its seeds are like autumn millet. When ground they yield a sap like cows' milk; when boiled they become a drink fit for Buddha. Old men whose powers have decayed, who have little appetite, who when they eat meat cannot digest it, and when they eat vegetables cannot distinguish their flavour, should take this drink. Use a willow millet and a stone basin to beat it. Boil it in water that has been sweetened with honey. It does good to the mouth and to the throat. It restores tranquillity to the lungs and nourishes the stomach. For three years the door has been closed, and I have gone nowhere and come back from nowhere. I see here the Hermit of the Shade (a Taoist priest) and the long-robed Buddhist priest; when they sit opposite I forget to speak. Then I have but to drink a cup of this poppy-seed decoction. I laugh, I am happy, I have come to Ying-ch'uan, and am wandering on the banks of its river. I seem to be climbing the slopes of the Lu Mountain in the far west."

There is a small river in the province of Anhwei which is called Ying-shui. The city mentioned was on the banks of that river, which is famous in history. The mountain called Lu-shan is in Western China, on the north of the celebrated O-mei-shan. The poet went to live at Ying-ch'uan when he was old. As a boy he had lived with his brother near the Lu Mountain.

6°.

The Emperor Jen Tsung, of the Sung dynasty, about the year 1057, ordered the compilation by Su Sung and others of the work known as "T'u-ching-pên-t's'ao." The magistrates of all cities were ordered to supply information on all medical plants in their vicinity, according to the method before employed in preparing the previous work, called "Ying-k'ung T'ang Pên-t's'ao," made in pursuance of an order given by the Emperor Kao Tsung, in the T'ang dynasty, to the Prince named

* Opium is also mentioned in the Jerusalem "Talmud" (seventh century), Abot Sarab. ii. 40 (opium) as being a dangerous medicine.

† China in the early Han dynasty opened foreign trade by way of Cochin China. Under the Wei dynasty international trade was established at certain points on the border between North and South China. In the Sui dynasty, A.D. 591, a superintendent was appointed at Canton, Hangchow, and Ningpo, to overlook foreign trade. Earlier than this we read of an officer called Shih-p'o-mü, appointed to Canton to superintend foreign trade, as the title implies. This was in the T'ang dynasty.

‡ Rapidly lent from the Russian Leontion Library, Pekin, 1900.

§ This statement shows that at that time there prevailed an extensive use of mercury, taken under the idea that it would prolong life, and that the effects were found to be very injurious.

Ying Kuo-kung. In this work it is said by Su Sung that "The poppy is found everywhere. Many persons cultivate it as an ornamental flower. There are two kinds, one with red flowers and another with white. It has an odour not very agreeable. The fruit is like a flower vase, and contains very small seeds. Gardeners manure the land for the poppy every other year. The seeds are sown in the 9th month. In the spring they are, if thus manured, seen growing with great vigour; otherwise they will not thrive, and if they grow at all they are weak and slender. When the capsules have become dry and yellow they may be plucked."

He also says that "In cases of nausea and vomiting a drink made from poppy seeds in the following manner will be found servicable. Three-tenths of a pint of the seeds of the white poppy, three-tenths of an ounce of powdered ginseng, with a piece 5 inches in length of the tuber of the Chinese yam, are to be cut and ground fine. Boil it, adding $2\frac{1}{2}$ pints of water. Take of this six-tenths of a pint, and add to it a little syrup of raw ginger with fine salt. It should be mixed well and distributed into doses, which may be taken early or late, and no harm will follow from taking other kinds of medicine at the same time."

The biography of this writer in the "History of the Sung Dynasty" says of him that he was a man of large mind, who would not take part in quarrels. He held to the rules of politeness and the laws of the State. Though high in station he lived like a poor man. From the invention of writing downwards, whatever there was to read and to learn in classics, histories, and the works of various authors, together with diviners' books, the 12 musical tubes, astronomy, astrology, mathematics, and medical botany, there was nothing with which he was not familiar.

In regard to what kind of poppy is meant by Su Sung, writing in the 11th century, it may be well to refer here to the statement made by the German traveller Kämpfer, who towards the end of the 17th century was attached as physician to the Embassy sent to Persia by the King of Sweden. He says that the poppy from which opium was then manufactured in that country was the white poppy. It becomes plain, then, that in the time of Su Sung, though the name of opium had not yet appeared in books, yet the plant that was able to produce it was commonly known. The celebrated English botanist, Lindley, says that the poppies from which opium is made are those with red and those with white flowers.

79.

At the beginning of the 12th century, in the reign of Hui Tsung, one of the Court physicians, named K'ou Tsung-shih, compiled a work called "Pên-ts'ao-yen-i." In it he says that the flowers of the poppy are in some kinds extremely abundant in their leaves, and that the number of seeds in the heads is beyond computation. "They are in size like those of the *f'ing-li*,* and white in colour. The seeds are cooling in their nature; if taken in good quantity they are beneficial for such affections as diarrhoea, and act favourably on the bladder. Those who have been taking cinnamon, if they have them ground and boiled with water, adding honey, and prepared in the form of broth, will find them beneficial in a high degree."

In the botanical section of the *T'u-shu-chi-ch'ing* the following extract is found, taken from the work "Shan-chia-ch'ing-kung," by a Sung dynasty medical writer named Liu Hung, who, from his language implying the use of the capsules of the poppy with the seeds, we must suppose to have belonged to the Southern Sung. He is speaking of what he calls poppy-milk fish, by which is meant the juice hardened into cakes and taking the shape of fish. "Take poppy-heads, wash them well, and grind out their juice. First place some meal in a jar, covering the bottom. By means of a gauze bag filter the poppy milk upon it, removing the portion that floats above and allowing the thicker part to remain. Place it in an iron pan and let it boil for a little. Sprinkle rapidly some weak vinegar on it, and take it up from the pan into the bag and press it into a cake. It should then be placed in such a covered pan as is used for steaming

* This plant is stated by Williams to be cruciferous, and like the mustard in shape and leaves. See the drawing in the Pên-ts'ao which says it is used as a light aperient.

macaroni and the like, and there be well steamed. It is then to be sprinkled with a solution of red leaven, steamed again for a short time, taken out, and made up in cakes shaped like fish."

A poem of Hsieh K'o, written in the Sung dynasty, is found in the work known as "Kuang-ch'ün-fang-p'u." "There seem to be tiny spots of ointment of lead on the tips of the flowers. It is as if they told me that the spring is advancing, but the snow is not yet melted. I see a thousand poppy heads full of black seeds. The east wind will blow and they will be like millet of the best size and quality." The comparison with snow indicates the colour of the poppies.

Yang Shih-ying, a native of Fukkien when the Sung dynasty was closing, says in a medical work, while speaking of the use of the poppy capsule in medicine, in cases of dysentery, "This is thought little of by most, but when dysentery is of long continuance, without gatherings of matter locally and pain resulting, and it is right to use astringents, if this remedy were not hand how could use be made of this mode of treatment? But there ought to be other drugs accompanying it, to modify the effect."

Another Sung dynasty writer on medicine, named Wang Ch'iu, in a work to which he gave the name "Pai-i-hsüan-fang," writes that poppy seeds and capsules may with advantage be used together for both kinds of dysentery. The seeds are prepared in a pan over the fire. The capsules are roasted on a gridiron. After being pulverised they are made up into pills, with honey, of the size of *wu-tung* seeds (*Eleoococca verrucosa*). Thirty pills are taken at a time, with rice gruel. These pills have been tried and found most efficient.

Another Sung dynasty author, Wang Shih, in his work "I-chien-fang" says, "The effect of the poppy capsule in curing dysentery is nothing less than magical. But in its nature it is extremely astringent, and easily causes vomiting and difficulty in digesting food; consequently, patients are afraid of it and do not venture to take it. Yet if it be prepared over the fire with a little vinegar, and black plums be added on account of their acid qualities, its use will be found satisfactory."

"If the four drugs known as the four noble medicines, viz., *tang-shên* (a coarse ginseng grown in China), *pan-sha* (*Atractylodes alba*, a medicinal plant like an artichoke), China-root, and liquorice, be mixed in due proportion and taken with it, there will be still less tendency to check digestion and prevent the food from proceeding on its way. The results will be most excellent."

80.

Li Shih-chên, in the "Pên-ts'ao-kang-mu, or Chinese Materia Medica," follows a chronological order in his arrangement of passages taken from the works of the medical authors who preceded him. It may be concluded, therefore, that the use of the poppy capsule in medicine began with the Southern Sung dynasty, that is, in the latter part of the twelfth or in the thirteenth century. Yang Shih-ying published his work A.D. 1265, and Wang Shih is by Li Shih-chên placed later. The latter does not say whence the use of the capsule was derived; it may therefore be supposed that it was introduced from the West, where its healing virtues were known from the most ancient times.

80.

In the work called "Hsüan-ming-fang, by Liu Hsüan, of the Chin dynasty, it is said that for asthmatic cough, with perspiration, in summer and winter of several years' standing, the poppy capsule may be used. $3\frac{1}{2}$ ounces in weight should be taken. The stem and outer membranes should be removed. Let it simmer in vinegar. Take one ounce and mix with half an ounce of black plums; let it be slowly heated and then pulverised. Take for a dose two-tenths of an ounce. Let it be administered in hot water and drunk at bed-time.

Li Kao, a physician of the same period (born A.D. 1180, died 1252), says the poppy capsule is efficient as an astringent and in strengthening the system. It operates on the kidneys, and is useful in the cure of disease affecting the bones.

100.

Wei I-lin, of the Yuan dynasty, a native of Kiangsi and of the city of Chien-chang, published a book called "Tê-hsiao-fang," made up of prescriptions collected by

Another poem on the poppy.

Use of capsules in dysentery shown by extracts from three authors.

Use of capsules probably derived from the West, but this is still not proved.

Use of capsules in North China in twelfth century.

Use of capsules in North China in thirteenth century.

Use in South China in thirteenth century.

himself and his ancestors for four generations before his time. He says that in cases of obstinate diarrhoea of a chronic nature the poppy capsule may be used. The stringy parts should be removed, and it should be dipped in honey and held over the fire. Then pulverise it. As a dose use half an ounce. Take it with honey and hot water. These capsules have the power to strengthen the constitution. The effect is immediate.

The capsule "kills like a knife."

In the Yüan dynasty the next name is that of Chu Chên-hêng.* He says that "The poppy capsule is used extensively for cough at the present time in the case of those who are weak and consumptive. It is employed to take away the cough. It is used also for diarrhoea and dysentery accompanied with local inflammation. Though its effects are quick, great care must be taken in using it, because it kills like a knife. He also says, "Many persons to cure cough employ the poppy capsule, and it may be used without fear, but in the first place the root of the disease must be removed, while this should be reserved as a restorative method to complete the cure. In treating dysentery the same is true. Unnatural symptoms have to be expelled and lumps removed. It would not be right to employ at once such medicines as the capsule and *lung-ku* (dragon's bones, certain fossil bones of existing and of extinct animals) in order to check abruptly the action of the stomach and intestines, for the unnatural state of things would reappear with increased severity. Other modifications of an unhealthy kind would supervene, and disease would spread without limit." The expression "it kills like a knife" may be taken as proof that the capsule of which the author is speaking is that of the opium poppy.

That a red tint was common in the poppies of that time may be concluded from the following couplet in a poem of Fêng Tzu-chên, the Yüan dynasty:—"They carry in their hair poppies which are in colour like the red clouds after rain and asters resembling the hoar frost."

11°.

Use of capsules in fourteenth century.

The first name that we meet with in the Ming dynasty is that of a brother of the Emperor Ch'êng Tsu (Yung Lo). He was called Chou-ting Wang. He says in the "P'u-chi-fang" section of "Chin-huang-pên-ta'ao," a medical work, "The poppy capsule prepared in vinegar is to be used for dysentery and bloody evacuations. One ounce with half an ounce of orange peel (*ch'ên-p'i*) should be reduced to powder. For a dose take three-tenths of an ounce with black prunes and hot water."

In the Ming dynasty, which lasted through the 15th, 16th, and part of the 17th centuries, the trade of China by sea with India, Arabia, and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago greatly increased; at that time the Chinese ships, being provided with the mariner's compass,† ventured a little farther from land than before, and the extension of the Mongol Empire to Persia had helped to spread intercourse by sea between China and that country. Chêng Ho, who was sent on a diplomatic mission to all important seaports from Canton to Aden, succeeded so well on his first voyage that he was repeatedly dispatched afterwards, and brought back a fairly minute account of the places he visited. He was in diplomatic communication with the chief persons in authority in Aden and some other Arabian ports, in Hormuz on the Persian Gulf, in several cities in India, such as Goa, Cochin, Quilon, and Calicut, as well as other centres of trade nearer home. Can we wonder that all the principal exports in those countries became known to the merchants of Canton and Amoy? They were then probably, next to the Arabs, the chief traders in the Indian seas. When the Portuguese appeared unexpectedly at Cochin in 1498, they commenced at once a career of conquest, and quickly made themselves masters of Aden, Hormuz, Goa, Cochin, Calicut, Malacca, and many other cities. With military prestige they joined great activity in commerce, and became the chief merchants in the East. At this time, as we learn from Barbosa, opium was among the articles brought to Malacca by Arabs and Gentile merchants, to exchange for the cargoes of

* See for particulars Bretschneider's "Botanicon Sinicum," page 40. He lived in the second half of the fourteenth century. His biography is found in the "Yüan-shih."
† The floating compass is mentioned by Buh Ching, ambassador to Corea, as having been in use on board of his ship in his voyage from Nampo to Corea in the year A.D. 1122.

Chinese junks. He also states that opium was taken from Arabia to Calicut, and from Cambay to the same place, the Arabian being one-third higher in price than the Cambay. The opium exported from this seaport may be assumed to have been manufactured in Malwa, which lies quite near it.

The Arabs, then, had already begun to grow opium in India in the 16th century. In addition to this we are also told that from places on the Coromandel coast opium was exported to Siam and Pegu. Here we also find clear indications of the activity of Arab traders in extending the cultivation of the poppy in India. The Chinese also at this time imported opium themselves, to be used medically. It is important to note this for the proper understanding of the history of opium in China.

12°.

Wang Hsi, an author who died in A.D. 1488, published a work which he named "I-lin-chi-yao. In it he says that "Opium is produced in Arabia from a poppy with a red flower. Water should not be allowed to go over its head. After the flower has faded in the seventh or eighth month the capsule, while still fresh, is pricked for the juice."

First mention of opium as a tract was fifteen centuries Arab method obtaining opium.

He also says, "In chronic dysentery use opium of the size of a small bean, and administer it with warm water before the patient takes food (as in the early morning), when the stomach is free. Take one dose a day, and avoid onions, garlic, and soups of all kinds. If thirsty drink water with honey in it."

He also says, "Opium may be used to cure obstinate dysentery of long continuance. When the flower of the poppy has fallen and the head is developed, after waiting four or five days take a large pricking instrument and prick from 10 to 20 holes in the fresh capsule. Next day, in the morning, when the sap exudes, use a bamboo knife for the purpose of scraping it into an earthenware vessel. Let it dry in a shady place. On each occasion of using it take a piece of the size of a small bean, and let it be administered on an empty stomach and mixed with warm water. Let the patient avoid onions, garlic, and all soups. If he be hot and thirsty let him drink water with honey in it."

Wang Hsi's direction for producing opium from the poppy.

"This author, it will be observed, died 10 years before Vasco de Gama arrived in India. His biography, in the "History of the Ming Dynasty," shows that he was in official charge of the Province of Kansuh for more than 20 years. His duties included the care of the Mahomedan population of Hami, Turfan, and other western cities. He must have known well the productions, the medical practice, and the customs of the Mahomedan countries; hence his minute acquaintance with opium.

Wang Hsi's knowledge of how to acquire opium.

In the first of the three preceding paragraphs the "Pên-ta'ao" account of Wang's remedy against diarrhoea has been followed; in the paragraph which comes after it the fuller statement found in the Korean work "Tung-i-pao-chien" has been given. It seemed better to insert both in this list of passages, because they bear on the point of the manufacture of opium by the Chinese in their own country in the 15th century, of which there can remain little doubt if the extract from the "Tung-i-pao-chien" be fairly considered. The author first mentions the disease and then details the mode in which the medicine which is to cure it may be obtained.

Followed details where it is.

Both accounts are professedly taken from Wang Hsi's book. In the absence of the book itself it cannot be decided which is the more correct. Probability is in favour of the last, because it is fuller than the other.

13°.

In the Ming dynasty, in the middle of the sixteenth century, we find an author, Li Ting,* in his work "I-hsiao-ju-mên," saying opium or *a-fu-yung* is made in the following manner:—"Before the head opens the poppy is approached with a bamboo needle and the capsule pierced in 10 or 15 places, from which sap comes out. The next morning a bamboo knife is used to scrape the sap into a vessel of earthenware. When a good quantity has been collected it is sealed up with paper and placed in the sun for a fortnight, and then the opium is ready. Its influence and effects are most powerful, and much must not be used."

Method of paring opium in sixteenth century.

* He belonged to Chien-an-fu, in Shensi. There was in the Sung dynasty another Li Ting, who wrote on divination and the I-ching.

He also says, "In cases of dysentery with weakness, and when chronic, with all sorts of dysentery indeed, a good remedy will be found in 4 ounces of *huang-hon* (*Justicia*) prepared over the fire with *su-chu-yü* (*Boynia Eukarappa*) which has been separately made to simmer in water beforehand. To these are to be added 1 ounce of patchouli and 1 mace of opium. This mixture is pulverized and rolled into pills with paste made of ground rice. The pills are to be of the size of green beans. 20 or 30 are to be taken at a time, accompanied by a warm draught made with the kernels of lotus seeds which have been stewed in water. The patient is then to go to sleep well covered. The effect is marvellous." (Taken from the "Tung-i-pao-chien.")

This author lived during the time when foreign trade was prohibited. He is mentioned in the "History of the Ming Dynasty" as belonging to the Chia Ching period (1522 to 1567), after which by a new law European vessels were allowed to trade with China. During the first half of that reign the Japanese made frequent raids upon the Chinese coast. This caused deep indignation, and not only they but all foreigners were forbidden to trade with China. This was in the year 1523. This naturally rendered foreign medicines scarce and dear, and therefore we are not surprised to find exact directions given by contemporary medical authors as to how opium might be manufactured from the poppy, it being then a highly esteemed drug and having been recommended by medical authors for half a century or more.

14°.

The next author to be cited in the Ming dynasty is Kung Yün-lin or Kung Hsin. He says in curing white and red dysentery use opium patchouli, *huang-lien* (*Justicia*), and *pai-shu* (*Arctostaphylos*), each in equal quantity. Pulverize in a mortar and mix into pills with rice, making the pills of the size of a small bean. The old and the young must take half as much as the middle-aged and the strong. Take the mixture with rice water after being without food for some hours. Avoid sour things. Take nothing raw or cold. Take no oil, fat, tea, wine, or flour. The disease will be certainly checked. If thirsty drink a little rice water.

Another method is to take from the bud of the poppy flower before it has opened the two green leaves which enclose it and drop off when the flower opens. Pulverize them and take one-tenth of an ounce with rice water. The effect will be marvellous. According as the diarrhoea is of the red or white kind, use the bracts of the red or white poppy.

This use of the bracts which envelop the poppy flower is peculiar to this author. He was a native of Kiangsi and belonged to the Medical Board in Peking.

He also made a pill celebrated for its healing power and called the golden elixir. It was thought to be able to cure 24 different diseases, which are detailed in the "Pên-ts'ao" of Li Shih-chên, with a statement of the decoction to be taken with the pill in each case. In this pill, *I-k'chia-tan*,* Opium was used to the extent of one hundredth of an ounce and mixed with glutinous rice, to be divided into three pills, one being a dose. If ineffectual, another was taken. It was forbidden to take many of these pills. Vinegar was not to be used, for fear of internal rupture of the visceral organs resulting in death.

In Kung Sin's work, called "Wan-ping-hui-ch'ün," cited in the "Tung-i-pao-chien," there is another golden elixir, for pain above or below the diaphragm. 2½ mace of opium, with 1 mace of asafoetida, half a mace of patchouli and of aloes, and a quarter of a mace of cow bezoar. The three last were first pulverized together. Opium and asafoetida were placed in a cup and made liquid by dropping water upon them and stirring over a fire. The whole was mixed with honey and made into pills of the size of green beans and gilt. When the body was hot the pills were taken with cold water; when the body was chilled they were taken with boiling water.

The same physician also made purple gold pills with bezoar and other drugs, to help the good effects of opium. The preceding passages are from Li Shih-chên and the "Tung-i-pao-chien."

15°.

In the work "Tung-hai-yang-k'ao," an account of countries belonging to the Eastern and Western Seas,

* This was also used in Peking, says Li Shih-chên, as an analgesic and quite extensively, beyond the range of regular medicines.

it is said, "In the Sung dynasty, when merchant vessels went to sea the high officials of the ports from which they sailed went to the seashore to escort them. I have gone up the mountain at the entrance of the bight leading to Ch'uan-chou-fu (Amoy) and seen the inscriptions, with dates, on the rocks which record these things. At that time the regulations were very stringent, as if the matters in hand were of great importance. In the province of Fukkien, in the Sung and Yuan dynasties, superintendents of foreign trade were appointed at each port, under the name *Shih-po-ssü*. At the beginning of the present dynasty (Ming) this system remained unaltered, but was afterwards allowed to fall into neglect. In the period from 1465 to 1506 it happened that in the more powerful families connected with commerce there were adventurous persons who went on large ships beyond seas to trade. There were at that time bad men who secretly opened out new paths in which to gain profit, while the officers placed in charge failed to secure, openly at least, in these profitable transactions any share for the Government. At first they succeeded in gradually enriching themselves, but in course of time this sort of trade degenerated into a rivalry as to who should shoot his arrow farthest and into various irregular proceedings." The same work further says that "Along the seashore there is much land which is so full of potash and soda that the farmer can realize no harvest from it. It is only possible to look on the sea as the soil to be worked. This led to various employments connected with the sea. The rich collected a revenue from imported goods, and safely brought back with them the sheaves which they reaped in the harvest of the waters. The poor also laboured for a wage, and stretched out the hand to seize the pint measure of rice which they needed to support them in their toil. But the day of rigorous prohibition arrived. These people could not, as before, gain a living through the arrival of merchant ships. They were strong and hearty. They would not fold their hands and sit down inactive in poverty and want. Troubles consequently occurred in succession, resulting in disturbances of the public peace. Men of this class hid themselves in places beyond the local jurisdiction, and having rudely impinged on the law's net they dared not return to be apprehended. In addition to this they conducted barbarians from a distance on various occasions into the places to which they belonged."

The author proceeds to say that when the prohibition was withdrawn from foreign commerce and revenue collected from goods and merchant vessels, the Government gained in revenue and the people in tranquillity. In particular the local military expenditure was supplied to a fixed extent each year from this source. He then remarks, "The duties levied were of three kinds, according to the rules then in force: there was the water duty, the land duty, and the supplementary duty. The water duty was tonnage, and was levied on the representative of the ship. The land duty was duty on goods, fixed *ad valorem*, and levied according to the quantity of goods, on the merchant doing business on shore. In respect to this, from fear of smuggling, it was the rule that the supercargo (*ch'uan-shang*) should not deliver goods until the presentation of a memorandum addressed to the merchant on shore who was the buyer of goods, stating the amount of duty for the goods mentioned, and directing him to go to the vessel and pay the duties there; after this the goods might be removed. As to the supplementary duties, they were levied in case of an error in the declared measurement of the vessel in feet, to be added to (or subtracted from) the tonnage."

Further, in the year 1589 a tariff was issued, stating the duties to be levied on each kind of goods and approved by the military commandant. In this tariff myrrh, gum olibanum, and asafoetida, with other articles, are entered at a fixed rate of 3½ mace per cwt. for myrrh, and 2 mace per cwt. for the other two. Opium is rated at 2 mace of silver for 10 catties, or 2 ounces per cwt. In the year 1615 a new tariff was issued, in which opium appears rated at 1 7/8 mace for each 10 catties.

16°.

Li Shih-chên, author of the "Pên-ts'ao-kang-mu," finished that work A.D. 1578. After saying that the poppy is called *yü-mi* because it is a grain (*mi*) which can be used in making presents, and *hsiang-ku* because

Bad effects of prohibition.

Good effects of permission to trade.

Duties levied.

Tariff of A.D. 1589.

Tariff of A.D. 1615.

Li Shih-chên's Materia Medica.

it resembles millet (*ku*), he adds that it is sown in autumn, and in winter is above ground in the form of tender stalks which may be used as food and constitute an excellent vegetable, the leaves being like lettuce. In the third or fourth month the flowering part of the plant is well advanced and protected by bracts, which fall off when the flower opens. There are four petals, which, taken together, are as large as a saucer. The capsule is in the centre of the flower, folded in stamens. The flower falls on the third day after opening, leaving the capsule at the top of the stem. It is 1 or 2 inches in length, and in size like the *ma-tou-ling* (a drug, capsule of the bladder tree). It has a lid and a short stalk. In shape it is much like a wine jar. In it there are many white grains, which can be used for making a sort of porridge for taking with ordinary food. If the seeds are ground with water, and mixed with green beans first ground so as to make a jelly, it will be found excellent. Oil also can be made from the seeds. As to the capsules, they are much used in medicine, but are not mentioned in the old "Pharmacopoeia." From this it may be concluded that in ancient times the capsules were not used.

The author refers here to the Northern Sung dynasty, A.D. 960 to 1126, when the poppy first appeared in the "Pharmacopoeia."

He proceeds, "In Kiangu the double poppy is called *li-ch'un-hua*, flower of the bright spring. This is said by some to be a variety of the *ying-su-hua*; but this is a mistake. Its flower changes perpetually. It may be white, or red, purple, pink, or apricot yellow, or it may be half red or half purple and half white, and is very beautiful, and this is the reason that it is called the *li-ch'un*. It is also known as the Moutan peony's rival and the flower of the embroidered coverlid." He also says of the seeds of the poppy that they cure diarrhoea and relieve feverish symptoms, and of the capsules that for medicinal purposes they should be well washed and softened in water. "The stalk and outer skin should be removed and also the stringy fibres within. Let them be dried in a dark place and cut very small. They are then to be well mixed with rice vinegar and placed over the fire to simmer, after which they are fit for use as a drug. They may also be prepared with honey instead of vinegar. In taste and nature the capsules thus prepared are sour, astringent, and slightly cooling, without being poisonous. With vinegar, black prunes, or orange peel they are most effectual in curing diarrhoea, asthma, rheumatism, or pain in the heart and abdomen."

Proceeding to speak of opium, he says, "Formerly opium was not much heard of; recently it has been used by some in medical recipes. It is said to be the juice of the *ying-su-hua* (or poppy). While the head of this flower is still green, in the afternoon take a large needle and prick the outside skin, taking care not to wound the inner hard shell. It is to be pricked in from three to five places. The next day, when the sap has come out, take a bamboo knife and scrape it into an earthenware cup. Let it be dried in the shade. It being made in this way accounts for the fact that this article when bought in shops has mixed with it pieces of the skin of the capsule. It is a sour astringent, and can cure, etc. Especially is the elixir *I-i-chin-tan*, made with it, useful for curing a hundred diseases."

17°.

In the "Tu-shu-chi-ch'ing" we find a passage from a work on flowers by an author named Wang Shih-mou, who lived at the end of the 16th century.* He says, "After the peony (*shao-yao*) the poppy is the most beautiful of flowers, and grows most luxuriantly. It changes readily. If care be taken in watering and planting, it becomes very handsome, and assumes a thousand varieties of shape and colour. It even becomes yellow or green. Looked at from a distance it is lovely; when nearer it becomes less attractive. I have heard that the seeds can be used as food, and have a strongly astringent effect."

In the work on flowers published in the time of Kang Hsi, under the name "Kuang-ch'ün-fang-p'u," there is a poem on the poppy by Wu Yu-pei, of the Ming dynasty. "In the court which fronts the hall, a long way down, when the daylight is lengthened, before the terrace are flowers of the genui breathing out abundant fragrance. A vapour encircles them,

and there are rain drops upon them, where they put forth their lovely forms. They have a red tint and glossy lustre, and their appearance is beautiful. They are sown in mid-autumn and must wait for the coming year. They open their flowers in early summer, and are companions to the declining sun. Another thing to be praised is their seeds, heaped up in large capsules one after the other. Why, then, be content with what is ugly and only gather rice and such-like grain?"

In the "Tu-shu-chi-ch'ing" there is a passage from a work called "Ts'ao-hua-p'u" the book of plants and flowers, which says, "The poppy has a thousand petals and all the five colors. Its petals are shorter than those of the flower called *yü-mei-jen*, and more graceful. Through the whole garden the spring alighting upon them seem to fly as they move to the breeze. The seeds are sown in spring."

18°.

In the work called "Wu-li-hsiao-shih," written at the end of the Ming dynasty and the beginning of the present, it is said of the poppy that it is sown in the middle month of autumn, at noon. After flowering, the seed vessel grows into the shape of a vase. The tiny seeds can be eaten as porridge. Oil is also obtained from them, and the capsules are useful in medicine; they are powerfully astringent. When the capsules are still green, if a needle be used to puncture them in 10 or 15 places, the sap will come out. This should be received into an earthenware cup, which may be covered carefully with paper pasted round the edge. Let the cup be exposed to the sun for 14 days; it is then opium, ready for use as an astringent, and restrains reproduction most powerfully.

19°.

Carefully weighing what is said in the passages preceding, it appears plain that from the latter part of the fifteenth century the manufacture of native opium has existed in China, and it is not only in recent years that there has been both native and foreign opium in this country. Let the reader examine the various accounts of the manipulation by four different authors. Wang Hsi's book cannot now be procured, but judging by what is quoted from him in Li Shih-chên's work, he meant to describe the method of poppy culture in Arabia, and spoke particularly of a kind which yielded the opium sap in the 7th and 8th months or later. When, however, he speaks, as in the passage translated from the "Tung-i-pac-chien," of obstinate diarrhoea needing opium to cure it, and advises the physician to make opium direct from the poppy in a way which he describes, he must be speaking of a Chinese made article. Li Ting's account differs in too many points from that of Wang Hsi to be regarded as a second-hand statement based exclusively upon it. If so, then Li Ting is a third and independent witness on this subject, the fourth being the author of the work "Wu-li-hsiao-shih."

20°.

Early in the seventeenth century a Dutch physician named Jacobus Bontius went to reside at Batavia, and died there. What he wrote on medicine was afterwards included in the work of Gulielmus Piso, "De Indiae utriusque Re naturali et medica Libri XIV." (Elsevir, 1658). The preface of Bontius is dated Batavia, 1629. He says that those nations which use opium seem drowsy, and are dull in commerce and in arms; but unless we had opium to use in these hot countries, in cases of dysentery, cholera, burning fever, and various bilious affections, we should practice medicine in vain. This was the basis of the ancient medicine, theriac, mithridate, and philonium.

The poor Indians use the leaves and branches of the poppy to prepare an inferior sort of opium, which they obtain by drying in the sun. This they call *pusli*, and they themselves are nicknamed *pusli*. The rich, who indulge in the more expensive drug, are known as *afyeni*. The Greeks knew the danger of opium but not its merits, which are clearly divine, and which they failed sufficiently to explore.

Bontius prescribed curcuma, made from opium and the Indian crocus, *Hsi-tsang-hung-hua*. This was his refuge in dysentery, cholera, phrenitis, and spasma. He took refuge in opium as a sacred anchor, he tells us, in desperate cases. He used poppy seeds and poppy

* He died 1598. See Biography 175 in "Ming History."

* Kindly lect by Dr. K. Brutschneider.

heads. He says that opium helps nature to conquer the enemy by inducing sleep, and that he should prepare it so that it should not injure even an infant.

21°.

Towards the end of the Ming dynasty the practice of taking opium medically or otherwise by swallowing it was destined to be soon changed for the habit of opium-smoking. It is requisite, therefore, in proceeding with this record to enter on the subject of tobacco and tobacco-smoking, in order to introduce by easy transition this new step taken by the Chinese in the use of opium.

22°.

In the latter years of the Ming dynasty tobacco cultivation and tobacco-smoking were introduced into China from the Philippine Islands. Here the Spaniards had settled, and they were in constant communication with America. The tobacco plant crossed the Pacific and flourished in the neighbourhood of Manila. The first place in China where it was planted was at Amoy; it was brought there by Fukkien sailors trading to Manila. In the work above cited under the name "Wu-li-hsiao-shih," written about A.D. 1650, we are told that tobacco was brought to China about A.D. 1630, which would be about the same time that King James I's "Counterblast to Tobacco" was being circulated in England as a new publication. Tobacco was called the smoke plant "or *tampaku*, or *tan-pu-kuoi*."

In the time of the last Ming Emperor, who reigned from 1628 to 1644, tobacco-smoking was prohibited, but the habit spread too rapidly to be checked by law. The origin of opium-smoking is thus accounted for. Various ingredients were in various countries mixed with tobacco to try their effect; among them was opium. Arsenic was another ingredient, which is still used by the Chinese in what is called "water tobacco."

The Manchus now took the place of the Ming dynasty. There is a historical work called the "Tung-hua-lu," which gives the events of the first century of Manchu rule in the form of a chronicle. In the year 1641 there is in this book an account of an edict which has reference to tobacco. The Emperor asks the princes and high officers, "Why do you not lead the soldiers yourselves in the practice of archery? The elder youths should practise the horn-bow and winged arrow; the younger should be skilled in using the wooden bow and willow-twig arrow. Our dynasty in military exercises makes archery the chief thing. To smoke tobacco is a fault, but not so great a fault as to neglect bow exercise. As to the prohibition of tobacco-smoking, it became impossible to maintain it, because you princes and others smoked privately, though not publicly; but as to the use of the bow,

"this must not be neglected." The edicts afterwards promulgated against opium were just as ineffectual as those against tobacco-smoking; and among the causes of their failure must be included the love of opium-smoking by many in high positions, favourites and others, whom it would be very difficult to punish.

In a work called "Shun-hsiang-chui-pi," written 10 or 20 years later than this edict, tobacco-smoking is described as spreading to the city of Soochow and as being quickly adopted by all classes of the people. The author states that this circumstance was much to the detriment of morality; it had previously been a difficult thing to uphold moderation in living, but after this it was far more so. Women as well as men, the inhabitants of villages as well as of large towns, fell into the snare, till the habit became almost universal. This immense popularity of tobacco-smoking was an indication of the readiness of the Chinese nation to adopt the use of narcotics. The same thing which took place in the 19th century with opium-smoking occurred in the 17th century with tobacco-smoking. The Confucian mind was shocked, the sense of propriety was wounded; but this did not prevent the rapid spread of both these modes of indulgence in all circles. Prohibitory edicts were issued in vain by Emperors animated by paternal affection for their people. Tobacco was a less evil than they supposed; opium-smoking was a far greater evil than they feared. In both cases the Emperor was powerless. The Emperor Ch'eng Tsung, as we ought to call him, but who is better known as Tso Kuang, is much to be respected for his strong moral convictions on the subject of opium. He made really great efforts to cope with this evil, but it was in vain. The fondness of the people for inhaling a narcotic was too strong for him to overcome. He failed utterly in the attempt to put down opium-smoking even in the City of Peking. It was as hard to persuade his own people to abandon a bad habit as to conquer England in war.

The habit of tobacco-smoking became national, and went on extending itself for a century, till soon after the close of a long reign of Kang Hsi the attention of the Government was drawn to opium-smoking as a new vice in Formosa and at Amoy. It grew up in the same part of the country where tobacco-smoking had been introduced.

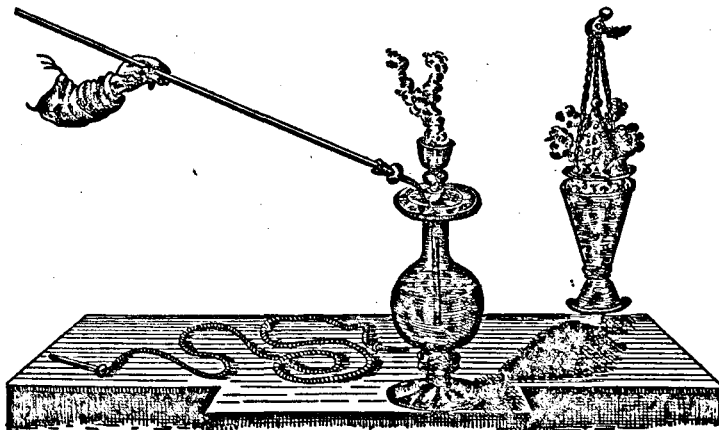
23°.

One of the most valuable works to be consulted on the subject of early opium-smoking, its connexion with tobacco-smoking, and the opium trade as it existed at the end of the 17th century, is the *Amoenitates exoticæ* of Kampher. Some passages from this work, recording his observations on tobacco, hemp, and opium, will now be given. They were first published in 1712, but the original notes from which they were compiled were taken 20 years earlier.

Spread of tobacco-smoking.

Opium-smoking in Formosa.

Kampher's Amoenitates exoticæ.



[Pipe for smoking tobacco through water.]

"Nicotiana ante seculi circiter secula totâ antiquo orbi, adeoque et Persiæ, cepit a Lusitanis transvect-
oribus innotescere. Nomen ubique habet *tabaci*, et
pro diverso gentium idiomate *tabak*, *tabacco*, *tombak* et

tombak, ab insula hujus nominis Americana, quæ
herbes copiam inventoribus dederat. Plantæ vix nomen
innotuerat, quin simul cultura celebrari ubique cœperit,
et fumandi usus omne hæmanum genus stupenda

velocitate incantaverit. Plantam, Hyoscyami speciem si negamus, ex classe tamen venenatarum nequaquam eximenda fuerit; cum vertigines, anxietates et vomitus, quos fumigata in non absuetis concitat, malignitatis testes sint luculenti. Experimentis Redianis constat, olei ejus guttulam recentem immissam vulnere, pullos vulnerum enecare, hominibus vero inferre periculosa symptomata. Vidi bajulos circa Casanam Tartariæ qui perforatum cornu bubulum foliis plenum, super positis carbonibus, paucis haustibus evacuebant; ex quo instar epilepticorum prosternebantur, pituita spumoque diffuentes. Quam vero venenata sint folia, eorum tamen fumus consuetudine homini fit familiaris, ut, non modo non noceat malignitate sua, sed benigniori sale serum ex capitis recessibus efficiat, ac cerebrum hilaritate implet. Quod ut præstet feliciter, Persæ fumum trahunt per machinam, aqua ultra dimidium plenam, quæ foetidum et cerebro inimicum sulphur imbibens, fumum transmittit ab omni malignitatis acrimonia defæcatum, frige factum et sincerum. Machina illa, quam *khalian* vel *khaliun* vocant ampulla est sesquipedalis altitudo, vitrea, oblongo ponata collo; cujus orificium claudit orbiculus æneus, in sesquipalmarem diametrum expansus, duos in medio permittens tubulos invicem adsolidatos, æneos; unum, cujus inferior pars in ampullam demissa, aquæ immergitur; superior recipit nicotiana cum impositis carbonibus retinaculum, infundibulo seu buccina orificio simile; alterum breviorum, cujus demissa extremitas aquam non attingit: superior incurvata arundinem excipit longam, quæ fumum attrahitur. Tubulorum propago, proxime sub orbiculo, telaxylina arcte circumvoluta est, in eam crassitiem, quæ vitri orificium cum modica colli parte explere atque claudat artissime: ita evenit, ut ad euctum non possit nisi ex infundibulo fumus succedere; qui jucundo strepitu aquam penetrans, primo inane vitri spatium occupat, inde per arundinem ad os sumentis atque ipsos pulmones pertingit; attractio enim, non bucca aut labiis, ut vulgo solet, sed toto pectore peragitur, quo ipso fumus per pulmones se diffundit. Si acrior herba sit, concisam prius aquam immergunt exprimuntque, ut a crudiori acrimonia liberetur: quod idem a Sinensibus et Japonibus factitatum vidi. Modum fumandi per machinam a Peris edocti sunt Arabes Hindostani, seu Indi magni Mogolis, et, qui cum religione mores Arabum adoptarunt, nigritæ quidam insulares; sed his, quod vitra deficiat, pro ampulla servit excavatus cortex cucurbitarum. Turci, Sinenses, Japonæ, Europæorum more fumum trahunt per fistulam, receptaculo tabaci accensi insertam. Nigritæ gentiles fumum sine instrumento hauriunt, rotatis foliis in turbinem, cujus basin accendunt, apice labris retento et sucto."

Hookah or water pipe.

The Persian pipe for smoking tobacco through water here described by the traveller is the parent of that now in use among the Chinese, and of the Indian hookah. The Persians taught its use to the Arabs of Hindustan, the Hindus, and the black inhabitants of Asiatic islands. It spread with the religion of the Arabs wherever they went.

Summary of Kœmpfer's account.

According to Kœmpfer's account, tobacco-smoking had during a century and a half been gradually spreading through all countries. It was introduced into Persia by the Portuguese while prosecuting their trading operations in the ports of the Persian Gulf. The poisonous qualities of tobacco he proves by what he had himself seen of its effects. Fowls die if tobacco oil is injected into a recent wound. He saw at Kasan porters smoking in a peculiar way. They filled a cow's horn with tobacco leaves, placed it over burning coals, and smoked through a hole in the horn; after a few whiffs they fell down in a state of something like foaming epilepsy. Yet he adds, when smokers are accustomed to the use of tobacco it soothes the brain and promotes cheerfulness.

Object of the water-pipe.

The invention of the water-pipe was intended to assist in removing the poisonous and unpleasant qualities of tobacco. The smoke on passing through the water is free from sulphurous fumes, moderated in strength, cooled, and purified. Glass vessels were first used, with brass fittings. The natives of the Eastern Archipelago, not having glass, used the calabash instead.

Cigars.

The author adds that while the Turks, Chinese, and Japanese all smoke with a pipe, like the Europeans, the black natives of the islands have a way of their own; they roll the tobacco leaves into a twist, which they light at one end and smoke from at the other.

"Alterum atque interni usus *khelif* ex papavere sumitur: quo Indi Persæque hortos et agros conerunt, ut lactescentem succum ex lassis capitibus proliciant. Hunc succum Europa *Opium*; Asia cum *Egypto afium* et *ofium* vocat. Persia idem præparatum, ex reverentia, appellat *theriak*, i.e., Theriacum; nam hæc illis est postarum illa *galene, hilare, et eudice*, id est, medicina animo serenitatem, hilaritatem et tranquillitatem conferens: quo olim tergemino elogio theriacale antidotum Andromachi appellatum legitimus. In Perside collectio ejus celebratur per ineuntem æstatem, propinqua maturitati capita decessantim esciando per superficiem. Culter negotio servit quingentis acie instructus, qui una sectione quinque infigit vulnera longa parallela. Ex vulnerculis promanans succus postriede scalpro abstergitur, et in vasculum, abdomini præligatum, colligitur. Tum altera capitum facies eodem modo vulneratur, ad liquorem pariter proliciendum. At, hæc collectio, ob capitum impar incrementum et magnitudinem, aliquoties in eodem arvo instituenda est. Solent in plantis nimium ramosis superflua capita prius amputari: sic reliqua magis grandescunt, et succo implentur majoris efficacia. Primæ collectionis lacryma, *golaar* dicta, præstantior est, et graviori pollet cerebrum demulcendi virtute, colorem exhibens albidum, vel ex lateo pallentem; sed qui color ex longiori insolatione et ariditate infuscari solet. Altera collectio succum promit, priori, ut virtute, ita pretio inferiorem, coloris plerumque obscuri, vel ex rufo nigricantis. Sunt, qui et tertiam instituunt, qua obtinetur lacryma nigerrima et exiguæ virtutis.

How is this done?

"Præparatio Opii potissimum in eo consistit, ut, aqua paulillo humectatum, spatula crassa lignea continuo et fortiter ducatur et reductur in patina lignea et plana, donec elaboratissimæ picis consistentiam, tenacitatem et nitorem induat. Ita diu multumque subactum, ad ultimum manu non nihil pertractatum nuda, et demum, in cylindros breves rotatum, venale exponitur; forcipe dividendum, cum particulas emptores petunt. Hac serie pertractatum Opium appellatur *theriak malidih*, i.e., theriaca molendo præparata, vel etiam *theriak afium*, id est, theriaca opiatæ, ad differentiam theriacæ Andromachi, quam illi vocant *theriak farunk*. Præparandi hic labor perpetuus est propolarum, quos vocant *khifrus*, quasi Germanice diceret *braken Krämere*, quo illi, in foris et quadrivitis sedentes, brachia sua strenue exercent. Massa hæc sæpe numero, non aqua, sed melle subigitur, ea copia admissa, quæ non siccitatem modo, sed et amaritatem temperet: et hæc specialiter appellatur *bahre*. Insignior præparatio est, quæ inter agendum adduntur nux myristica, cardamomum, cinamomum et macis, in pulverem subtilissimum redacta; qualiter præparatum Opium cordi et cerebro insigniter prodesse creditur. Vocatur in specie *polonia*, vel, ut alii pronunciant, *folonia*, puta *Philonium Persicum*, seu *menue*. Alii omnis aromatis, tantum croco et ambra massam infarciunt. Multi præparationem in usum proprium ipsi perficiunt domi suæ, ne a propolis admiscendorum paucitate vel multitudine decipiantur. Præter hæc triplicis præparationis Opium, quod sola pilularum forma deglutitur, præstat, vel etiam a domesticis conficitur, liquor celebris nominis *coconar* dictus, Græcorum quod puto *Hyoscyamus* ac Homerianum *nosyrtis*, quod a bibacibus propinari æstatim per horarum intervalla solet. Parant hujus liquorem alii ex foliis, aqua simpliciter per brevem moram coquendis; alii ex capitibus contatis infusione inacerandis, vel iidem supra filtrum repositis, aquam eandem septies octiesve superfundendo: admixtis pro cunque placito, quæ saponi gratiam conciliant. Tertium addo opiatæ genus, electuarium lacticans et lacticando inebrians; hujus electuarii, cujus basin idem Opium etiam constituit, a seplasiaribus et medicis, prout quisque incerno pollet, varie elaboratur, ac diversis ingredientibus ad robandos et exhilarandos spiritus dirigitur; unde variis ejus extant descriptiones, quarum primaria et famosissima est, quæ debetur inventori Hasjem Begi, quando-quidem comedentis animum miris perfunderet gaudiis, et magicis cerebrum demulcere ideis et voluptatibus dicitur.

How is this done?

"Opium quod Europæis, si grani unius vel paucorum dosis excesserit, lethiferum nefas audit, a prenominatis populis longe admetandine ita familiare redditum est, ut drachmam multi sine noxa deglutiant. Multa hæc abusu, vel longiori ejus usu, acciunt mala; emasiatur enim oculus, lætatur vires, contristatur animus, stupescit ingenium; unde videtur instar stipticum somnolentis et quasi elinguis sedere in conviviis opii liguriores. Sæpe oblati mihi sunt, quos a canino

appetit Opium percurarem, aostro centum aureorum promisso, si hoc citra damaum et vitas dispendium praestitero. Exempla Opium voracium non est, quod adducam, cum eorum pleni sint medicorum libri. Capita papaveris teneriora aceto condita nonnulli in mensa secunda appetunt; alia ex lisdem sorbilla conficiunt, pro suo quique placito."

Java

Kaempfer proceeded from Persia in June 1688 to Batavia, which city—then, as now, the chief seat of the Dutch power in the East—he reached in September 1689, after visiting the settlements of that nation in Arabia Felix, India, Ceylon, and the Island of Sumatra. He stayed in Java eight months, and then went to Japan. Of the use of opium in Java he gives the following account:—

u of opium.

"De Opio, ejusque Persia et India communi usu, diximus. Adde abusum execrabilem, qui viget inter Indos nigras, ad efferendum animos ad homicidiorum patratorum audaciam; dum vel vitae suae, vel injuriarum portus, se devotent morti, per ultionem et mortis aliorum appetendae. Eo fine Opium deglutunt totum: ex quo intentionis idea exasperatur, turbatur ratio, et infranus redditur animus, adeo, ut stricto pugione, inftar tigridum rabidarum, excurrant in publicum, obvios quosvis, sive amicos, sive inimicos, trucidaturi, donec ipsi, ab alio perforati, prosternantur. Actus hic vocatur *hamuk*, apud incolas Javae et ulterioris Orientis crebro spectabilis. Vocabuli sonum ibi horret, quicunque audit; nam qui vident homicidam, illi vocem *hamuk* summopere exclamant: monituri inermes, ut fugiant, et vitae suae prospiciant: dum ad extinguendum beluam accurrere debet, quisquis armatus et cordatus est. Opium etiam externus usus est apud nigras: nam eodem aqua diluto nicotianam infundunt, ut accense opunt vehementius turbet. Vidi in Java tabernas evidentes ex arundine, in quibus id genus tabaci hauriendum exponebatur praeterantibus. Nulla per Indiam merx majori lucro dividitur a Batavis, quam *afum*, quo carcere adscuti non possunt, nec potiri, nisi navibus Batavorum ex Bengala et Choromandela advectis.

opium- ing

The *taberna levidensis ex arundine* here spoken of were the first opium-smoking shops of which we have any record. According to the statement here given, opium diluted with water was smoked with tobacco. This sort of tobacco was exposed to passers-by to be smoked when, two centuries ago, the learned German traveller was taking walks in Batavia to observe the customs of the native population. He uses the word *haurio*; that this here means smoking, and not drinking, is plain from another passage (in *Ameritates* *scotice*, page 642), where he says the black inhabitants smoke without a pipe (*sine instrumento hauriant*), by rolling tobacco leaves into a whirl, which they light at the lower end and smoke from at the upper by holding it with their lips and drawing. Of opium from the Coromandel coast, which then formed a part of the lading of the Batavian ships to take back to Java, we now hear nothing; but the Bengal portion of this lucrative trade finds its lineal successor in the *Fatma* opium of the present day.

24°.

and use full ill

In the year 1723, shortly before the first edict against opium-smoking, a medical work was published with the name "Chi-yen-liang-fang,"* by Nien Hsi-yao, a bannerman in Peking of high rank and great influence in his day. He places among his prescriptions a pill called *Wai-yang-tan*, made of opium mixed with boncaer, camphor, and other drugs, 13 in all. He states that it could cure the diseases of all seasons, including fevers beginning with chill (*shang-han*), epidemic fever, heat apoplexy (*chung-shu*, severe or slight), paralysis, headache, slight fever, vomiting with diarrhoea, ague, pain in the heart, abdominal pain, and the like. Two pills are prescribed for severe cases, and one when the attack is slight; they are to be taken with cold water.

He also recommends a plaster called *Yi-shen-kae*, to be attached at the navel. It adds to the vigour of the body and saves it from decay, warms the kidneys, strengthens the loins and knees, removes cold and wet chill, with all abdominal pains, and is useful for healing all sorts of affections to which men and women are subject. It is made by mixing opium, musk, *yang-ch'i-shih*, oilbanum, cloves, and the like; 14 other drugs are added. By gradual decoction it is prepared for use and employed as required. There is another prescription, called the *Pao-yang-ling-kui-shen-fang*, or marvellous recipe of the efficacious tortoise for the preservation of

* Kindly lent by Dr. Hodgson.

health; it is formed by mixing opium with *ch'an-su* (a medicine made of the oily part of toads) and such things, and adding 33 other kinds of medicine. It is prepared with oil for use.

25°.

There is a work on Formosa called "T'ai-hai-ts'ai-feng-t'u-k'ao," which was published in 1746. It contains extracts from earlier works, and among them one by a native of Peking named Huang Yü-pu, who was at some earlier date sent to Formosa and wrote an account of what he saw there, which was published under the name "T'ai-hai-shih-ch'a-lu." He gives the following statements from this work on the subject of opium-smoking. Opium for smoking is prepared by mixing hemp and the (root of the) grasscloth plant (*Pachyrhizus angulatus* or, may be, *Pueraria Thunbergia*, Dr. Bretschneider) with opium, and cutting them up small. This mixture is boiled with water in a copper pan or tripod. The opium so prepared is mixed with tobacco. A bamboo tube is also provided, the end of which is filled with coir fibres from the coir palm. Many persons collect this opium to smoke mixed with tobacco. The price asked is several times greater than for tobacco alone. Those who make it their sole business to prepare opium in this way are known as opium tavern keepers. Those who smoke once or twice form a habit which cannot afterwards be broken off. Warmth is conveyed in a vaporous form to the *tan-t'ien** ("red field," located in the kidneys), so that the whole night can be passed without lying down. The aborigines smoke as an aid to vice. The limbs grow thin and appear to be wasting away; the internal organs collapse. The smoker unless he be killed will not cease smoking. The local officers have from time to time strictly prohibited the habit. It has often been found that when the time came for administering the bastinado to culprits of this class, they would beg for a brief respite, that they might first take another smoke. Opium came from Java.

Early opium-smoking in Formosa.

Of the various early narratives which describe the habit of smoking opium with a bamboo pipe, the account we have here seems to be the most minute. It is not stated in what year it was written, but the year in which it was reprinted as an extract was 1746. In reference to the last sentence, which says that opium came from Java, it should be observed that it agrees with what Kaempfer in his book states. He found that diluted opium was mixed with tobacco to offer to passers-by to smoke; he observed this during his residence in Java. We learn from this that it was tobacco-smoking which led to opium-smoking. During the reign of Kang Hsi Koxinga occupied Formosa for a time. It was about that time that the island received the name "Taiwan." In the Ming dynasty we meet only with the names Tamsui and Kelung. In the days of Koxinga many Chinese colonists went over from the mainland to reside there. There was constant communication with Java by trading vessels. Many wanderers without a livelihood from various countries went there from time to time, and it was through this class of persons that the pernicious habit of opium-smoking originated in Formosa.

Opium-smoking came to Formosa from Java.

26°.

In the work named "T'ai-wan-chih," or topographical account of Taiwan,† it is said, "It is not known from what time the practice of opium-smoking was introduced. The opium is boiled in a copper pan. The pipe used for smoking is in appearance like a short club. Depraved young men without any fixed occupation used to meet together by night to smoke; it grew to be a custom with them. Often various delicacies prepared with honey and sugar, with fresh fruits, to the number of 10 or more dishes, were provided for visitors while smoking. In order to tempt new smokers to come, no charge was made for the first time. After some time they could not stay away, and would come even if they forfeited all their property. Smokers were able to remain awake the whole night and rejoiced, as an aid to sensual indulgence. Afterwards they found themselves beyond the possibility of cure. If for one day they omitted smoking, their faces suddenly became

Another account of early opium smoking in Formosa.

* The Chinese letter has a threefold meaning. The seat of the *tan-t'ien* (rennes) is three inches below the navel; that of breath is in the brain. The seat of the soul is in the heart. The first is here chiefly meant. See "T'ung-t'iao-chien," 1, 12.

† Kindly lent by Dr. Hodgson, who was the first to discover the native account of the origin and first progress of opium-smoking in Formosa.

" shrivelled, their lips opened, their teeth were seen, they lost all vivacity, and seemed ready to die. Another smoke, however, restored them. After three years all such persons die. It is said that the barbarian inhabitants of Formosa thus use craft and cunning in order to cheat the Chinese residents out of their money at the expense of their lives. The foolish are not sensible of their danger, and fall victims. This habit has entered China about 10 or more years. There are many smokers in Amoy, but Formosa is the place where this vice has been most injurious. It is truly sad to reflect on this."

27°.

Prohibitory edict of 1729.

In the year A.D. 1729 an edict was issued on opium-smoking, prohibiting the sale of opium and the opening of opium-smoking houses. The Government found itself face to face with a dangerous social evil of an alarming kind. The physical effects of opium-smoking as displayed in the shrivelling up of the features and an early death, as thus described by eye-witnesses, produced a deep impression in Peking. The sellers of opium were to be punished, not the buyers. The masters of opium shops are dealt with most severely, as being the seducers into evil paths of the young members of respectable families. Sellers of opium were to bear the wooden collar for a month, and be banished to the frontier. The keepers of shops were to be punished in the same way as propagators of depraved doctrines; that is, they were to be strangled after a few months' imprisonment. Their assistants were to be beaten with 100 blows, and banished 1,000 miles. Everyone was to be punished except the smoker; for example, boatmen, local bailiffs, neighbours lending help, soldiers, police runners, in any way connected with the matter, all had punishments assigned them. The same was true of magistrates and Custom House superintendents in the seaport towns where these things had happened; all were to bear some penalty. Only the opium-smoker was exempted. It was felt, perhaps, that his punishment was self-inflicted; he would die without the help of the law. This edict was followed by another the next year for the checking of evil practices among the colonists of Formosa. All guilty of robbery, false evidence, enticing the aborigines to commit murder, the sale of gambling instruments or of opium for smoking, are to be punished with death or banishment.

Spread of opium-smoking in the eighteenth century.

Opium-selling for smoking purposes has from this time forward been regarded as a crime by the ruling authorities. From their point of view it is considered as criminal in proportion to the mischief it causes, which is without doubt great beyond computation. The very earliest instance of legislation on this matter is here before the reader. It was based on local events occurring on the sea-coast, a long way from Peking. The gradual spread from the province of Fuhkien, to all the provinces was still in the future and was not before the minds of the legislators. The sale of opium was connected in their minds with gambling, robbery, and false accusation; its special guilt consisted in its being a temptation to evil on the part of the salesmen, as the drug was destructive of the physical health, comfort, and life of their victims. The effects proved the criminality. Further, it was closely conjoined with various crimes already condemned in the statute book. It sprang up in a lawless locality at a great distance from Peking; there was therefore no inclination to leniency from the fear of offending persons or classes whom the Government would not like to offend. The law was in consequence promptly made, decided in tone, and severe in detail. Was this law acted upon? No allusion was made to it by the Jesuit missionaries in the "Lettres édifiantes" or in the "Mémoires concernant les Chinois." The habit of opium-smoking is not mentioned in these works. The trade in opium certainly remained as before. 200 chests a year continued to be imported, and in 1767 that quantity had gradually increased to 1,000 chests. The duty was $\text{Ta. } 3 \text{ a chest.}^*$ It would appear, then, that the old tariff of the Ming dynasty was still followed in the main. The sale of opium was prohibited by statute, but we do not find proof that it was refused as a drug at the Custom Houses of Amoy and Canton. The import

* The "Hai-kuo-fu-chih, chapter 32, tells us that in 1682 the duty on opium as a medical drug was $\text{Ta. } 3 \text{ a picul, and that, besides this, Ta. } 3 \text{ and } 4 \text{ or } 5 \text{ caudarius were collected at a later period on each parcel, without saying what a parcel was. It is added that on account of the growth of opium-smoking in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the Viceroy of Canton petitioned the Emperor to prohibit the importation, which was done in 1764.}$

steadily increased during the time it was in the hands of the Portuguese, till English merchants took it up in 1773, after the conquest of Bengal by Clive. The East India Company took the opium trade into its own hands in 1781. At that time the minor portion only of the imported opium was devoted to opium-smoking—at least we may assume this. The Superintendents of Customs in those days would continue to take the duty on opium as a drug. What was contraband they would say was *ya-pien-yen*, which means opium for smoking; the drug *ya-pien* would still pass the Customs as medicine. This seems to have been the reason that the import still continued to increase at about the same ratio as before the edict of A.D. 1729, not till after 40 years reaching a quantity amounting to 1,000 chests. Medicine claimed opium as a most powerful agent, and since the commencement of the trade at Canton and Amoy, whether the merchants were Portuguese, Chinese, Arabs, or Dutch, it was as medicine that it had been sold. When Defoe says of his hero in "Robinson Crusoe" that he went from the Straits to China in a ship with opium, it was as a drug that he pictured it to himself. Up to that time it was in fact a part of the trade in medicine; not long after it became a trade in a drug used medically and for smoking combined.

28°.

The native growth in Yunnan of the opium poppy can be traced to about the same time, or a little later. In the history of that province, published in 1736, it is stated that opium was then a common product of the department of Yung-ch'ang-fu, in the western part of that province, where it borders on Burma. It may have been introduced by the Mahomedans, who were fond of it themselves, as a powerful medicine, or it may have been brought there from Burma and Thibet. It is spoken of in the accounts we have of the trade of the 16th century as having been introduced along with woven fabrics by traders coming from the coast of India. Negapatam and Meliapur are mentioned as exporting both opium and woven fabrics to Pegu and Siam. The seeds of the poppy may therefore have been taken by the Burmese route to Yunnan. This native opium would be intended, not for opium-smoking, but to be used medically, as by a physician's prescription, or by the contraction of a habit of daily consumption in a way like of that De Quincey and Coleridge.

Native opium in 1736.

The Mahomedans have long been a power in the province of Yunnan, and their agency is to be suspected in this early cultivation of the poppy in that part of China. It was they that first learned from the Greeks the wonderful soothing powers of this drug. They cultivated the poppy in Arabia, then in Persia, then in India. It was from them, in the Ming dynasty, that the Chinese learned the way to cultivate the poppy and derive the opium juice from the capsules. It was they that carried on the trade in opium, before the arrival of the Portuguese, between the various sea-ports of the old Asiatic world.

It was probably by Mahomedan pilots that the ambassador of the Ming Emperor was conducted to the sea-ports of Arabia, Persia, and India in the voyage we find on record. It was through information given by Mahomedans residing as merchants at Canton that the Portuguese were known by the Chinese historians as *Faranggis* or Franks. It was because the Mahomedans wished to keep the profits of the trade in opium and other articles exclusively to themselves that they prejudiced the Chinese Governors of Canton and Fuhkien against the Portuguese, and induced them to refuse the liberty to trade. We need not be surprised, therefore, if later on the cultivators of the poppy in Yunnan, in the commencement of last century, were Mahomedans; they may have been simply the continuators of the Ming dynasty cultivation, or they may have commenced afresh with seeds brought from Burma.

What is the poppy in Yung?

29°.

In the year 1742 an Imperial work on medicine was published under the name "I-tung-chin-chien." In this book, as a remedy for weak and injured lungs the capsules of the poppy are directed to be used, and ginseng and apricot kernels, together with seven other medicines, prepared in the form of a decoction, to be drunk warm. Mention is also made of a poppy ointment for sores and burns. Fifteen poppy flowers are to be used, and if not to be had, capsules are to be taken instead

I-tung-chin-chien.

of them. A ditty of four lines in rhyme says that this ointment for burns and scalds is made with sesamum oil and poppy flowers or capsules mixed with water and boiled down; white wax and true calomel are added. When smeared on the part affected the pain at once subsides. There is also a remedy for ulcers and tumours in which the capsules are used. It is a powder formed of olibanum and *huang-ch'i* (*Sophora tomentosa* or, say some, *Plumaria Sibirica*,* a labiate plant used as a tonic). A ditty of four lines, used as a recipe, says that olibanum and *huang-ch'i* may be used for persons of a weak constitution who are afflicted with painful tumours and ulcers; such tumours if they have not grown to their full size will be at once dispersed, and if they are already mature they will break. The roots of *tang-wei* (*Aralia edulis*), *shao-yao* (*Paeonia albiflora*), ginseng, *Sophora tomentosa*, *ch'uan-hsiung*,† and *Ti-huang* (comfrey, i.e., *Symphytum*—Williams), together with olibanum, myrrh, poppy capsules, and liquorice, are used to make this powder, which is also useful for bruises, sprains, wounds, and fractures.

ent use
capsules.

In addition to these recipes, there are several others in the same work which also contain the poppy capsules. They are omitted for brevity. At present in Peking the capsules sold in drug shops are derived from the *Papaver somniferum*, cultivated at the town of An-su (near Pao-ting-fu), from Shanai, from Canton by sea, and from other places. They are bought and sold at the annual drug fair at Chi-chou, a city lying to the south-west of Pao-ting-fu.

30°.

ppo
of

An account of the "Hoppe Book" of 1753 has been lately prepared by Dr. Hirth and is printed in the "Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society" for the year 1882. The "Hoppe Book" is an explanation of the Custom House books in use at Canton in 1753; it was translated in that year, and contains varied information on the manner of settling the duties on all goods imported and exported at Canton. The author was an English merchant, whose name is not known. The division of the tariff is much the same as that of the present Chinese one, but imports and exports are not distinguished. Five kinds of taxes were then levied on foreign trade:—

kinds
taxes in

- I. An import duty, according to a fixed tariff, payable on all merchandise imported.
- II. An export duty, payable on all exports, inclusive of re-exported goods proceeding to Ningpo and other ports on the Chinese coast: it consisted of a tariff charge of 6 per cent. *ad valorem*.
- III. Extra charges on exports and imports, such as for remitting the duty to Peking, for weighers, linguists, &c., and for servants of the Board of Revenue.
- IV. Tonnage.
- V. Present.

three
of books.

The three books relating to the tariff at Canton which had then been authorised by the Board of Revenue at Peking are partly translated in this work, which also contains the manner of settling duties then in use at the Port of Canton:—

- 1st. "Chéng-hsiang-tsé-li," or the book of true and fixed duties.
- 2nd. "Pi-li," or the book of comparisons.
- 3rd. "Ku-chia," or the book of valuation.

The first of these books was made A. D. 1687, and is kept as it was, unaltered. The book of comparisons was first sent, with about 150 articles collected together in it, to the Board of Revenue in Peking, for approval, in the year 1733. After this time every two or three years additional articles were added and sent to Peking for approval; so that this book was continually increasing.

The third book is a register of the value of all goods exported or re-exported from Canton, for the purpose of laying on them an extra charge of 6 per cent., to be added to the other duty on such exports and re-exports.

for rating
750.

Here we are astonished to find that in 1755 a picul of silk could be valued at Tls. 100, and one of tea at Tls. 8; that white sugar was worth Tls. 1.50, brown sugar, Tls. 1, sugar candy, Tls. 2.50, rhubarb, Tls. 1.50, per picul; and that rusk was valued at Tls. 1.50 per catty; while opium was not worth more than half an ounce of silver per catty. The value of a chest of opium would therefore amount at that time to not quite \$100. The existence of opium as an article of trade at Canton in

* Williams's "Dictionary," page 316.
† *Ti-huang* from *Saccharum*. It looks to *Lycium*.

the middle of last century is certainly beyond doubt; it is also mentioned in the Kang Hsi tariff of 1687, and there pays a duty of three candareens per catty, constituting exactly 6 per cent. of the fixed value appearing in the valuation book.

31°.

In passing on to the year 1782 an extract may be here inserted from a letter, dated 7th July 1782, of an official nature addressed from China by Mr. Thomas Fitzhugh to Mr. Gregory in London. It was presented to Parliament, and is taken from the "Commons" Report, 1783, vol. vi.* "The importation of opium to China is forbidden on very severe penalties: the opium on seizure is burnt, the vessel in which it is brought to the port confiscated, and the Chinese in whose possession it is found for sale is punishable with death. It might be concluded that with a law so rigid no foreigners would venture to import, nor any Chinese dare to purchase this article; yet opium for a long course of time has been annually carried to China, and often in large quantities, both by our country's vessels and those of the Portuguese. It is sometimes landed at Macao and sometimes at Whampoa, though equally liable to the above penalties in either port, as the Portuguese are, so to say, entirely under the Chinese rule. That this contraband trade has hitherto been carried on without incurring the penalties of the law is owing to the excess of corruption in the executive part of the Chinese Government. . . . In the year 1780 a new Viceroy was appointed to the government of Canton; this man had the reputation of an upright, bold, and rigid Minister. I was informed that he had information of these illicit practices, and was resolved to take cognizance of them."

Opium
smuggling
in 1782.

32°.

England sent an Embassy in 1793, and China was minutely described by Barrow and Staunton. The habit of opium-smoking had then been slowly growing for 60 years. Singularly, they only say when speaking of it that many of the higher mandarins took opium; they do not describe the mode of smoking. Staunton says, "they smoke tobacco mixed with other odorous substances, and sometimes a little opium." Yet it cannot well be doubted that they referred to the habit of opium-smoking. In the geographical work called "Hai-kuo-t'u-chih" we are told that opium-smoking commenced only in the last years of the Emperor Chien Lung, that is, about 1790. The explanation of this statement is found in the fact that it was only then that the habit reached Peking and became so general that public attention was called to it in Government documents. At about the same time the local authorities at Canton began to complain of rapid increase in the trade in opium. In 1800 there was an edict issued prohibiting opium from being brought to China in any ship. It was from this time that the more distinctly smuggling period commenced. It was a contraband trade, but connived at by Viceroys and Governors; they felt a difficulty, and concluded not to touch the evil with any firm intention to heal. How to treat it they knew not. The evil grew beyond their power of control. They regarded it as the "vile dirt of foreign countries;" they feared it would spread among all the people of the inner land, wasting their time and destroying their property; they advocated the prohibition of the trade, and the Government consented to their advice, and frequently issued prohibitory edicts, but too often some of the officials themselves smoked, or their nearest friends smoked, and so the hand of interference was paralysed; and the demand for opium continuing, the import was never seriously checked till the time of Lin Tsé-hsi and the war of 1841.

Opium-
smoking in
1798.

In 1800.

33°.

In the geographical work "Hai-kuo-t'u-chih" the following remarks also occur. In the year 1796 a prohibitory edict was received, but the official authorities at Canton still allowed opium-receiving ships to anchor at Whampoa at a distance of only 4 English miles from the city. From this time smuggling proceeded year by year unchecked till 1823, when a local arrangement was decided on, according to the terms of which a charge was made of a regular amount on each chest; of this the officers, from the Viceroy downwards, whether civil

Statements
in "Hai-kuo-
t'u-chih."

Local
arrangement
in 1823.

* Quoted in "Poppy Plague," page 42, by J. F. B. Tinsley

or military, at the port connected with shipping all received a share. Most of this went to the office of the superintendent. Some received it on board the ships, and others in the City of Canton. These sums were paid regularly month by month to the Chinese officers. In some cases opium itself was given, instead of silver, in large and small portions. On each occasion of this kind one or more chests would be given and sometimes as many as 150 chests. This irregular and illicit mode of proceeding lasted till the year 1840.

34°.

Native testimony on the deleterious effect of opium.

The following passage occurs in a botanical work, "Chih-wu-ming-shih-t'u-k'ao," published about 40 years ago:—"The poppy is not mentioned before the T'ang dynasty, A.D. 618 to 907. In the 'Pen-ts'ao' of the period 968 to 976 the poppy is placed in the lower division of cereal plants. In the Sung dynasty a decoction of poppy seeds was thought highly of, but at that time the medical efficacy of the capsules and seeds was understood to extend only, as being astringent, to the cure of diarrhoea and dysentery. In the Ming dynasty, 1368 to 1644, the pill called *I-i-chin-tan*, or golden elixir, came into use, and was found to be very deleterious if much was taken. Of late years opium has spread throughout the Empire—a universal poison. Its effects are as bad as those of the poisonous plant known by the name of *Tuan-ch'ang-ts'ao*, as producing internal rupture in the intestines. Yet as the guilt is not in the flower, it finds its place in botanical works on flowers."

35°.

Statistics of the present native production.

Mr. Donald Spence, British Consul at Ch'ung-ch'ing-fu, in Szechwan, in the year 1881, made inquiries

into the amount of opium produced at that time in the four south-western provinces. He states that in Szechwan the consumption of native opium within the province amounts to 54,000 piculs, while 123,000 piculs are sent to other provinces; of these, 70,000 piculs are exported in an easterly direction, 40,000 piculs paying duty, and 30,000 piculs being smuggled. Yunnan produces annually 35,000 piculs, and Kweichow 10,000 piculs, while Hupeh supplies to the market not more than 2,000 piculs. In all, the production of native opium amounts to 224,000 piculs. Mr. Spence's Report on the native production of opium was forwarded to the Foreign Office of the British Government, and was subsequently presented to Parliament and printed. If a comparison be made of the amount of opium produced in the four above-mentioned provinces, viz., 224,000 piculs, with the quantity of foreign opium imported in 1882, viz., 66,900 piculs, it will be seen that the opium of native production is more than three times as much in quantity as that introduced from India and elsewhere.

36°.

In Mr. Tinning's "Poppy Plague" there are 75 pages of closely printed information on the history of British opium, chiefly collected from the Parliamentary Papers of 1783, 1787, 1831, and 1840, and from the East India Company's Reports of 1812 and 1813. The present historical note is made up of information from the Chinese side and from Kämpfer, who is not alluded to by the authors of the "Poppy Plague" and "Our Opium Policy."

Conclude note.

INDEX.

- Aden, 150.
A-fu-yung, old name of opium, 150.
Afyán (*afium*, *abyán*, *apyán*, *ofium*), 147, 154, 155.
Afyáni, 152.
Amomites exotica, extracts from, 153-155.
 Amoy, tobacco plant, introduced from Philippine Islands, 153.
 Opium-smoking in, 156.
 Arabia visited by CH'ENG HO, 150.
 Arabs, their knowledge of the poppy, 147, 148.
 At Canton, 148.
 Uncle of MAHOMET buried at Canton, 148.
 Two Arabian travellers, 148.
 The Arabs as traders in 15th century, 150.
 They grew opium in India in 16th century, 150.
 The Arab national name for opium, 147.
 Arabian method of obtaining opium, 150.
Aralia edulis (*tang-kuei*), 157.
 Arsenic mixed with tobacco, 153.
 Asafoetida, 151.
Atractylodes alba (*pai-shu*), 149, 151.
 Bahrs, 154.
 Baghdad, 148.
 BARBOZA, account of trade in opium, 150.
 Batavia, 152, 155.
 Bezoar, 151.
 BONTIUS, a Dutch physician in Java, 152.
 his opinion of opium, 153.
 Burma, opium cultivation in, 156.
 Calicut, 150.
 Cambay, 150.
 Canton, Superintendent appointed at, to overlook foreign trade, 148.
 Official corruption on a large scale, 1822 to 1840, 157, 158.
 Upright and bold Viceroy in 1780, 157.
 New prohibitory edict in 1798 not obeyed by the Canton authorities, 157.
 Another prohibitory edict in 1800, 157.
 Capsule of poppy, called *mi-nang*, 148.
 First medical use in 12th century, 149.
 Use in dysentery, 149.
 Use, whence derived, 149.
 Use in North China in 12th and 13th centuries, 149.
 Use in South China in 13th century, 149.
 Use against diarrhoea and cough: "it kills like a knife," 150.
 Use in 14th century, 150.
 Use in 1742, 156.
 Pricked for its juice in 1488, 150.
 Pricked for its juice in 16th century, 150.
 Process in preparing, 149, 150.
 Ch'an-su, 155.
 CH'EN TS'ANG-CH'U, 146.
 CH'ENG HO, voyage to Aden, 150.
 Ch'eng-tu-fu, cultivation of poppy in, 148.
Chi (*Panicum mitaceum*), 148.
Chi-su-shui, 148.
Chi-yen-liang-fang, a work by NIEN HSI-YAO, 155.
Chien-kuang-t'a, 148.
Chih-wu-ming-shih-t'u-k'ao, a botanical work, 156.
 China-root, 149.
Chiu-huang-pen-ts'ao, a medical work of 14th century, 150.

- CHOU-TING WANG, 150.
 CHU CHEN-HEUNG, writer on the poppy capsule, 150.
Chung-shu-shu, a work on trees, 148.
 Cigars, 154.
 Cochín, 150.
 Cochín China, trade with, 148.
Coconár (*kóknár*), Persian name for poppy, 147, 154.
Comfrey (*Symphytum*), 157.
 Compass, floating, in 1122, 150.
 CORNELIUS NEPOS, story of poppy, 147.
 Coromandel coast, export of opium from, 150, 155.
Counterblast to Tobacco of King JAMES I., 153.
Crocus Indica, mixed with opium, 152.
 Curcuma, 152.
 Customs books at Canton: the tariff, the book of comparisons, the book of values, 157.
 DEFOE'S reference to opium, 156.
 Drugs mixed with opium to modify the effect: patchuck, *Justicia*, *Boymia Rutocarpa*, 151.
 DUDKOV, Dr. discoverer of native account of opium-smoking in Formosa, 155.
 Duties of three kinds: tonnage, tariff, and supplementary, 151.
 On opium, 156, 157.
 East India Company, 156, 158.
Electuarium, 154.
Elicococca verrucosa, 149.
Eudios, 154.
 FENG TZU-CHEN, 150.
 FITZHUGH, Mr. THOMAS, 157.
Polonia (*polonia*), 154.
 Foreign trade prohibited, 151.
 Permitted, 151.
 Formosa, origin of opium-smoking in, described by HUANG YÜ-FU, 155.
 Injurious effects of opium-smoking in, 155, 156.
Galena, 154.
 GAMA, VASCO DE, 150.
 Ginseng, 149.
 Goa, 150.
Gobaar, 154.
 Golden elixir pill, 151, 152, 158.
 Greek name for opium, 147.
 GRABOURT, Mr., 157.
Hai-kuo-t'u-chih has statements on opium, 157, 158.
 Duty on opium as a medical drug in 1662, 156.
 HAMI, 150.
Hami's opium suicide, 155.
 Hangchow, superintendent appointed at, to overlook Foreign trade, 148.
 Happy inebriation, 154.
 HASHEM Begi, inventor of *Electuarium*, 154.
Hilars, 154.
 HIPPOCRATES knew the poppy, 147.
 HIRTH, Dr., account of *Hoppo Book*, 157.
 HOMER'S use of the poppy, 147.
 Hookah or water pipe, 153, 154.
Hoppo Book, 157.
 Hormus, 150.
Hsi-tsang-hung-hua, name of the India crocus, 152.
Hsiang-ku, a name of the poppy, 151.
 HSIEN K'Ö, writer of a poem on the poppy, 149.
Hsiung (*Levisticum*), 157.
 HSE CHING, ambassador to Corea, 150.
Hsüan-ming-fang, a work by LIU HO-CHEN, 149.
Huai-shöng-ssü, 148.
Huang-ch'i (*Sophora tomentosa*), 157.
Huang-lien (*Justicia*), 151.
 HUANG YÜ-FU, author of a work on Formosa, 155.
 Hupeh province, production of native opium, in 1881, 158.
Hyosciamus, 154.
I-chien-fang, a work by WANG SHIH, 149.
I-hsiao-ju-mén, a work by LI T'ING, 150.
I-li-chün-tan, 151, 152, 158.
 Used as an aphrodisiac, 151.
 Used to cure many ailments, 152.
I-lin-shi-yao, a work by WANG HSI, 150.
I-tsung-chün-chien a work on medicine, 156.
Iliad, reference to poppy, 147.
 Java, 155.
Justicia (*huang-lien*), 151.
 KÄMPFER, 149, 153, 154, 155.
 His work, *Amamitaké exotica*, 153.
 His account of tobacco, 153.
 Summary of his account, 154.
 His visit to Java in 1688, 155.
 Mention of opium-smoking shops and of use of opium, 155.
K'ai-pao-pên-t'ao, 148.
 Kasan, 154.
Khaliam (*khalium*), 154.
Khash-khash, Arabian name for poppy, 147.
Kheif, 154.
Kheifruis, 154.
Köknár (*coconá*), 147, 154.
 K'OU TSUNG-SHIH, medical writer on the poppy, 149.
Kuang-ch'ün-fang-y'u, a work on flowers, 149, 152.
 KUNG YÜN-LIN (KUNG HSIH), prescription by, 151.
 Recommended the use of the bracts of the poppy flower, 151.
 His work, *Wan-ping-hui-oh'sen*, 151.
 KUO T'Ö-R'Ö, author of *Chung-shu-shu*, 148.
 Kweichow province, production of native opium in 1881, 158.
Levisticum, 157.
Li-ch'ün-hua, a name of the poppy, 152.
 LI KAO, 149.
 LI SHIH-CHEN'S *Materia Medica*, 149, 151, 152.
 LI T'ING, author of *I-hsiao-ju-mén*, 150, 152.
 Described about 1550 the preparation of opium, 150, 152.
 LI T'ING, writer on divination and the *I-ching*, 150.
 LIN HUNG, a writer on poppy capsules, 149.
 LIN TSI-HSU, 157.
 LINDLEY, the botanist, 149.
 Liquorice, 149, 157.
 LIU HAN, 148.
 LIU HO-CHEN, author of *Hsüan-ming-fang*, 149.
 LIU TSUNG-YÜAN, 148.
 LIVY, story of poppy, 147.
 Local arrangement of charges in 1822, 157.
Lung-ku, fossil bones, used with the capsule, 150.
 MA CHIH, 148.
Ma-tou-ling, 152.
 Mahomedans traded to China in MAHOMED'S time, 148.
 In Chinese Turkestan, 150.
 In Yünnan, 156.
 Malwa, manufacture of opium in, 150. ✓
 Manchú prohibition of tobacco-smoking, 153.

- Manila, the tobacco plant in, 153.
 Mariner's compass used in twelfth century, 150.
Materia Medica of eleventh century, 148.
 Medical use of capsules probably derived from the West, but this is not proved, 149.
 Of opium in sixteenth century, 150.
 Of opium in 1723, 155.
 Of poppy seeds, 149.
 Of poppy seeds to counteract the effects of the exorbitant use of mercury, 149.
 Medical writers in China first mention the poppy in eighth century, 148.
 Medicines mixed with poppy capsules are *tang-shên*, *pai-shu*, seafoxtida, puchuck, China-root, liquorice, cow bezoar, 149, 151.
Mekon, Greek name of poppy, 147.
 Melliapur, 156.
 Mercury, use of, 148, 149.
Mesue, 154.
 "Millet bags," 148.
Mi-nang, name for poppy heads, 148.
 Ming dynasty mode of preparing opium, 150.
 Prohibition of tobacco-smoking, 153.
 Mithridate, 152.
 Mnsk, value of, in 1755, 157.
Nan-fang-ts'ao-mu-chuang, 148.
 Negapatam, 156.
Nepenthes, 154.
 NIX HSI-YAO, a medical writer in eighteenth century, mixed 13 drugs with opium, 155.
 Ningpo, Superintendent appointed at, to overlook Foreign trade, 148.
 Opium, a Greek word; its Latin form and Arab and Persian names, 147.
 Manufactured in Persia from the white poppy, 149.
 In Java in 1629, 152.
 In India in sixteenth century, 150.
 How made in Persia, 154.
 Taverns at Batavia, 155.
 Sale of, punished by death in 1729 and 1782, 156, 157.
 Deleterious effects as stated in *Chih-wu-ming-shih-t'u-k'ao*, 158.
 Importation prohibited in 1796, 156.
 Value of, in 1755, 157.
 Statistics of native production in 1881, 158.
 Opium-smoking arose from tobacco-smoking, 153.
 In Formosa and Amoy, 153.
 First opium-smoking shops, 155.
 In 1793, as described by Sir G. STAUNTON, 157.
 Opium-smuggling in 1782, 157.
 Orange peel taken with the capsule, 150.
Pachyrhizus angulatus, 155.
Paeonia albiflora (*shao-yao*), 157.
 Preony, 152.
Pai-i-hsüan-fang, a work by WANG CH'U, 149.
Pai-shu (*Atractylodes alba*), 149.
Pan-yü-hsien-chih, 148.
Panicum miliacuum, 148.
Pao-yang-ling-kwei-shên-fang, 155.
Papaver somniferum, white and red varieties, 149.
 To be used for white and red dysentery respectively, 151.
 Peking, failure of efforts to check opium-smoking in, 153.
Pên-ts'ao-kang-ma, 149, 151.
Pên-ts'ao-yen-i, 149.
 Persia produced the white poppy in the sixteenth century, 149.
 How opium is made there, 154.
 Persian Gulf visited by the Chinese, 150.
 Persian national name for opium, 147.
Pharmacopæia mentions the poppy, 148, 151.
 Philippine Islands the source of Chinese tobacco-smoking, 153.
Philonium Persicum, 152, 154.
 Pill called *Wan-ying-tan* made of opium and 13 drugs, 155.
 Pipe for smoking tobacco through water, and object of invention, 153, 154.
 PISO, GULIEMUS, work published in 17th century, 152.
 Plaster called *Yü-chên-kao* made of opium and 16 drugs, 155.
Poloniâ (*foloniâ*), 154.
 Poppy as a flower, 147, 152.
 In Italy and Greece, 147.
 First cultivated in China in 8th century, 148.
 Second mention of cultivation, 148.
 Early poem on, 148.
 Other poems on, 149, 152.
 Poppy-milk fish, 149.
Poppy Plague, by Mr. J. F. B. TRILING, contains history of British opium compiled from official papers, 157, 158.
 Poppy seeds mentioned in *K'ai-pao-pên-ts'ao*, the *Pharmacopæia* of 973, 148.
 Portuguese become chief merchants in the East, 150.
 Introduced tobacco smoking into Persia, 154.
 Preparation of opium described by KEMPFER, 154.
 Described by LI T'ING, 1550, 150.
 Described by LI SHIH-CH'EN, 1573, 151.
 Described in the work *Wu-li-hsiao-shih*, 152.
 Triple preparation, 154.
 Prices ruling in 1755, 157.
 Prohibition of Foreign trade encouraged native production, 151.
 The Japanese raids caused the prohibitions, 151.
 Effect of prohibition seen in local lawlessness, 151.
 Prunes taken with the capsule, 150.
Prunica Sibirica, 157.
Pueraria Thunbergia, 155.
 Punishment of death for sale of opium in 1729 and 1782, 156, 157.
Pust, 152.
 Puchuck, 151.
 Quilon, 150.
 Seeds of poppy used in medicine, 152.
Shan-chia-ch'ing-kung, a medical work, 149.*
Shao-yao (*Paeonia albiflora*), 152, 157.
Shih-po-sü, Superintendent of Foreign trade, 148, 151.
Shun-hsiang-chui-pi, 153.
 Si-an-fu, cultivation of poppy in, 148.
 Smuggling regularly connived at by Viceroy and Governors from 1800 to 1840, when it was put down by LIN TAI-HSU, 157, 158.
 Soochow, tobacco smoking in, 153.
Sophora tomentosa, 157.
 SPENCE, Mr. DONALD, British Consul, statistics of native production of opium in 1881, 158.
 SU CH'U's poem on the poppy, 148.
 SU TUNG-ro mentions it, 148.
 SU SUSE, medical author on the poppy, 148.
 SU-TUNG-ro's poem, 148.
 SUNG YANG-TU, 148.
Symphytum (comfrey), 157.
 Szechwan province, consumption of native opium in 1881, 158.
T'ai-hai-shih-ch'a-lu, a work on Formosa, 155.
T'ai-hai-ts'ai-fêng-t'u-k'ao, a work on Formosa, 155.
 Taiwan, 155.
T'ai-wan-chih, 155.
Talmud of Jerusalem mentions opium as a dangerous medicine, 148.

- Tan-pu-kuei* (*tampaku*), a name for tobacco, 153.
Tan-t'ien, 155.
Tang-kuei (*Aralia edulis*), 157.
Tang-shên, (ginseng), 149.
 TAO KUANG, efforts to put down opium-smoking, 153.
 Tariff in Ming dynasty, 151.
 TARQUIN, 147.
Tê-hsiao-fang, a work by WAI I-LIN, 149.
Theriac, 154.
Theriac (*Theriacum*), 152, 154.
 Thibet, opium cultivation in, 156.
Ti-kuang (*Symphytum*), 157.
Ting-li, a cruciferous plant, 149.
 TINLING, Mr. J. F. B., author of *Poppy Plague*, 157, 158.
 Tobacco and tobacco-smoking, 153.
 When introduced, 153.
 Spread of, 153.
 In Soochow, 153.
 Smoked through a horn, 153.
 Smoked through a water pipe, 153, 154.
Tobak (*tabaco*, *tombak*, *tembak*), 153.
 Tonnage dues in Ming dynasty, 151.
 Trade, good effects of permission to, 151.
 Foreign, prohibited, 151.
 Foreign permitted, 151.
 Freedom in, led to local tranquillity and aided the funds required for the maintenance of a military force, 151.
 At Canton, Hangchow, and Ningpo, under a superintendent, 148.
 In the Ming dynasty, detailed in *Tung-hsi-yang-h'ao*, 151.
T'ao-hua-p'ü, a work on plants and flowers, 152.
T'u-ching-pên-ts'ao, second *Pharmacopœia* of Sung dynasty, mentions the cultivation of the poppy, 148, 149.
T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng, 148, 149, 152.
Tuan-ch'ang-ts'ao, a poisonous plant, 158.
Tung-hsi-yang-h'ao, a Ming dynasty work on ocean trade, 151.
Tung-hua-lu, a historical work, 153.
Tung-i-pao-chien, a Korean work on medicine, 150, 151, 152.
 Describes the preparation of opium from the poppy capsule, 152.
 Turfan, 150.
 VIRGIL, use of the poppy, 147.
Wan-ping-hui-ch'ün, a work by KUKE YÜN-LIN, 151.
Wan-ying-tan, made of opium and 13 drugs, 155.
 WANG CH'IU, author of *Pai-i-hsüan-fang*, 149.
 WANG HSI mentions opium in *I-lin-chi-yao*, 150.
 Describes the preparation of opium from the capsule, 150.
 How he came to know the medical practice of the Mahomedans, 150.
 WANG SHIH, author of *I-chien-fang*, 149.
 WANG SHIH-MOU, author of a work on flowers, 152.
 WAI I-LIN, author of *Tê-hsiao-fang*, 149.
 Women smoked tobacco in 17th century, 153.
Wu-chu-yü, (*Boymia Bukcarpa*), 151.
Wu-i-hsiao-shih, 152.
Wu-tung, (*Elaeococca verrucosa*), 149.
 WU YU-T'AI's poem on the poppy, 152.
Ya-pien, a name for opium, 147, 156.
Yang-ch'i-shih, 155.
 YANG SHIH-YING wrote on use of capsules in dysentery, 149.
Ying-kung, *T'ang*, *Pên-ts'ao*, 148.
Ying-su, poppy seeds, explanation of name, 148.
Ying-su-hua, 152.
Ying-t'ai-su, poppy, 148.
Yü-mi, a name of the poppy, 151.
 YANG-CH'ANG-FU, opium grown in, in 1736, 156.
 YUNG T'AO's poem on the poppy, 148.
 YÜNNAN province, growth of opium in, 154, 158.

APPENDIX III.

Printed by order of the Royal Commission in accordance with the remarks at questions 492 and 493.

MEMORIAL presented by the ANTI-OPIUM SOCIETY in November 1892.

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Kimberley, K.G.,
President of Her Majesty's Council and Principal
Secretary of State for India.

MY LORD,

On behalf of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, we beg to lay before your Lordship the following considerations:—

1. Your Lordship is doubtless aware that, on the 10th of April, 1891, the House of Commons, by a majority of 81 votes, adopted, in principle, the following resolution, moved by Sir Joseph Pease, and seconded by Mr., now Sir Mark, Stewart:

This House is of opinion that the system by which the Indian opium revenue is raised is morally indefensible, and would urge upon the Indian Government that they should cease to grant licences for the cultivation of the poppy and sale of opium in British India, except to supply the legitimate demand for medical purposes, and that they should, at the same time, take measures to arrest the transit of Malwa opium through British territory.

We have good reason to believe that the recently-elected House of Commons contains at least as large a majority of members opposed to the continuance of the opium trade as the last, and that there is not the slightest probability of its reversing that vote.

2. The emphatic condemnation of the opium trade thus pronounced by the late House of Commons was the result of a widespread feeling amongst the thoughtful people of this country, and especially amongst the Christian Churches, hostile to the continuance of the opium trade at present carried on by the Indian Government. The public conscience is shocked, not merely by the sad and shameful record of the wars by which the legalisation of this traffic was wrung from China, but by the continuing fact that the British nation raises revenue wherewith to provide for the cost of governing India by trading in an article which is prepared for vicious use, which brings misery to countless myriads in China and other Eastern lands, and the sale of which, in our own country, is subject to restrictions based on its recognition by the entire medical profession as a dangerous poison. The repugnance of the British people to the whole system has been manifested, during the past three years especially, by several hundreds of public meetings, generally crowded, enthusiastic, and often influential and representative in a marked degree. At these meetings, resolutions condemning the trade have been adopted, almost always with absolute unanimity. During the session of 1891, 3,352 petitions were presented to Parliament for the suppression of the opium trade, bearing 192,106 signatures; 956 of these petitions being officially signed. Since the vote on Sir Joseph Pease's motion, memorials to Government, praying that speedy effect might be given to that vote, have generally taken the place of petitions; from the Wesleyan Methodist body alone memorials to this effect have been presented, bearing 271,680 signatures.

3. The late Government took some steps towards satisfying the public sentiment with regard to the opium traffic. In pursuance of declarations made by Sir James Fergusson (in the absence of Sir John Gorst), and the late Right Hon. W. H. Smith, in the course of the debate on Sir Joseph Pease's motion, it directed that the area under poppy cultivation in the Behar and Benares agencies should at once be restricted; and in accordance with such restriction the Government of India reduced the number of chests for sale in the current year from 57,000 (the number sold by auction at Calcutta during each of the four previous years) to 54,000 chests.* Your Lordship's predecessor, Viscount Cross, also sanctioned proposals made by the Indian Government, in response to a memorial presented

to him by this Society in 1890, for the abolition of licensed opium-smoking dens throughout India, and of the extremely objectionable "minimum guarantee" clause contained in the opium licenses used in the Presidency of Bombay.†

4. Whilst gladly accepting these measures of reform as steps in the right direction, we are unable to recognise them as satisfying the conscientious objections of the Christian and thoughtful people of this country to the existing system. The scope of these measures obviously falls far short of carrying out the resolution which the House of Commons has approved.

5. Under these circumstances, we have read with much satisfaction the observations with regard to the opium question made at Penicik, on the 11th of July last, by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, now Her Majesty's Prime Minister. After referring to the earlier history of the opium trade, and to the disgraceful wars waged by this country with China, which resulted in the legalisation of the import of opium into that country, Mr. Gladstone is reported to have said:—

"There is still the growth of opium in India. There is still a considerable revenue, though not nearly what it was, connected with it, and there is considerable desire, I believe, in this country to get rid of that connexion altogether. I, gentlemen, can only say this, that subject to the obligations of good faith, I shall be most delighted to see, and even, if I can, to forward, any measure within the bounds of reason for limiting that connexion and bringing it, if it can be done, altogether to an end."

6. Accepting these utterances as representing the views of Her Majesty's present Ministers, we beg to submit to your Lordship the following suggestions as to the mode in which effect may best be given to them, and at the same time to the decision of the House of Commons. It will be convenient here to distinguish between the various branches of the opium trade, as they will require separate treatment.

These are:

- (1). The Bengal opium monopoly, under which the Indian Government grants licenses to cultivators in the Behar and Benares opium agencies for the cultivation of the poppy, makes advances to them without interest, purchases from them their entire crop, manufactures the poppy-juice into opium in the Government factories at Patna and Ghazipur, and finally sells the prepared opium by monthly public auction at Calcutta, except that portion which is reserved for sale by the Excise Department in India.
- (2). The Malwa transit duty system, under which, by arrangement of the Indian Government, opium grown and prepared in some of the native States of Central India pays to the Government of India, on its passage to Bombay for export, a heavy transit duty, equal to nearly two-thirds of the present wholesale price at Bombay; the revenue obtained from it by the native Princes being only a small percentage of that received by the Government of India.
- (3). The Excise system, under which the exclusive right of selling opium is farmed out to licensees, whose interest it becomes to increase the sale to the utmost possible extent, and to spread the degrading vices of opium-eating and opium-smoking amongst the people of India.
- (4). The system adopted in the Panjab of licensing the growth and preparation of opium for local consumption only.

7. As regards (1) the Bengal opium monopoly, we would urge upon your Lordship that the Indian

* Reply by the Hon. G. N. Curzon, M.P., to question put by Sir Joseph Pease, Bart., M.P., Feb. 25, 1892.

† Despatch of Viscount Cross to the Governor-General of India, dated December 17, 1861. (Blue Book, Consumption of Opium in India (1862, C. 2522), p. 108.)

Government should be instructed still further to reduce the area of poppy cultivation for the coming season, so as to limit the production of opium to that which medical use requires, and at once to stop the Government opium sales at Calcutta.* At the present time "a specially prepared article" is issued from the Government agencies to the Medical Department, which "takes the place" in India "of the European form of the drug." With this exception, opium is not prepared in India for medical use, but solely for sensual indulgence. There would, probably, be no serious difficulty in so treating the opium now in store as to adapt it for medical use; but, however this may be, it is plain that the mere fact that a certain amount of opium is in stock at Calcutta cannot affect the duty of a Christian Government, at once to withdraw from a traffic which it perceives to be immoral.

8. As regards (2) Malwa opium, we would point out that the present wide extension of poppy cultivation in the native States is due to the policy of the British Government itself. On this point the following statement is made by Mr. St. George Tucker,† of whom Dr. Medhurst tells us that, "Having, at the earnest solicitation of the Government, taken upon himself the management of the Indian finances, he resorted them from a condition of extreme jeopardy, and left them upon a respectable basis; subsequently he became a Director of the East India Company, and twice filled the important office of Chairman of the Directors."‡ In a note handed by him to the Court of Directors, in 1829, Mr. Tucker says: "Ever since I had the honour of being a member of this Court, I have uniformly and steadily opposed the encouragement given to the extension of the manufacture of opium; but of late years we have pushed it to the utmost height, and disproportionate prices were given for the article in Malwa. We contracted burdensome Treaties with the Rajput States to introduce and extend the cultivation of the poppy. These Treaties were repealed about fifty years ago. At the present time, the native States engage§ so to manage their opium cultivation and production as to safeguard the British revenue; and, in exchange for this service, they receive either money compensation or other concessions." Under these circumstances, it is, we submit, clear that the same moral grounds, which can alone justify the existing prohibition of poppy culture in by far the greater portion of British India, require that Her Majesty's Government should prohibit the transit of opium from the Central States through British territory to the sea, except in the case of opium prepared for medical use. It would, however, be desirable, in our view, that the arrangements already existing between the Indian Government and the native States should be revised, in order that the restriction of the culture to medical requirements may be effected by a mutual prohibition, enforced alike in British India and in the Malwa States. The adoption of this course would relieve the Indian Government of the necessity of establishing a special service on the borders of these States to prevent the export, and would at the same time put an end to the smuggling of opium into adjoining British territories, which is already so serious an obstacle to the efforts of British officers to diminish the consumption of opium.

9. As regards (3) the Excise system, as it affects opium and other narcotic drugs, we simply ask that principles which have long been recognised in the legislation of the United Kingdom be applied for the protection of our fellow-subjects in India. Numerous petitions and memorials received from India during the past two years, great public meetings in many important Indian towns, which have been addressed by some of the most thoughtful and influential natives, and articles that have appeared in many organs of native opinion, alike give evidence that grave dissatisfaction is felt in India at the facilities offered by the existing system for the sale of these drugs. At home, under the Pharmacy Act of 1868,§ none of these drugs can be sold except by duly qualified druggists, and with a label showing them to be poisons; whilst the preparations of Indian hemp are classed amongst those dangerous poisons which may be sold only to persons known to the seller or introduced to him by some such person, entry being made in a register of the particulars

of each sale. As regards opium, the provisions of the law in force in this country are, we believe, generally considered by medical men to be insufficient, and their laxity has been condemned by coroners' juries; still less would they be suitable, in their present form, for the requirements of India. We would urge upon your Lordship to request the Indian Government without delay to prepare and adopt such regulations under the Indian Opium and Excise Acts as may be found best suited to adapt to the requirements of British India the fundamental principles, that the sale of poisonous drugs is to be restricted to medical and scientific use, and that discretionary powers for such sale should be entrusted only to responsible and carefully-selected persons, who possess adequate knowledge of the deleterious properties of these drugs, who can readily be called to account for any improper use of the discretion conferred upon them, and whose remuneration in no degree depends on the amount of their sales.

10. The case of Burma falls within the general principles, the adoption of which we have urged in paragraph 9. Six years ago, on the occasion of the annexation of Upper Burma, we presented to your Lordship a memorial deprecating the introduction of the Excise system, as regards opium, into that province. We then stated our views with regard to the two provinces very fully; and we have since had occasion to recur to the subject in our memorial presented to Viscount Cross on the 30th of July, 1890, paragraphs 10 to 13, and in another, dated March, 1892, paragraphs 8 and 9.* We notice that, since the date of our last memorial, Sir Alexander Mackenzie has replied to the despatch addressed to him by the Indian Government under date 29th July, 1891,† and we understand that in this reply he gave full reasons for adhering to his former opinion as to the desirability of prohibiting the sale of opium to Burmans, and further expressed a view in accordance with that which we laid before your Lordship's predecessor, that it was unnecessary and undesirable to make an exemption in favour of the Chinese residing in Burma. We sincerely trust that no further delay will be permitted in sanctioning throughout Burma the measures which have been so carefully elaborated by the Chief Commissioner, and which the officials and people of the province so earnestly and unanimously desire.

11. As regards (4), the Punjab system of licensing the cultivation, we would submit that this should be at once put an end to. The prohibition of poppy culture has been already enforced by the Indian Government, in 1799 as regards Lower Bengal and Orissa, as well as throughout Southern India;‡ about 1860 in Assam§; and at other dates elsewhere. "The policy of Lord Cornwallis, Lord Teignmouth, Lord Wellesley, and Lord Minto, who circumscribed the produce within the narrowest limits, confining the cultivation of the poppy to two of our provinces, and actually eradicating it from districts where it had been previously cultivated,"|| was, no doubt, largely based on fiscal reasons; but it will hardly be contended that fiscal reasons can justify that which motives of morality, and the desire to protect our own subjects from an evil contagion would not warrant. We are assured by competent witnesses that the Sikh people would generally welcome the adoption by Government of measures which would enable them to rid themselves of a habit which they recognise to be a debasing and injurious one.

12. We are well aware that the measures thus indicated as necessary to give effect to the decision of the House of Commons, and to the convictions held by the great mass of thoughtful and Christian people in this country involve the abandonment by the Indian Exchequer of a still considerable, though steadily decreasing, revenue. Sir Joseph Pease, in the debate of last year,¶ expressed his willingness to accept the following addition to his resolution, which, however, the expiry of the time permitted for discussion precluded him from formally moving: "This House is of opinion that such annual grants should be made to the Government of India as the then probable amount of deficit, and the then circumstances of Indian finance seem to require." In so doing he represented the

* Return of Dr. Watt's article on opium, printed by order of the House of Commons, 1831, p. 7.

† Papers relating to the opium trade in China, 1842-1856, presented to the House of Commons, 1857, p. 54.

‡ Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India, 1837-38, p. 8.

§ 31 Vict. c. 121.

* Blue Book, "Consumption of Opium in India," 1892, p. 116.

† *Ibid.*, p. 102.

‡ Return of Dr. Watt's article, p. 70.

§ Evidence of Sir C. Beadon: Report of East India Finance Committee, 1871, question 322.

|| Mr. St. George Tucker: Papers relating to the opium trade in China, 1842-1856, presented to the House of Commons, 1857, p. 54.

¶ Report from Hansard's Report of the Debate, p. 15.

view repeatedly expressed by this Society, that the suppression of the opium trade must not be allowed to add to the taxation of the Indian people. We believe that the people of this country will be ready to make up any deficiency which, in the judgment of the responsible Government of the day, may be properly attributable to the withdrawal of the Indian Government from the export trade in opium, and which cannot otherwise be provided for except by placing fresh burdens on the peoples of India. At the same time, we are convinced that in many directions it is possible to introduce greater economy, combined with moral or even improved efficiency, into the administration of Her Majesty's Indian Empire—we would especially refer to the recommendations of the Simla Commission of 1879, on military expenditure, and to your Lordship's own suggestions contained in the Blue Book, "East India (Reduction of Expenditure), 1885." The development of Indian resources, on the lines pointed out by the Indian Famine Commission of 1881, has already produced a very gratifying increase in the revenue of India, and we believe that further attention to this important subject would in the course of a very few years, entirely fill up the void that must temporarily be occasioned by the cessation of the opium revenue from abroad. The withdrawal of the facilities now provided by Government for the consumption of opium in India itself would operate in the same direction; as Sir Charles Atchison's report on opium in Burma, supported by many other authorities, shows that the opium habit seriously interferes with the due cultivation and development of the land. The stoppage of the trade in opium with China would probably give a powerful stimulus to the exports of other Indian produce to that country, which already show a marked improvement in recent years, and would thus contribute materially to the prosperity of India. It would also, in all probability, have a very beneficial effect on silver exchanges, by putting an end to the drain of silver from China to India in payment for opium, thereby enabling the Chinese to substitute the use of silver for their present cumbersome copper coinage. It would thus tend to check the depreciation of silver which is at the present time so serious an embarrassment in the finances of India.

13. Whilst we have thus dealt in detail with the various branches of the opium question, we regard the immediate stoppage of the monthly auction sales of opium at Calcutta as by far the most important and pressing of the measures which we desire to urge upon your Lordship. These sales are a feature of the trade which has been admitted to be indefensible by some of the most eminent amongst Indian administrators, including the honoured names of Lord Lawrence, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Herbert Edwardes, Sir Donald Macleod, and Sir William Muir. It is true that most of these favoured the substitution of a system in Bengal similar to that which exists in Bombay, a proposal to which we have frequently expressed our unhesitating opposition, and which the vote of the House of Commons, condemning both systems alike, has made it unnecessary now to discuss. It is, however, true, as these distinguished statesmen perceived, that the manufacture and sale of opium by Government itself is that which most strikingly and conclusively identifies the Indian Government with an immoral traffic. The total cessation of these sales could not fail to have the happiest results. To the people of India it would be a much-needed evidence that the British nation puts morality before revenue, and refuses to traffic in the vices of its subjects or of their neighbours. It would inevitably be followed by the Governments of other British settlements in the East which at present derive a large portion of their revenue from pandering to the vice of opium-smoking. To the Dutch Government of the East Indies, which prohibits the cultivation of the poppy in its own territories, but which follows the evil example of British rule by deriving a great revenue from the sale to its own subjects of opium, purchased chiefly in India, it would facilitate the withdrawal from a pernicious system which is working havoc throughout the Island of Java. Above all, to the great Chinese people such a withdrawal would be a token that we have at last truly repented, as a nation, of the grievous wrongs which we have inflicted upon them—wrong which, by a strange inconsistency, are often frankly admitted by statesmen who yet see no objection to our continuing to reap the profits of a trade which our cruel and unjust wars originally forced upon the Chinese.

14. In China, the results to be anticipated from the stoppage of the export trade in opium from Calcutta

and Bombay are thus stated in a letter received by us, about a year ago, from one of the most competent and experienced observers, the Rev. Griffith John, D.D., of the London Missionary Society, who has been for upwards of 35 years a missionary in the great commercial centre of Hankow.

"Let China see that we are capable of sacrificing millions of pounds annually for her good, and that of our own free will, in obedience to the dictates of conscience and from a sense of humanity, and she will not be slow to acknowledge the worth and dignity of the act. Nay more, she may begin to glorify God in us. Our intercourse with the people would become more friendly; commerce would extend and develop; one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of Christ's kingdom in the land would be removed; the people would listen more respectfully to our message; and the day of China's regeneration would begin to dawn. Many obstacles would still remain, but having got rid of this we should feel that we could face the rest with hearts light and brave. We should then begin to hope for old Cathay as we have not ventured to do hitherto.

But have the Chinese the ability to put down the vice? As long as the Indian trade in opium exists the hands of the Chinese Government are tied and paralyzed. They can simply do nothing, but allow things to go on from bad to worse. Their best efforts, however sincere and energetic, would prove abortive. If the Indian trade in the drug were abandoned the Chinese would, I firmly believe, make an honest effort to stop the native growth, and the attempt would eventuate at once in a diminution of the evil. It might eventuate ultimately in its complete suppression.

But whether the Chinese Government can put down the native growth or not, our path as a Christian nation is plain enough. It is for us to wash our hands clean of the iniquity. The trade is immoral and a foul blot on England's escutcheon. It is a disgrace to ourselves as a people and unworthy of the place which we hold among the nations of the earth."

Similarly the Rev. Christopher C. Fenn, one of the secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, who is and has for many years been connected more particularly with the work of that Society in China, writes as follows in the "Church Missionary Intelligencer" of March last:—

"It will be known throughout China—for there are Protestant missionaries in almost every province—that the import of opium from India to China is stopped; and it will be very widely known also that in taking that step England has sacrificed considerable pecuniary gain. Every British official in China will henceforth feel it his duty to discourage, as far as his influence reaches, the growth, supply, and the consumption of opium, in order to promote both the admission of other English and Indian commodities, and also the production of those articles which can be exchanged for such commodities. Every Chinese official, from the highest to the lowest, will know that the most stringent and strenuous efforts to put down the growth and import of opium will never be in any way thwarted by the British Government, or tend in the smallest degree to embroil the friendly relations between England and China. Many of these will be disposed to take vigorous measures to stop the terrible evil, being encouraged to do so by the overwhelming majority of their own countrymen. It is impossible to believe that any check to such measures will be applied by the central Government. The chief authorities will not dare, whatever their own desires may be, especially when, as now, discontent is widely spread, thus to defy public opinion. May it not be hoped that before many months are passed—say within three or four years—the anti-opium feeling will have gradually become so strong as to sweep all before it. There is in China no dislike to paternal Government action. On the contrary, for this purpose at least, it will be earnestly asked for, and firmly and successfully applied. The cancer that has been eating into the vitals of Chinese life will be torn out; and once again, in many places, a population morally and physically vigorous, will be ready to "receive the engrafted Word." A powerful stimulus will be given to the desire for friendly intercourse with Western Nations; prejudice against European civilization and inventions will be removed; the construction of railways will be encouraged; a free interchange will be established of the products of British and Chinese industry; and two mighty and peaceful empires, linked together in commerce and amity, will bestow on each of them an effectual barrier against northern aggression. The message of salvation will once again resume its

westward course. America will be stimulated up to a holy and generous emulation. From the western shores of that continent and by railway across its northern hills and plains, thousands of ardent evangelists from the British Isles, from the United States, from the Canadian Dominion, with the Gospel in their hearts and on their lips, will speed forward, with the sun, to the abodes of this ancient but still vigorous nation, will supply the lamentable defects of the noble but mournful teaching of Confucius, and will sow seeds of Divine Truth, that may grow up in a soil still strange to it, and yield at length some new proof of its transforming power, to

the glory of Him who is Truth and who is Love. 'Glory be to God in the highest; on earth peace, goodwill towards men.'"

We can desire no greater honour for your Lordship and for the Government of which you are a member, than that you may be the instruments in the Divine hands of bringing about so blessed a consummation.

We are, with great respect,
Your Lordship's obedient servants,

(Signed, on behalf of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade),

JOSEPH W. PEASE, President.

J. C. LIVERPOOL (Bishop).

JOHN SARUM.*

J. W. CARLIOL.*

[* As regards the general matter of the Petition, not as regards all its expressions.]

A. COTTON, General R.E., Madras.

F. B. MEYER.

W. F. MOULTON.†

[† With some reserve as to paragraph 9.]

MARK J. STEWART.‡

[‡ Approves generally, except as to the fourth sentence of paragraph 12.]

BASIL WILBERFORCE.

DONALD MATHESON, Chairman.

H. W. MATYARD, Treasurer.

GEORGE GILLET.

HENRY GURNEY.

T. HANBURY.

JOHN HILTON.

NICHOLAS HURRY, Member of Board of London Congregational Ministers.

JAMES LEGG, Professor of Chinese, University of Oxford.

DAVID McLAREN, J.P., D.L., Ex-Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Edinburgh.

GEORGE FERREY.

SAMUEL SOUTHALL.

W. S. SWANSON, D.D.

C. W. TREMEREER, Lt.-Gen.

HENRY WIGHAM.

ROBT. PRINGLE, M.D., Brigade-Surg., H.M.'s Bengal Army, Deputation Secretary.

JOSEPH G. ALEXANDER, Secretary.

ARTHUR ALBRIGHT.

JOSEPH ANGUS, M.A., D.D.

THOS. J. BARNARDO.

JOHN BARRAN.

(REV.) GEORGE S. BARRETT, Norwich.

ALFRED HENRY BAYNES, Genl. Sec., Baptist Missionary Society.

HENRY J. BERGUER, Vicar, S. Philips, Arlington Square, N.

W. BICKFORD-SMITH.

J. B. BRAITHWAITTE.

H. BROADHURST.

HENDERSON BURNSIDE.

W. S. CAINE.

GORDON CALTHROP.

SIR WILLIAM T. CHARLEY, Q.C., D.C.L.

A. M. W. CHRISTOPHER, M.A., Rector of St. Aldate's, and Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford.

WILLIAM S. CLARK.

F. C. CLAYTON.

J. J. COLMAN.

J. LLEWELYN DAVIES.

JOHN EDMOND, D.D.

J. PASMORE EDWARDS.

CHRISTOPHER C. FENN.

THEODORE FET.

JAMES P. GLEDSTONE.

BENJAMIN GREGORY.

H. GRATTON GUINNESS, D.D.

F. T. HAIG, Major-General.

DAN. BELL HANKIN.

WM. HARVEY, Ilkley.

ALFRED HOWELL.

ISAAC HOYLE.

HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND, § Canon of St. Paul's.

[§ To the general intention of the Petition.]
THOS. HUGHES, Q.C., Judge of Circuit No. IX.

SAMUEL HULME.

ALFRED ILLINGWORTH.

E. E. JENKINS.

A. McARTHUR.

JUSTIN McCARTRY.

ALEX. McLAREN, D.D., Union Chapel, Manchester.

JAMES E. MATHIESON.

W. C. MAUGHAN, Hon. Sec. Glasgow Auxiliary.

H. C. MILWARD, Vicar of Lyonshall (late Vicar of Redditch).

W. MORGAN, Bryn-golen, Shawford, near Winchester.

H. C. G. MOULE, M.A., Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge.

G. S. MUR.

ARTHUR PEASE.

WM. T. RADCLIFFE.

J. J. RIDGE.

FREDK. SESSIONS.

THOMSON SHARP.

H. C. SQUIRES.

T. ALFRED STOWELL, M.A., Rector of Chorley, and Hon. Canon of Manchester.

JOSEPH STURGE.

JOSEPH THOMSON.

J. F. B. TINLING.

H. W. WEBB-PEYLOE, Vicar of St. Paul's, Onslow Square, S.W.

S. D. WADDY.

BENJ. WHITWORTH, J.P.

PHILIP H. WICKSTEED.

JOHN WILSON, M.P. (Govan).

Vice-Presidents.

Members of the Executive Committee.

Members of the General Council.

APPENDIX IV.

CORRESPONDENCE with the FOREIGN OFFICE concerning the operation of existing Treaties with China in regard to the importation of opium into China and the duty thereon, as bearing on the declaration made by the Right Honourable Sir James Fergusson, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, in the House of Commons, on the 10th April 1891. (See Questions 252 and 253.)

SIR, 15th September 1893.
I AM directed by the Chairman of the Royal Commission on Opium to ask you to lay the following matter before the Right Honourable the Secretary of State.

On the 10th April 1891, Sir James Fergusson, speaking in the House of Commons on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, is reported by Hansard to have said:—

"The Chinese at any time may terminate the treaty on giving 12 months' notice, and to protect themselves

they may increase the duty to any extent they please, or they may exclude it altogether. This, I think I may say, that if the Chinese Government thought proper to raise the duty to a prohibited extent, or shut out the article altogether, this country would not expend one pound in powder and shot or lose the life of a soldier in an attempt to force the opium upon the Chinese."

More than one of the witnesses brought forward by the Anti-Opium Society has stated before the Royal Commission that China is not really free to take her

own course in this matter. In order that the position may be clear, I am directed to forward extract from proof of the evidence given by Dr. Maxwell on the subject.

Lord Brassey would not himself desire to go behind a statement made in Parliament by a member of the Government, speaking on behalf the Government, on a question of this kind. Still, as the doubt has been raised, perhaps Her Majesty's Government would desire it authoritatively to be set at rest. The statement, made by Sir James Fergusson in April 1891, has been on occasions referred to in Parliament; and it was cited in the debate of the 30th June last in the House of Commons.*

It has been suggested to the Commission that the statement quoted above from Sir James Fergusson's speech consisted of two parts. In the first sentence he referred to the additional article of the Chefoo Convention which can be terminated at 12 months' notice by either party. On the termination of that article the regulations under the Treaty of Tientsin are revived, and by those regulations "transit" dues on "it (opium) will be arranged as the Chinese Government see fit." The second sentence declares the policy which will guide Her Majesty's Government if or when China raises the question in the future.

The Royal Commission on Opium would be glad if you could favour them with an authoritative statement upon the question that has been raised.

I am, &c.
(Signed) C. E. BERNARD,
Acting Secretary to the Commission.
To the Under Secretary of State
for Foreign Affairs.

Foreign Office,
September 25, 1893.

Sir,
I AM directed by the Earl of Rosebery to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th instant and to transmit, for the information of the Royal Commission, copy of a memorandum drawn up in this Department giving information respecting the treaty engagements between this country and China on the subject of the importation of opium.

I am, &c.
(Signed) T. V. LISTER.
Sir C. E. Bernard.

MEMORANDUM respecting the TREATY ENGAGEMENTS between this Country and China on the subject of the Importation of Opium.

There is no mention of opium in the Treaty of Tientsin of the 26th June 1858, or in the previous Treaty of Nanking which was thereby confirmed.

Art. 24. The Treaty of Tientsin declares that British subjects shall pay on all merchandise imported or exported by them the duties prescribed by the tariff, subject, however, to most favoured nation treatment.

Art. 25. It declares further that (inasmuch as the tariff fixed under the Treaty of Nanking was no longer equitable) the tariff shall be revised so that it shall, as revised, come into operation immediately after the ratification of the Treaty.

Art. 27. It was further agreed that either of the contracting parties might demand a further revision of the tariff and of the commercial articles of the Treaty at the end of 10 years; but that if no such demand was made within six months after the end of the first 10 years, then the tariff should remain in force for 10 years more, and so on at the expiration of each 10 years.

Art. 28. With regard to transit dues it was declared that the Chinese authorities should declare, within a period of four months, the amounts leviable, which should be fixed as nearly as possible at the rate of $\frac{2}{3}$ ad valorem.

In pursuance of Article 26 of the above Treaty an agreement was signed by Lord Elgin and the Chinese Plenipotentiaries on the 8th November 1858, which contained rules and regulations in explanation of the Treaty, and to which a revised tariff was attached.

It was therein declared that the said tariff and rules should be "equally binding on the Governments and subjects of both countries with the Treaty itself."

Rule 5, "Regarding certain commodities heretofore contraband" relating, among other articles, to opium, ran as follows:—

The restrictions affecting trade in opium are relaxed under the following conditions:—

"1. Opium will henceforth pay 30 taels per picul import duty. The importer will sell it only at the port. It will be carried into the interior by Chinese only, and only as Chinese property; the foreign traders will not be allowed to accompany it. The provisions of Article 9 of the Treaty of Tientsin, by which British subjects are authorised to proceed into the interior with passports to trade, will not extend to it, nor will those of Article 28 of the same Treaty by which the transit dues are regulated: the transit dues on it will be arranged as the Chinese Government see fit; nor in future revisions of the tariff is the same rule of revision to be applied to opium as to other goods."

In the tariff annexed to this Agreement opium is included with an import duty of 30 taels per 100 catties.

In the Chefoo Agreement of 13th November 1876, section 3, relating to trade, it is declared that foreign concessions at the ports are to be regarded as the area of exemption from *li-kin*.

The 3rd subsection of section 3, relating to opium, is as follows:—

"On opium Sir Thomas Wade will move his Government to sanction an arrangement different from that affecting other imports. British merchants, when opium is brought into port, will be obliged to have it taken cognizance of by the Customs and deposited in bond, either in a warehouse or a receiving hulk, until such time as there is a sale for it. The importer will then pay the tariff duty upon it, and the purchasers the *li-kin*, in order to the prevention of the evasion of the duty. The amount of *li-kin* to be collected will be decided by the different provincial Governments according to the circumstances of each."

On the 18th July 1885 an additional article to the Chefoo agreement was signed in London, amending the above stipulation as to opium, and the agreement, together with the additional article, was ratified on the 6th May 1886.

In lieu of clause 3 of section III. of the Chefoo agreement, it was arranged (by the additional article) that foreign opium when imported into China should be taken cognizance of by the Imperial Maritime Customs and should be deposited in bond and not removed thence until there should be paid to the customs the tariff duty of 30 taels per chest of 100 catties, and also a sum not exceeding 80 taels per like chest as *li-kin*.

The opium might then be re-packed, a certificate should be issued gratuitously to the owner which should free the opium from any further tax or duty whilst in transport to the interior provided that the packages had not been opened or the Customs seals, &c. tampered with.

These certificates were to have validity only in Chinese hands, and should not entitle foreigners to accompany the opium inland.

On the opening of the packages at their destination the opium should be treated, in respect of taxes or contribution, as native opium, in calculating which taxes the *li-kin* should be deducted from the market value.

This arrangement was to remain binding for four years, after which either party might give 12 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.

The contracting parties might by common consent adopt modifications of the additional article which experience might show to be desirable.

In an exchange of notes, dated 15th July 1885, it was stated that if the Chinese Government failed to bring the other Treaty powers to conform to the provisions of the additional article, Her Majesty's Government might at once withdraw from it, and revert to the previous system of taxation.

The object of this was no doubt to protect the British flag, as, if the foreign Governments did not agree, British merchants could import under foreign flags.

The present position of the question appears to be—

That British merchants may import opium on payment of a duty of 30 taels per 100 catties, and that opium so imported shall remain in bond until that duty

Mem., Sept.
19, 1893.

Rule

1 picul
100 catties

China
(1886)
p. 3.

p. 4.

p. 5.

* Hansard for 30th June 1893, page 624.
† Page 7 of Command Paper, No. 4747 of 1886.
‡ Page 11 of Parliamentary Paper of 1891, on "China Treaties."

is paid with the addition of a li-kin not exceeding 80 taels per 100 catties.

That these payments shall frank the opium to the place of consumption, where no further tax shall be levied than is payable on native opium, the amount paid as li-kin being calculated off the value.

That this arrangement may be terminated by either party by giving 12 months' notice.

That Her Majesty's Government may moreover terminate it at once, if the other Treaty Powers do not conform to its provisions.

That in the event of its termination the importation of opium shall be regulated by the conditions attached to the Treaty of Tientsin, namely:—

Import duty, 30 taels per picul, with transit dues as Chinese Government shall see fit, &c.

A. H. OAKES,

Foreign Office,
September 19th, 1893.

APPENDIX V.

EXTRACTS from the MINUTES of EVIDENCE given before the ROYAL COMMISSION ON ALLEGED CHINESE GAMBLING AND IMMORALITY AND CHARGES OF BRIBERY AGAINST MEMBERS OF THE POLICE FORCE, appointed August 20th 1891. Presented to the New South Wales Parliament by command. Sydney Charles Potter, Government Printer, 1892.

[Put in by Sir George Birdwood as part of his evidence, and ordered to be printed.]

HANNAH, examined 10th December 1891.

13,760. Do you smoke opium?—I have smoked it, but I was very sick and had to knock it off. Now and then I have a couple of pipes unbeknown to my husband.

13,763. Is it not a difficult matter to break yourself of the habit?—I do not know. I think it is easy enough to knock it off.

ADELAIDE, examined 10th December 1891.

13,830. Do you smoke opium?—No; I did at one time, but have not for four years. It did not agree with me.

13,835. If you smoke opium continuously, does it not destroy the vitality and energy, and make you feel altogether unfit for any ordinary duties?—It does to a certain extent.

13,836. Does smoking opium render you unconscious so that you would be absolutely at the mercy of anyone who would be in the room with you?—No, it does not.

13,837. You have your senses about you the whole time?—Yes.

13,840. Which has the greater effect on you, drink or opium?—Drink certainly.

ELLEN, examined 10th December 1891.

13,892. Do you smoke opium?—I do.

13,893. Constantly?—Yes.

13,894. When did you first commence?—About three years ago.

13,919. You do not drink?—No.

13,920. Does opium smoking have the same effect as drink, do you know?—No; it has no effect.

13,921. When you smoke opium does it render you unconscious?—No.

13,922. Why not give it up now?—I cannot. It is part of myself to smoke it.

13,941. How much opium do you use in a day?—Sometimes 2s. and sometimes 1s. 6d. worth.

13,942. Do most of the European girls who go with Chinamen use opium?—Yes; the most of them do, I think.

13,943. Do those who use opium as you do take intoxicating drink?—No; I have not seen two women who smoked opium drink as well. I used to drink terribly myself before I took to opium.

13,965. Could any man take advantage of you when you were under the influence of opium?—No one in the world could.

14,010. Do you not think opium smoking is a great evil?—No, I do not think so. A woman that smokes opium has always got her senses about her.

14,011. Do you not find that it takes away all your energies, and makes you poor in health and thin?—No, I have not altered in the least since I have smoked; in fact, I am stouter.

ELLEN, examined 14th December 1891.

14,555. If men smoke opium, does it affect their power with women?—Yes, it does, in one way.

14,556. They have not the same desire for intercourse with women?—No; they do not care about women.

14,557. If you were lying down on a bunk smoking opium alongside a Chinaman who was also smoking opium, the probability is that he would not care to have intercourse with you?—Not if he had the opium habit, he would not. The man who has the opium habit is not like another man; he does not care for women.

14,620. How often during the day do you smoke opium?—Three times.

14,623. For how long after you have had your smoke does the effect remain in your system?—As soon as I have a few pipes I feel all right again.

14,624. How much opium does it take to put you properly under the influence for the time being?—It takes 6d. worth for the time being, but I always smoke 1s. worth.

14,626. Are you not in that state even partially unconscious?—Not at all.

14,627. Does it not do so with others?—It never makes anyone unconscious.

14,628. Are you quite sure?—Well, I can speak for myself. I can smoke opium all day and night too, and it will have no such effect upon me.

14,634. It is a rule that persons who smoke opium do not care for drink?—Yes; as a rule they do not care for drink. It will never do for the two things to go together.

14,643. Does not opium smoking render you unfit for work?—No; as soon as I have a smoke I am all right.

14,644. Does it not affect your appetite?—No; I can eat far better than I could before.

14,650. Would it not be better for you to break yourself of the habit?—It might be better for me to break off a certain amount, but if I were not to smoke I darsay I should be on the streets. I have no desire to go out now.

14,651. It kills all lustful inclination?—Yes.

MARGARET, examined 14th December 1891.

14,819. Is it a fact that opium smoking will make you so unconscious that you do not know what people are doing to you?—No. It has never done so to me.

14,820. You always know what men are doing about you?—Of course. It never made me stupid at all.

14,826. Does the habit of opium smoking in men kill the desire for sexual intercourse?—Nobody has said anything to me like that.

14,819. How much opium do you smoke?—About 2s. or 2s. 6d. worth a day.

14,850. How many years have you been smoking opium?—Five years.

14,880. Do girls that smoke opium also drink liquor?—I never saw a heavy opium smoker drink.

14,882. What would you consider heavy opium smoking?—5s. worth a day would be heavy.

14,886. And you say opium smoking does not make you stupid?—No; it does not.

14,938. This opium smoking has a terrible power over you when you take to it?—Yes. It is very hard to knock it off, although there are Chinamen who have been smoking for 20 years, and have knocked it off.

14,939. Does opium smoking have a tendency to make a person lustful?—No. It makes them the other way. They have no inclination at all, when they smoke very heavy.

14,961. With regard to opium smoking, do not you think it will injure your health if you persist in it?—It has never interfered with my health.

14,982. Have you heard that one effect of opium is to destroy the appetite for intoxicating drinks?—I have heard of cases where heavy drinkers have taken to opium, and have never thought of drinking afterwards.

MIRNIE, examined 14th December 1891.

15,022. Do you smoke opium?—Not now; I used to.

15,023. How long ago is it since you stopped?—About 10 months ago.

15,024. How long had you been smoking up to that time?—Very nearly three years.

15,025. How much opium per day did you smoke?—2s. or 4s. worth.

15,030. Now, what effect has opium smoking upon you?—It is a habit; that is all.

15,031. I know that it must have some effect. Now, what I want to know from you is, the effect of opium;

does it make you dream, or ardently desire anything, or does it make you simply stupid and helpless?—It has no more effect upon me than an ordinary smoke.

15,039. The opium destroys the desire for strong drink?—Yes. It seems to quieten you altogether. There is no desire to go out and about, or anything, unless a person happens to be of a very lively disposition.

15,056. Opium never made you unconscious?—No.

PAULINE, examined 14th December 1891.

15,294. When you have had your opium smoke, are you conscious of what is going on?—Certainly.

15,295. It does not make you unconscious so that a man could do anything with you and you not know it?—No, you cannot be drugged with opium.

15,296. Is it a fact that men who smoke opium have no desire to have any connexion with women?—Quite right, they do not.

15,297. Now I want you to describe to the Commission what is the effect of a good strong smoke of opium?—It does not affect you in any way.

15,303. Supposing it has been stated by a person who visited one of these opium-smoking houses that he saw two or three girls there, only one of whom was conscious, and that after trying to wake the other girls, on questioning the one that was awake, she explained that they were under the influence of opium, and it would be no use trying to wake them for two or three hours; what would you say to such a statement?—Well, they might have been drinking. Opium would not do that.

15,306. How often do you smoke?—Three times a day. That is to say, I used to when I was smoking much.

15,307. What did it cost you?—2s. 6d. a day.

15,308. What does it cost you now?—It costs me 6d. a day. I have been knocking it off for three months.

APPENDIX VI.

MEMORANDUM on CULTIVATION of the POPPY and PRODUCTION of OPIUM in CHINA, put in by Sir THOMAS WADE, when before the INDIAN OPIUM COMMISSION, 15th September 1893, in answer to Question 1286.

[THE Paper was originally prepared for submission to the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, in 1847, but was never read.—T. F. W.]

The poppy, called in Chinese the *ying-suh hwa*, or the *li-ch'ua hwa*, is said to be cultivated in the provinces of Yün-Nan,* Sz'Ch'uen, Kwang-Si, Kwang-Tung, Kwei-Chau, Hu-Nan, Hu-Pih, Cheh-Kiang, and Fuh-Kien. It grows wild in Kan-Suh. In Yün-Nan it is planted on the rice-grounds in the tenth moon (October, November), and is cut in the third of the ending year (April, May). A Chinese acre, cultivated in this manner, yields some twenty dollars, and about one hundred if exclusively devoted to the poppy. The colour of the blossoms is yellow, white, and brown. The smell and taste of the drug manufactured from it differs in different provinces; the best being produced in Lan-chau, in Kan-Suh. This is strongest in flavour, and nearly as good as the imported opium. In Kwang-Si, near Hwui-chau, and in the prefectures of Nan-hung, and Shau-kink, in the province of Kwang-Tung, some tolerable opium is manufactured, but that of the other provinces is inferior. The poppy may be planted at any time of year, the best positions being near sandy ground. It attains a height of two or three feet, and the juice is extracted as soon as the pods, which hang in bunches and are of different sizes, are formed.

The following is described to be the process in Yün-Nan and Kwang-Tung. The person employed to collect the juice proceeds to the ground with a large

joint of bamboo girt in front of him. In this is bent a copper tube about a Chinese foot in length; the pointed end of this is thrust into the pod, the other resting in the bamboo vessel, into which the juice descends through the tube. The pod which is now pressed and shrunk is hereupon closed, and may be used again when it has recovered its full size. The juice so collected is thrown into a large earthenware vat, which is sunk in a pit boarded over and covered with earth a few inches deep. For every catty of liquid there is thrown into the vat $\frac{1}{20}$ or $\frac{1}{30}$ of arsenic; the quantity being smaller as the flavour of the juice is stronger; and the strength will depend upon the province in which the plant is grown. Once in ten days the boards are removed from the mouth of the vat, and the pit is exposed to a night's dew, and covered up again. It lies in this way for about two months, and is then made up into paste, which can be heated for use.

In some instances the syrup is mixed with red earth, in which case the proportion of arsenic must be doubled, and the vat must not be exposed to the dew; but the boards should be felt with the hand in about a month, and if found warm the paste is in a fit condition to be made up. If they be not so, the pit should be opened, and the liquid examined. It is eventually made up in balls and sold like foreign opium.

The flavour of the drug varies according to the soil in which the poppy is grown, and the skill of the maker, but there does not appear to be any fashionable preference for that produced in any particular locality. In the district of Yang-shan and Hwang-ni of

*The orthography of the Chinese terms referred to in this Paper is that used by Dr. Wells Williams in his Work, "The Middle Kingdom." T. F. W.

the prefecture of Shan-king, in the province of Kwang-Tung, women are much employed in the manufacture. The crop in Kwang Tung was said to be in 1847 from 8,000 to 10,000 piculs, so vastly has the quantity produced increased since Commissioner Lin's proceedings in 1839. The best quality sells for about 500 dollars per picul in Canton, the inferior for half that sum. The native drug is said to be most consumed in Kwang-Tung, Kwang-Si, Sz'-Ch'uen, Kwei-Chau, and Shen-Si. It resembles Patna in smell, is not equal to Bengal in strength, it is mixed with Patna and Turkey, but not Benares. When two years old it is preferred by some smokers to any foreign drug.

At Ting-chau Fu, in the south of Fuh-Kien, the white poppy is much grown; the neighbouring districts are thence supplied with native opium, some of which finds its way even to Fuh-chau (Foochow). It costs 300 or 400 cash the tael, but is weak in quality, coarse in flavour, and is not produced in quantities sufficient to compete with the foreign article. At Kien-ning Fu, in the south of the province [Fuh-Kien], large plantations of poppy are also said to exist. Its maturity is indicated by the falling of the leaves, and swelling of the capsule; the milky sap which flows from an incision made into these, when it has become black by a day's exposure to the sun, is scraped off and collected. After having been boiled to a consistence, it is made into cakes of a horse-hoof shape about three inches thick; but it is not coated with the leaves of the corolla like foreign opium.

In Cheh-Kiang the cultivation of the poppy is chiefly confined to the prefecture of Tai-chau, to the southward of that of Ning-po. It grows most in Hwang-yen and Ning-hui, which are coast districts; is sown from the middle of the eighth moon to the end of the ninth. The plants are manured with urine until they are well grown, and, if then transplanted, decay. They flower towards the end of the second moon, the blossoms being white, pink, purple, and variegated; more than two are seldom left; the rest are lopped off. In the fourth moon, when

the plant has attained the height of from three to five feet, the petals fall, and two or three incisions are made with a bamboo spatula into the now ripe capsules, which are about three inches long, and one and a half thick; part of the epidermis is also scraped off to allow the juice to exude. The person employed then returns to gather the exuded juice on the spatula. This he transfers to his hand, which when full he empties into a vessel attached to his waist. The juice is collected early in the morning, at which time it is a whitish tint, but turns black in the sun. This process of extracting it is repeated two or three mornings running.

Partially inspissated juice fetches at Tai-chau, 500 cash per tael. The best quality is made from the juice obtained from the first incisions. The most common adulteration is from an admixture of flower petals and scrapings of the capsules pounded in a mortar, and formed into lumps of an irregular shape. This is used by the poor people of Tai-chau. Each capsule is supposed to yield three or four candarins of opium; one Chinese acre, from ten to twenty catties, at an average price of from thirty to forty dollars. The Tai-chau is sold a little in Ning-po, but is almost exclusively consumed by the Tai-chau people, either as drug, or in adulterating foreign opium. They believe that if buried, in jars, for three or four years, it is superior to Patna in quality; but as it loses about half its weight by this process, it is seldom brought into operation. It is said to leave an acrid taste in the mouth, to inflame the palate, and to enervate the system more speedily than the foreign opium.

Its growth, without being directly encouraged, is connived at. It only remains to add that no accurate data are obtainable with reference to the extent of ground under cultivation; the quantity produced; or the amount of money levied by mandarins in the shape of fees; all queries on these heads being replied to in the "thousand myriad" numbers in which the Chinese are wont to reckon.

ANALYSIS OF EVIDENCE.

(Names of Witnesses arranged in Alphabetical Order.)

THE REVEREND JOSEPH SAMUEL ADAMS.

Belongs to the American Baptist Mission and has lived in China and Upper Burma, 287-292; opportunities for observation in China, 338-340.

Prohibition of Burmese authorities against use of opium in Upper Burma by Burmese, 293-294, 306-308, 356-358, 368; supported by the general opinion of the country, 309-311; prohibition of Burmese authorities against use of alcohol in Upper Burma, 369-370.

Attitude of Burmese Government as to consumption of opium by other inhabitants of Upper Burma, 312-316, 375-376.

Regulations of the Government of India in Burma, 317-320; public opinion in Burma as to total prohibition, 322-330; his opinion as to it, 336-337, 377-379.

Effect of opium smoking, 295, 301, 359, 360, 364-367; immoderate use the rule, 296-297; tendency to resume the habit after abandoning it, 299.

Opium valuable in certain ailments but no protection against fever, 298.

Consumption of alcohol by Burmans, 331-334.

Effect of the opium habit on native churches, 335.

Proportion of opium smokers in China, 300, 302, 361-363; his opinion as to the opium habit in China, 341; its effect on the spread of Christianity, 342-343; comparison between opium and alcohol, 347.

Power of China to increase the import duty on opium, 344-347.

Feeling of Chinese officials as to the opium habit and the cultivation of opium, 348-349.

Feeling of Chinese officials towards England, 350-351.

Interest in the United Kingdom in the anti-opium movement, 351-355.

Mr. JOSEPH G. ALEXANDER, LL.B.

Is a barrister and secretary to the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, 464-465; places before the Commission papers showing proposals made by the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade for dealing with the opium question, 466-497.

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

His experience in Western India, 1155; never met with an instance of injury from the use of opium except from poisoning, *ib.* 1162.

The healthiest populations in Western India consume opium, 1156; opium smoking quite innocuous, *ib.*, 1162-1170; question of the decomposition of morphia in the opium pipe, 1157-1161, 1178.

Opium den in Bombay frequented by the dregs of the population, but they were not brought to their state of degradation by opium, 1162-1165.

Effect of opium on the sexual passions, 1165-1166.

A political error to deprive Native States of their revenue from opium, 1165.

Consumption of opium by Native soldiers, 1155, 1171-1173.

Opium eating a stronger form of taking the drug than opium smoking, 1176; his observation has not shown opium eating to be harmful, 1174-1175, 1177-1181; the alcohol habit in Great Britain worse than the opium habit in India, 1174.

Favours opium trade being thrown open to private enterprise, 1165, 1180; deprecates policy of keeping down the consumption of opium in India, 1179.

Mr. BENJAMIN BROOMHALL.

Is general secretary of the China Inland Mission, 498; scene of the work of the mission, 499.

Expresses his conviction as derived from information received from missionaries upon evil effects of opium smoking and connected matters, 501, 502; quote reports from Yunnan, 503; from Kwei-chau and Sichuen, 504-507; from Kan-suh, 508-515; from Shen-si, 516-518; from Shan-si, 519-522; from Gan-hway, 523-524; from Honan, 525; from Cheh-kiang, 526; from Chih-li, 527-530.

Quotes extracts of more general application from communications by missionaries in China to show the increase in the consumption and cultivation of opium and the evil results of opium habit, 531-536.

Would prohibit export from India to China, 546-548; his opinion that such prohibition is the only chance of giving a real check to the use and growth of opium in China, 537; question whether Chinese Government would be able or willing to stop the growth and use of opium, 543-544, 547; attitude of the Government of India as to the export of opium to China, 538-542; Sir James Fergusson's declaration, 545.

THE REVEREND FREDERICK BROWN.

Is a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church Mission and has served in China, 673-675.

Evil effects of opium smoking, 676-677.

Effect of opium consumption on missionary work, 677-678; reads petitions from Native Churches in favour of the suppression of opium, 678, 685.

Consumption of Indian opium in Shan-tung and Chi-li, 679-680.

Effect of conversion to Christianity on the status of natives of China, 686-690.

Mr. GEORGE GRAHAM BROWN.

Has been a missionary in China for more than six years, 550-551.

His opinion as to the evil effects of opium consumption on the Chinese in Lanchau, 552, 564-569, 599-607; consumption of Indian opium in Lanchau, 553-555, 570; no Persian opium consumed there, 555; proportion of opium consumers to adult male population, 594-597; growth of the habit and increase of the cultivation of opium in Lanchau, 557-560; demerit of the people in Lanchau towards Europeans, 576-577; action of local authorities in Lanchau to enforce edicts prohibiting the consumption of opium, 571-574, 592-593.

Suicides from opium, 560-562.

His opinion as to the probable result of prohibiting export of opium from India, 578-581; favours this course, 608.

Relative strength of Indian and China-grown opium, 582-591.

Dr. GEORGE DODS.

Was engaged for 18 years prior to 1877 in private practice in Canton and Hongkong and temporarily in Government service in Hongkong, 1722-1725.

Extent of the opium habit, 1728-1731; did not observe the number of opium smokers to be on the increase, 1748-1750; opium generally smoked in moderation, 1732; effects of opium smoking not generally evident, 1728-1727; no harm in moderate smoking, 1733-1734; the habit does not tend to degenerate into excess, 1735; not difficult to throw off the habit, 1738-1739; opium said to be a necessity in the marshy districts, 1740.

Agrees in the main with Dr. Lockhart, 1741-1744, 1747, but not entirely as to the number of opium smokers, nor as to the extent of spirit drinking, but those vary in different parts of China, 1745.

Not familiar with the proportion of smokers using Indian opium, 1750; never heard the Chinese blame the English for introducing opium, *ib.*

Mr. T. W. DUFF.

His letter read, 1637; lived in China for 30 years, *ib.*; considers opium not to be deleterious to natives of China but to be a necessity, *ib.*; this due to conditions under which the Chinese live in Southern and Mid-China, *ib.*; occasional abuse in large towns, *ib.*; foreigners do not require opium in China, as they live under different conditions, *ib.*; nor do the Chinese living in mountainous districts and the north, where they consume alcohol, require it, *ib.*; all nations need a stimulant, *ib.*; Chinese speaking with foreigners will speak against the opium habit from politeness, *ib.*; never heard any Chinese blame the

British Government for introducing the drug, *ib.*; cultivation of the poppy in 1865 smaller than it would otherwise have been owing to the unsettled state of the country, *ib.*; proclamations forbidding its cultivation at that time issued owing to difficulty of collecting the revenue, *ib.*; opium revenue has greatly assisted the Chinese Government in centralising authority at Peking, *ib.*

• THE REVEREND A. ELWIN.

Has been a missionary attached to the Church Missionary Society in China for 23 years, 610.

Effect of opium smoking in Hangchow and neighbourhood, 611-615, 623-624, 633; tendency to increase the dose, 630-632; proportion of opium consumers in Hangchow, 616-617; spread of the habit, 618; increase of cultivation, 621, 635-636; attitude of the local authorities in Hangchow as to the edicts, 619-620; Indian opium consumed in Hangchow, 621.

Chinese feeling as to the connexion of the British Government with the opium trade, 622-623.

Effect of opium smoking on coolies and chair-bearers, 611, 625-630.

Opinion as to whether the introduction of Indian opium has led to the increased growth of the poppy in China, 636-638.

SIR JOSEPH FAYRER, K.C.S.I., M.D., F.R.S.

His letter read, 1637; served 30 years in India, *ib.*; agrees that ideally people would be better without stimulants and narcotics, *ib.*; opium abused to a limited extent in large cities in India and China, *ib.*; habitually used in moderation over large areas in India, *ib.*; believed to be a prophylactic against malaria and to facilitate the performance of all the functions of life, *ib.*; does not believe that the tendency of opium eating is ever to increase, *ib.*; cites an instance in his personal experience in support of his view, *ib.*; use of hemp drugs infinitely more harmful than that of opium, *ib.*

THE REVEREND CHRISTOPHER FENN, M.A.

Is secretary to Church Missionary Society in charge of the China correspondence, 430; not personally acquainted with China, 433.

Number of missionaries working in China under the Church Missionary Society, 431.

Opinions of missionaries under the Church Missionary Society as to the effects of the opium habit in China, 432.

His opinion as to whether action of the British Government with the opium trade prejudices missionary work in China, 434-435.

Popular feeling in China as to the attitude of England towards the opium traffic, 436; inability of missionaries to correct erroneous impressions on the subject, 437-442; Sir James Fergusson's declaration, 438; his opinion that the prohibition of export of opium from India to China would be the best means of convincing the Chinese Government that England would not compel them to import opium, 438, 442-449; action of the Indian Government in relation to the opium trade, 439-441.

DR. WILLIAM GAULD.

Is a medical missionary who has worked in Swatow and England, 825-832.

Prevalence of the opium habit in Swatow, 833-835; among the literary class, 849-852; opium chiefly used in a smoking mixture, sometimes by eating it, 836; in his opinion there can be no moderate use of opium except as a medicine, 853-854.

Considers the habits of morphia eating and opium smoking and eating to be interchangeable, 837-845; does not consider opium smoking to be a prophylactic against fever, 843-848.

Considers that the effects of opium cannot differ in essence in respect of different races, 855; the hold which opium takes on those who use it greater than that of alcohol, 856, 857.

Opium smokers more liable to disease than others, 858.

Missionary labourers interfered with by the opium habit and Chinese feeling towards Englishmen, 859-862.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I.

His opportunities for observing the opium question in India, especially as opium agent for the Native States in Central India, 1527-1533.

The system of taxing opium grown in Native States, 1530-1532; the chief opium-growing States, 1545-1547; no attempt made by Government to increase the cultivation, 1533-1535; cultivation not interfered with, 1536-1538; methods of raising opium revenue in the Native States, 1539-1540; proportion of their revenue from opium export to their total exports, 1571-1577; decline in the export of opium, 1578-1580; probable effect of prohibiting export from Native States, 1541-1544, 1548-1549; such an act would be tyrannous and be resented, 1551-1609; no treaty rights under which the Government of India can interfere with the cultivation of opium in Native States, 1552; concessions to Native States, 1535, 1538, 1562-1567; character of his land on which opium is cultivated, 1549-1550, 1581; his opinion as to the probability of the revival of the export opium trade with China, 1561.

Extent of smuggling, 1553; precautions against it, 1554, 1590-1593; if export were prohibited, it would be impossible to control smuggling, 1568-1570, 1610.

People of Central India not consumers of opium to a large extent, 1555-1556; opium has no effect on crime, 1557; his opinion that it has no appreciable effect on the public health, 1558, 1601-1603; produces no widespread evils in India, 1608; alcohol worse than opium, 1560.

Use of opium water, 1582-1589; opium generally taken in moderation, 1594-1595; the opium habit among Sikhs, 1559; Sikhs and Rajputs, the finest races in India, have been taking it for generations, 1595-1597; question whether Rajputs and Sikhs tolerate opium better than other races, 1597-1599; Europeans and the opium habit, 1598, 1599a-1600; opium sets a degraded class in large cities, 1604-1607.

The prohibition of the cultivation and use of opium would irritate the people, especially the Sikhs, and would make them disloyal, 1611-1612.

Recommends no change in present arrangements, 1613.

His opinion as to the character of much of the missionary evidence on the opium traffic, 1615.

MR. THOMAS HUTTON.

Has been a missionary in the north of China, 1961, 1965; agrees with other missionaries as to the evil effects, morally and physically, of opium smoking, 1968; opium is called foreign smoke, 1970; though it is produced in Chinese territory, 1972; the Chinese attribute its introduction to the British, 1989-1993; attitude of the Chinese towards missionaries, 1994-1998; travelled for two years as a native of China, 1975-1977; opium smoking common in the north, 1977-1978; and among women in some of the towns, 1979; the habit on the increase, 1978; his experience that opium smokers are unreliable as servants, 1980-2000; the population in Northern China stronger than in the south, 1982-1984; they consume more wheat bread, 1983; found the population on his travels degenerate and unhealthy, 2001-2004, 2007; the physique of the Chinese naturally good, 2008; opium smokers cannot take wine, and take very little food, 2010, 2011; opium smoking worse than spirit drinking, 1981.

THE REVEREND ALEXANDER LANGMAN.

Has been a missionary in China for eight years, 1509-1510, 1526-1526a; agrees with views expressed by other missionaries as to evil effects of opium smoking, 1511.

Produces a letter from a native evangelist describing these effects, 1512-1513.

Animosity of the Chinese to foreigners, and particularly to Englishmen, due to the connexion of the British Government with opium, 1515, 1523.

His opinion that if the export of opium from India to China were prohibited the work of the missionaries would be made easier, 1524.

Belief of the Chinese as to opium smoking resulting in the extinction of families, 1525.

MR. H. N. LAY, C.B.

Was many years resident in China in the Consular service and in the service of the Chinese Government, 1183-1187.

Introduction of opium into China and its entry in the tariffs, 1189-1193; question of prohibition in 1729, 1270-1272; and in 1734, 1273; Mr. Fitz-Singh's letter, 1274; decree of prohibition of 1799, 1194-1201; opium continued to be imported and duty to be

collected after this decree, 1202-1204; the smuggling trade, 1205-1215, 1224-1225; cultivation of the poppy widespread in China in 1830, 1216-1220; the Taping rebellion, 1221-1222; cultivation in 1858 and 1864, 1255; opium legalised by the Chinese Government in 1873, 1226; it then determined to prohibit it again, 1227; Lord Palmerston's despatch, *ib.*; action of the Chinese Government in 1839, 1223, 1228-1232; opium not mentioned in the Treaty of Nankin, 1233; his view that the Chinese Government was then indifferent upon the subject of the import of opium, 1235-1239, 1241; Chinese officials never complained to him of the action of the British Government in respect of opium, 1239-1240; the seizure of the "Arrow," 1241; this, and not opium, the cause of the second war, 1243-1244; opium not mentioned in the course of the negotiations in 1858 regarding the Treaty of Tientsin, 1245-1246; but entered in the tariff subsequently prepared, 1247-1248; action of the Chinese Government and Sir Rutherford Alcock in 1869, 1249-1253; his opinion as to the allegation that the Chinese Government threatened to withdraw all restrictions in China in order to destroy the import from India, 1254; his view that in all the negotiations it was not the object of the British Government to force opium in China, 1282; the Chinese Government had always regarded opium from a fiscal point of view, 1262; Mr. Burlingame's mission to England in 1868, 1258-1260; his opinion that if the export of opium from India were prohibited, the Chinese Government would not prohibit the consumption of opium, 1263-1269; his opinion that the Chinese Government is not deterred from opening the opium question by the fear that the Indian Government might claim to be recouped for loss of revenue, 1279; complaints of the manner in which the action of officials as to opium in China has been misrepresented, 1256-1257, 1275-1278.

His opinion that statements as to evil effects of opium smoking among the Chinese are exaggerated, 1280; opium generally used in moderation, 1281; the physique of the Chinese very good, *ib.*; opium taken as a prophylactic in the malarial districts in the mid-province and southern provinces, *ib.*; immoderate use injurious, 1280.

Mr. HENRY LAZARUS.

Was engaged in China in commerce unconnected with the opium trade from 1878 to 1881, 1618-1621; employed on an average 200 natives of China, 1623-1624; many were opium smokers, 1627; those who smoked opium were never rendered unfit for work by it, and were as good as the rest, 1626, 1628; domestic servants not incapacitated by smoking, 1633.

His own experience of opium smoking is that it is too tedious for Europeans to take to it, 1628-1630; excessive smoking does not destroy intellectual power, 1626, 1631; not necessary to increase the dose, 1631; opium traffic not the cause of the dislike of the Chinese to Europeans, 1632.

THE REVEREND JAMES LEGGE.

Is Professor of the Chinese language and literature at Oxford, 165; has resided in Hong Kong and Malacca and visited China, 166-168.

His experiences of opium smoking in Malacca and China, 169, 170; opinion of the respectable classes as to the habit, 170, 171; prevalence of the habit, 172, 173, 200, 201, 212.

Characteristics of the people of China, 174-176; opium smoking prejudicial to work, 177; the majority of persons who smoke opium gradually come more and more under its influence and smoke to excess, 178, 200, 210; the habit of smoking opium results only in evil, 179, 207.

Feeling of the people in China as to the attitude of England as regards the opium traffic, 180-184.

Power of the Chinese Government to exclude Indian opium, 185-187.

Introduction of the cultivation of the poppy and the use of opium into China, 188-192; increase of cultivation in China, 193-197.

Consumption of alcohol in China, 198, 199, 204.

Opium prohibited in Japan, 202; consumption of alcohol in Japan, 203.

Probability of the Chinese Government stopping the growth of opium in China, 205; England's attitude in first Opium War, *ib.*

Opium smoking not to his knowledge generalised in any community in China, 211; Chinese population of Hong Kong in 1894 approached this condition, 211.

Mr. STEWART LOCKHART.

Is Protector of the Chinese in Hong Kong, 1375; his duties, 1421-1424.

Chinese popular opinion decidedly against the opium habit, 1380, 1381.

Moderate consumption possible, 1383; proportion of moderate smokers, 1403-1410; moderate use need not end in excess, 1434-1437; relative effects of moderate and excessive smoking, 1382; distinction between the drunkard and the opium set, 1388, 1411; his experience against the idea that the Chinese hate the British on account of the opium question, 1384.

Does not think that the existence of the opium trade affects British commerce prejudicially, 1385.

The population of Hong Kong, 1395-1398; opium divans in Hong Kong, 1386-1387, 1428-1433; question whether opium consumption affects the death-rate in Hong Kong, 1389, 1414-1416, 1419, 1420; the opium farms in Hong Kong and the Straits, 1390-1392; not in favour of an edict of total prohibition in Hong Kong, 1393, 1394; opium smoking prevalent among the Chinese population, 1399-1401; not so prevalent as the use of alcohol in Great Britain, 1402; opium smoking stationary in Hong Kong, 1412, 1413; consumption per head of the Chinese population in Hong Kong, 1416-1418; never heard of a European taking to opium, 1425; Chinese opium not consumed in Hong Kong, 1426, 1427; consumption of spirits by Chinese in Hong Kong, 1439-1443.

Mr. WILLIAM LOCKHART, F.R.C.S.

Was a medical missionary under the London Missionary Society in China for 25 years up to 1864, 1638, 1703.

Opium generally smoked in China, 1691-1693; many Chinese take opium in moderation, 1641; they generally increase the dose with evil results, *ib.*, 1642, 1653, 1681; proportion of moderate and excessive consumers among the population, 1643-1652, 1654, 1708-1710; opinion as to the effect of opium, 1661; does not regard even moderate use as beneficial, 1653; consumers in excess can be cured of the habit, 1674-1676; opium not generally taken to relieve pain, but for dissipation, 1684; power of control of opium smokers, 1694-1697; reason why the opium pipe is smoked lying down, 1698; extent of opium cultivation in China, 1654-1660.

Alcohol a greater social evil than opium, but opium more personally harmful to individuals, 1667; alcohol a greater curse in England than opium in China, 1668.

Suicide by means of opium, 1669-1673.

Opium not forced on China by the British Government, 1677, 1699-1701; never heard this alleged in China, 1702; advocates the Government of India abandoning the monopoly and reducing the area of poppy cultivation, 1677, 1711-1714; China opium cheaper and more impure than Bengal opium, 1685-1687.

Consumption of opium by Europeans, 1688-1690.

Opium smokers not permitted to belong to his church, 1704-1707, 1715; the same rule would apply to spirit drinkers, 1716; spirit drinking prevails in Japan, 1717-1718; in his opinion it is unlikely if opium smoking were stopped in China that spirit drinking would prevail, 1719, 1720; the Chinese altogether superior to the Japanese, 1721.

SIR HUGH LOW, K.C.M.G.

Letter from, 1637; formerly administrator of Perak and other States in the Malay Peninsula, *ib.*; experience in Perak and Labuan, *ib.*; farm of right to collect duty in Perak, *ib.*; drug consumed generally in moderation by labourers, chiefly Chinese, in mines as a prophylactic against miasma, *ib.*; also by shopkeepers, artisans, servants, *ib.*; more tendency to abuse among this class, *ib.*, also by wealthy Malays and Chinese, *ib.*; two-thirds of the Chinese population smokers, but very few Malays, *ib.*; used by criminal classes of both races, *ib.*; general health affected in occasional but few cases, *ib.*; opium habit had no influence on crime, *ib.*; moderate use of opium said to clear the intellect, *ib.*; use of opium prohibited in State prisons, detention in which invariably resulted in improved physique, *ib.*; no such abuse in Perak or Labuan as to justify further restrictions, *ib.*

Mr. D. MATHESON.

The contraband opium trade, 790-792; liable to attacks from pirates, 803-804.

His account of the events of 1839-1841, 793-796; comments on the attitude of British Government from 1841-1858, 802.

Incidents which led him to condemn the opium traffic, 797-799; at considerable injury to his pecuniary position, 824.

Recommends the prohibition of export of opium from India to China, 800, 891, 895-911.

His opinion that comparison cannot be made between the export of spirits from England and the export of opium from India, 810-823.

DR. MAXWELL.

Is a doctor of medicine and secretary to the Medical Missionary Association, 214, 215; was a medical missionary in Formosa, 216.

Character of his experience, 217, 218; extent of the opium habit, 219, 238, 239, 256-260; children not allowed to take opium in Formosa but learn to do so in when pretty young, 274.

Comparative effects of opium smoking, tobacco smoking, and dram drinking, 220, 273.

Habitual consumption of opium the rule, 221; consumers become slaves to the drug, 222-224.

Physical evils of the opium habit, 225; moral evils; 226; social evils, 227.

Opium not in his opinion a prophylactic against malaria, 228.

Consumption of Indian opium in China and increase of consumption of native opium, 229-235; Persian opium, 281-286.

Opium smoking universally regarded in China as a vice, 236, 237.

Indian opium traffic tends to hinder Christian missionaries in China, 238, 239, 264-272.

Opinions of the medical profession in the United Kingdom as to the habitual use of opium, 240; medical opinion in India, 241, 242, 245; medical opinion in China, 243, 244; no statistics exist as to public health in Formosa, 261.

Power of the Chinese Government to exclude opium, 246-256.

Comparison between opium smoking and opium eating, 262.

Action of Government of India as to export of opium, 264-269, 275-280.

Suicides from opium in China and India, 274.

MR. DAVID McLAREN.

Formerly President of the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, 1751.

Presents tables of statistics of trade between India, China, Japan, and the United Kingdom, 1862.

The Committee of 1848, 1753; increase of exports from China after the reduction of the tea duty, 1754; not accompanied by corresponding increase of imports from England, *ib.*; increased import of opium from India, *ib.*; possibility that anticipated increase of trade between England and China at that time went indirectly in an increase of trade with British India, 1822-1855.

History of trade with China, 1753-1758; contrasts trade of England with China with England's trade with Japan, 1758-1760, 1765-1769, 1840-1848; contrast between Chinese and Japanese in the matter of dress, &c., 1795-1801.

His opinion that import of opium from India into China prevents China from buying English manufactures, 1758-1764, 1763-1776, 1849, 1850, 1855-1856; the substitution of India for China tea has impaired the ability of China to purchase English manufactures, 1761-1794, 1862; export of yarns from India to China, 1791a-1795, 1851-1854; England's trade with China stationary during the past 15 years, though import of opium from India has largely decreased, 1838-1837; this owing to Chinese smoking native opium, 1838.

Produce of poppy per acre under cultivation in India declining, 1771, 1772.

Policy of the Government of India in 1860 to take as large a crop as possible, 1772-1774; refers to this policy as not having been changed, 1774-1776.

Quotes opinions of officials as to the pernicious character of the drug, 1778-1785.

Advocates prohibition of poppy cultivation in India and the export of opium to China, 1802-1821; his opinion that the smoking of native opium would then be stopped, 1838.

MR. ALEXANDRE MICHIE.

Is a merchant with 40 years' experience of China, 2012-2018.

The use of opium deprecated by public opinion among the Chinese, but not more than the use of alcohol in European countries, 2019-2021; extent to which the opium habit prevails in China, 2022-2025; few opium smokers among his employees, 2026-2027; moderate smoking more common than inveterate smoking, 2028; effect of moderate smoking, 2029-2031; opium smokers not more dishonest than others, 2032; opium smoking among the better classes, 2040-2044, 2047; those classes not degraded or of degenerate health, 2045-2046, 2048-2049; no opium smoking in Japan, 2033; the Japanese alleged to be inferior to the Chinese, 2034; opium trade has not affected the attitude of the Chinese towards Englishmen, 2036-2038; considers excess in alcohol worse than excess in opium, 2039.

SURGEON-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM MOORE, K.C.I.E., Q.H.P.

Served 33 years in India, 1000, 1001.

Investigated the opium question in Rajputana and Bombay, 1002-1004, 1024; no generalized consumption in Bombay, 1025-1029, 1032-1039.

His conclusion that opium smoking is practically harmless, and opium water not only harmless but beneficial in moderation and a prophylactic against fever, 1005, 1057, 1058; excess in opium not so injurious as excess in alcohol, 1006; opium more beneficial than alcohol, 1022, 1023; use of opium on the whole beneficial, 1067-1073; a large proportion of visitors to opium dens have ailments which they go there to relieve, 1074-1079; the habit not regarded as disgraceful, 1036-1049, 1080-1085; the prohibition of the sale of opium in India, except for medical purposes, would be an interference with the habits and customs of large sections of the population, 1007, 1030, 1081.

Effect of the habitual use of opium on different races, 1008; prevalence of the habit among the Rajputs, 1009-1014, 1107; the Rajputs a healthy class, 1015; no reliable statistics of births and deaths in Rajputana, 1016; habitual opium consumers generally take their opium at night, 1019; no general tendency to increase the dose, 1017, 1018; excessive use deleterious but the exception, 1021; habitual use in moderation does not shorten life, 1020; amount consumed by opium smokers, 1088, 1089; the use of opium among men tending camels in the desert, 1007, 1090, 1091; has had little experience with the Sikhs, 1040; tobacco forbidden by the first Sikh teacher and the use of alcohol deprecated, 1097, 1098; large sections of the population in India do not use opium, 1041; cannot speak as to the relation of the opium habit to race, 1042-1046; early use of opium by Rajputs during their constant fighting, 1099, 1100.

Insurance offices do not impose a higher rate on opium eaters, 1047-1057.

Erroneous impression that the cultivation of opium leads to famines by reducing the land for the growth of cereals, 1057; the migration during the famine in Rajputana from Marwar to Malwa, 1101-1106.

The opium habit among Europeans, 1051-1054; does not spread among them owing to habit rather than to constitutional difference, and also because opium smoking is troublesome, 1059-1066.

DR. F. J. MOUAT.

His opportunities of studying the question in India, 1109-1112.

His experience of the use of opium by Marwaris and Chinese in Calcutta, 1112-1119; the Chinese opium smokers and the Marwaris opium eaters, 1149, 1150; the habit has come down in India from former generations, 1120-1122; regards consumption of opium in moderation, as in the case of these two colonies, as quite as harmless as the moderate use of alcohol among Europeans, 1123-1131, 1134; opium is also valuable as a prophylactic and febrifuge in malarial tracts, 1153; the use of opium in excess bad, but he has no experience of use in excess, 1132, 1133; his experience with other classes attending the hospitals, 1135-1137.

His experience of opium in relation to crime and insanity in Bengal, 1138-1144.

More habitual consumers of ganja than of either spirits or opium, 1144; ganja not mixed with opium

in India, 1151, 1152; quotes, with approval from a discussion by Calcutta Medical Society, 1144-1147.
Consumers of opium not ashamed of the fact, 1148; suppression of the use of opium would lead to increased consumption of more harmful stimulants and narcotics and would be actively resisted by the more manly and warlike races in India, 1153; use of opium for the purpose of exciting sexual desire, 1154.

DEPUTY SURGEON-GENERAL W. P. PARTRIDGE.

Is a Deputy Surgeon-General in the Bombay Army and served in India 30 years, 1884; the opium habit a vice, 1888, 1896, 1918; worse than alcohol, 1896; the fumes from smoking affect persons other than the actual consumers, 1888-1888; many persons who resort to opium dens are not led to do so by sickness though some are, 1888-1895.

Confidential circular issued by the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh as to opium dens, 1900-1914; opium dens condemned by opium smokers, 1915-1917; opium a predisposing cause of death, 1919, 1920, 1952-1955; opium eaters in jails, 1920, 1949-1951; the danger of stopping opium in such cases, *ib.*; violent crime committed among Rajputs under the influence of opium, 1920-1956; opium not a prophylactic against fever, 1921; opium given to children and arrangements for the sale of pills for children, 1922-1946.

Possibility of prohibiting the sale of opium in India except for medical purposes, 1957-1960.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE, BART., M.P.

Is President of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, 2; has not visited India or China, but has received constant communications on the subject from those parts of the East in which opium is used, 108, 109.

His views as to the connexion of the Indian Government with the manufacture and sale of opium, and as to the immorality of the opium trade with China, 4-13, 105; the export trade to China the most important branch of the subject, 16, 112; regards the position of the Government in Bengal as worst, 147, 148.

Statistics of the opium trade with China, 14, 15, 18; statistics of the cultivation of the poppy, 40-45.

History of the Chinese opium trade, 20.

Policy of the British Government as to compelling the Chinese Government to import opium, 21-23.

Cites opinions given in support of the views of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, 24-39.

History of the opium question in the House of Commons, 46-63.

Public interest in the opium question in the United Kingdom, 54, 55; action of foreign countries, 56-59, 139-143.

Treaties prohibiting the importation of opium into China, 60-62.

Cites opinions as to the evil effects of the opium habit in China, 63-71; and in India, 72-77; quotes extract from speech of the late Lord Shaftesbury as to the medical aspect of the case, 79-84; cites opinions of Indian officials in the Blue Book of 1832, 85-93.

His views on the financial aspect of the case, 94, 95; the increased expenditure on the army in India 95, 96; the need for the development of railways in India, 95-98; quotes from official papers as to the uncertainty of the opium crop, 100.

Growth of opium in China stimulated by import from India, 12, 13, 133; import of Persian opium into China, 134, 136; objection of Sir James Ferguson to allowing cultivation in the Bombay Presidency, 36, 37, 137-139; anxiety of the Indian Government in 1869, and later, to increase the area under poppy, 3, 110; subsequent policy of reducing the area, 111.

Disposition of Government officers in India to restrict local sale, 16, 17; the Indian system as to internal consumption is now strongly repressive, and could only be improved by total prohibition of the cultivation of poppy except for medicinal purposes, and the sale by license of medical opium, 113, 114; question whether the English system of sale by druggists prevents purchases for non-medical purposes, 115-118.

Use of opium by natives of India, 119-121.

Views on the transit duty on opium paid by Native States, 101-103, 106, 107; concessions to Native States, 102, 103, 148-151; growth of poppy in Malwa, 157; fall in price of Malwa opium chests, 178; transit duty reduced to stimulate cultivation, 159, 160.

Origin of manufacture by Indian Government, 162-165.

THE REVEREND GEORGE PIERCY.

Founded the Wesleyan Mission in China, 1; his opportunities for observation in China, 2, 3.

Cites instances and states his opinion as to the evil effects of opium smoking, 453-460.

Agrees generally with the evidence previously given by missionaries, 461, 462.

BRIGADE-SURGEON R. PRINGLE, M.D.

Was in the medical service of the Government of India for 30 years, 691-694; considers opium invaluable medicinally, but useless as a dietetic, and to febrifuge only as being a sedative, 695; if taken in small doses in fever districts its effects would be harmful, 706; if ample supplies of quinine made available in malarial districts in India, there would be no need of opium as a febrifuge or a prophylactic, 747-750.

Evil effects of opium habit in India not visible to any extent, except among the dregs of the population in towns, 695, 702, 712; indulgence in opium inconsistent with self-respect in India, 695, 711, 722-724, 742-746.

Opium not served out by him to troops when on service in a very malarious district, 698-701; the effects of opium on native troops, 734-738.

Tendency of opium consumers to increase the dose, 703, 704; the immorality of the opium habit, 705, 707.

His view as to the attitude of the Government of India in relation to the opium trade, 708.

His view as to withholding opium from habitual consumers, 708-711, 714-722, 733, 741, 742.

Recommends that opium should be cultivated only for medicinal purposes, 713, 714.

Policy of the Government of India as to opium and liquor, 725-729.

Advocates stopping the sale of spirits as well as of opium, 729.

Facilities for purchase of opium in India and England, 729.

No difference in the effect of opium on different races, 730.

Advances to cultivators in India for poppy and other cultivation, 738, 739.

DR. F. IRVINE ROWELL, M.D., C.M.G.

Was employed 25 years as a medical officer of the Government in the Straits Settlements, 1444, 1445; now retired, 1446.

Population of Singapore, 1447-1449; Chinese in Singapore, 1450, 1451; opium smoking not generally prevalent among the Chinese there, 1452-1455; Chinese opium smokers in the pauper hospital, 1456; the opium habit among them generally the result of disease, 1457-1459; the majority moderate smokers, 1460, 1461; Chinese opium smokers in the criminal prison, 1464, 1465; their crime, as a rule, unconnected with the open habit, 1466-1468; opium, as a rule, immediately withdrawn from prisoners, but allowed for a time in exceptional cases, 1469-1470; in some cases as a necessity, 1492-1495; no injury from the stoppage of opium in cases of habitual moderate smokers, 1472-1475; Chinese coolies who smoked opium ordinarily not so healthy as others, as they had taken to opium to relieve disease, 1476-1478, 1489-1491; continued to smoke after regaining their health and without prejudice to efficiency, so long as they did not exceed, 1479, 1480; moderate opium smokers no worse in health than moderate tobacco smokers, 1481-1488; the moderate use of opium of assistance mentally, 1482-1485; the good of opium exceeds the evil, 1486, 1487.

Revenue in Straits Settlements from opium, 1496, 1504-1507; Indian opium in Singapore, 1508.

Anti-Opium Society in Singapore, 1497-1503.

THE REVEREND T. G. SELBY.

Was for 12 years a missionary of the Wesleyan Mission in the interior of China, 1863, 1864, 1868, 1869.

His pamphlet "The Poppy Harvest: a study of Anglo-Indian Ethics," embodies his views, 1870-1873; the cartoons reflect the average opinion of the Chinese on the subject, 1875.

Agrees with the evidence given by other missionaries, 1866, 1876, 1877; missionaries brought more into contact with the Chinese people than other persons are, 1867.

Estimate of mortality caused by opium imported from India, 1878-1881; the opium habit has an unfavourable effect upon the general health, 1883.

SIR JOHN STRACHEY, G.C.S.I.

Had 38 years' experience in India, 864-865; his opportunities for observation, 866-868.

The financial aspect of the opium question, 869-871; estimates profits to all classes out of the opium crop at a great deal more than Rs. 19,000,000 a year, 888-890, 936-937; 100,000,000*l.* would not be adequate compensation to India, 891; revenue from opium about Rs. 5,750,000, 892-894, 933-935; general revenue of India is increasing, 910-913; and also expenditure, 914-916; increase of military expenditure, 917-922; opium revenue uncertain, 923-925; impossible to find taxation to take its place, 909; can suggest no means of making this loss of revenue good, 894; reduction of expenditure impossible, *ib.*; opium generally consumed in India in moderation, and is beneficial, 872, 901, 903; consumption generally infinitesimally small, but certain classes have consumed it from time immemorial, 872, 898; consumption has diminished, while population has increased, 872; danger that smuggling may result from high price, *ib.*; the habitual consumers, notably the Sikhs and Rajputs, are the finest races in India, *ib.*, 898, 899; consumption among Sikh and Rajput soldiers, 927-932, 985-989; danger of prohibiting consumption in India, 872; China does not depend on India for her supply of opium, *ib.*; Indian opium a luxury, *ib.*; production in China out of all proportion to that in India, *ib.*, 979; most consumers in China take it in moderation, 872, 902, 904, 948; the Government of China free to prohibit importation of opium from India, 872; his opinion as to its wish to do so, 905; the sacrifice of Indian revenue would be an act of folly and injustice, 872; question whether, if opium is demoralising to China, the Government of India should continue export it there, 949-952.

Endorses the view of the opium question presented in Mr. Bateu's paper, read before the Society of Arts, 875.

The arrangements with the Native States in India, in respect of opium, 876-881, 926, 963-966, 977, 978; production in Native States, 906; manufacture in Native States not in hands of European officials, 954-958; prohibition of the growth of the poppy in Native States in the Bombay Presidency, 959-962; can suggest no means of stopping production of opium in, or preventing its export from, Native States, 885, 907; objections to a customs line 885-887; no customs line at present, 990, 991; smuggling of opium grown in Native States, 967, 969, 992, 993.

The position of the Government in Bengal as regards the production of opium, 883-884; object of the Government of India to restrict consumption both in China and India, 895; the state monopoly the most repressive of all fiscal restrictions, *ib.*; substitution for opium monopoly of heavy export duty might not diminish revenue but would lead to increase of consumption both in India and China, *ib.*; great difficulty of preventing smuggling from Bengal, if monopoly abandoned in favour of export duty, *ib.*; no distinction from the point of view of morality can be drawn between a system of monopoly and an export duty, *ib.*; no greater objection on economic grounds to a monopoly of opium than to a monopoly of tobacco, *ib.*; would not recommend the substitution of a licensing system for the Bengal monopoly, 976.

Burma the only country under the Government of India as to which evidence showing the injurious effects of opium is produced, 897; this evidence only refers to consumption by Burmese, *ib.*; no evidence that the consumption of opium is a crying evil anywhere in India proper, *ib.*; great difference between the races inhabiting different parts of India, *ib.*

Prohibitive measures in India would lead to political dangers of extreme gravity, 900, 908.

Possibility of substituting other crops for opium in India, 938-942; advances to cultivators, 994-996.

Practically impossible for the Government to encourage the growth of opium to any extent, 943-947. Opium consumed by the Sikhs grown under license in the Punjab and in Native States under the Punjab Government, 970-975.

THE REVEREND W. S. SWANSON, D.D.

Was in China up to 1881 in connexion with Presbyterian Missions, 751, 753, 754, 756; during 20 years in Fuh-kien never saw any poppy cultivation, 755; agrees with the views of other missionary witnesses as to the evil effects of the opium habit, 757; opinions of the Chinese on the subject, 758, 765-767; advocates the entire suppression of export of opium from India to China, 759; probable effects of such a policy on the Chinese Government, 760; attitude of the Chinese officials as to enforcing the regulations prohibiting the use of opium, 761; question whether the Chinese Government is free to prohibit the import of opium from India, 762-764.

Spirit drinking in China, 768-770.

Tobacco smoking in China, 771-774.

Number of Chinese converted to Christianity, 775-778.

Classes from which converts are drawn, 779-789.

THE REVEREND HUDSON TAYLOR.

Is founder and general director of the China Inland Mission and a member of the Royal College of Surgeons, 380-383; his opportunities for observation in China, 384-387.

Effects of opium smoking on the Chinese, 388, 389, 391, 412-415, 420-422; on chair-bearers and coolies, 409-411, 417-419.

Prevalence of the opium habit in China, 390; the opium habit worse than the alcoholic habit, 423.

Unpopularity of the English with the Chinese owing to the opium traffic, 393-395, 424-427.

Present attitude of public opinion in Great Britain as to compelling Chinese Government to import Indian opium, 396; value of communicating Sir James Fergusson's declaration, 397, 398, 402; suggests it might be officially communicated to the Chinese Government, 399-401.

Question of the extent to which considerations of revenue influence the Chinese, 403.

Very few opium smokers can abandon the habit, 404; age to which opium smokers live, 405-408; rate of mortality among the Chinese, 416, 417.

Question whether, if the Indian Government stopped the export of opium to China, the Chinese Government would prohibit the import of other foreign opium into China, 428, 429.

MR. POLHILL TURNER.

Has been a missionary in the north of China, 1963-1964.

The main characteristics of the Chinese the same in the north as in the south, 1967.

Opium largely consumed in the north, 1968-1970; is called foreign smoke though produced in China, 1970, 1971, 1973.

Agrees with Mr. Hutton as to evil effects, morally and physically, of opium smoking, 1967, 1968.

The Chinese condemn opium as a curse, 2009; opium interferes with the endurance of chair-bearers, 2010.

SIR THOMAS F. WADE, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

Served 40 years in China and was British Minister at Peking, 1283, 1284; opium not introduced into China by the British, 1285, 1317-1319; was known as a medicine in China ten centuries ago, 1285; smoking of recent date, but introduced from Manila before our trade developed, *ib.*; Tsh Tsung-tang's opinion that it was introduced in 17th century, *ib.*; supply from India at first not more than enough for the consumption of 1 per cent. of the population, *ib.*; 30 or 40 years ago sufficient for 2 per cent., *ib.*, 1357-1360; cultivation in 10 provinces in 1847, 1285; opium regularly taxed like other imports in certain places, 1286.

Many Chinese suffer from excess of opium, but to a great number it is a stimulant, like beer is in England, 1285, 1286; his views expressed in 1371, 1320; since modified by him, *ib.*

Wars with China directly traceable to the determination of the Chinese to ignore relations with England, 1287, 1289, 1321-1323; quotes from the "Chinese Repository" in support of this view, 1289;

the seizure of opium only an incident of the first war, 1287; the capture of the "Arrow," 1289, 1290; opium not the cause of the second war, 1291; Lord Clarendon's reference to opium in his instructions to Lord Elgin, *ib.*

The Tientsin Treaty, *ib.*; Mr. Reid subsequently urged Lord Elgin to regularise the trade, *ib.*; opium entered in the tariff without any objection by Chinese, *ib.*; manner in which the rate of duty was fixed in the tariff, 1324-1329; the real concern of the Chinese was about the residence of a Foreign Minister at Peking, *ib.*, 1292; refusal of the Chinese to admit Sir Frederick Bruce into Peking, *ib.*; this led to the third war, 1297-1298; forcing the opium trade never an object with the British Government, 1299, 1300; the subject of opium not mentioned after 1860 till in 1868 Sir Rutherford Alcock suggested an increase of duty, 1300; objected to by the Indian Government, 1301; not referred to again till the Chefoo Convention, when the object of the reference was to ensure the Chinese Government its revenue against foreign importers, *ib.*, 1331-1333; delay in confirming the Convention, 1302, 1336, 1337, 1361-1363; the Chinese did not ask for free liberty as to the amount of *hikin*, 1338, 1339; the regularisation of the trade at Hong Kong, 1302; question of the power of Chinese Government to prohibit importation, *ib.*

The attitude of the Chinese Government towards the opium habit, 1303; quotes from his conferences with Chinese Ministers on the subject, 1304-1308; individual Chinese officers at times take rigorous measures against opium, but the feeling of the Central Government not very active, 1309; does not agree in Sir Rutherford Alcock's opinion on this point, 1363-1370.

Inclusion of the prohibition of the import of opium in the treaty of 1868 between China and America due to the American Government wishing to give something in order to secure the encouragement of immi-

gration, and also probably to an anti-opium party in the States, 1311, 1312.

Sir James Fergusson's declaration, 1302, 1340-1343; if the Chefoo Convention were denounced, the provisions of the Treaty of Tientsin would come into force, 1344-1347; the prohibition of the export of opium from India to China would be futile in preventing the consumption of opium, 1313; nor would it remove our difficulties with China, *ib.*, 1371-1373; the sincerity of a proposal by British Government to prohibit export would probably be doubted by the Chinese, 1313; proposal of Chinese Minister in 1881 for higher rate of *hikin*, 1348; England would do a disservice to China if it abandoned interference with the internal duty, 1349, 1350.

MR. MARCUS WOOD.

Is connected with the China Inland Mission and has served in Gan-hwuy and other parts of China, 639-641.

Prevalence of the opium habit, 642, 658; evil effects of opium smoking, 643, 656-657, 668-672.

Public opinion in China as to opium smoking, 644, 661-662.

Opium not taken in moderation, 645.

Extent to which Indian and native-grown opium are respectively consumed in Gan-hwuy, 646.

Feeling of hostility of Chinese towards British partly due to connexion of British Government with opium trade, 647, 648, 655, 658; feeling of the common people towards missionaries, 649, 650.

Considers that Government should prohibit the export of opium from India, 650; it is the only way out of the difficulty from a missionary's point of view, 651-654; and would, in his opinion, induce the Chinese to put down the growth of native poppy, 659, 660; consumers of opium not permitted to join native Protestant churches, 662-667.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM

BETWEEN

18th November and 29th December 1893 ;

WITH

APPENDICES.

VOL. II.

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



LONDON:

PRINTED FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE,
BY EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE,

PRINTERS TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

And to be purchased, either directly or through any Bookseller, from
EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE, EAST HARDING STREET, FLEET STREET, E.C., and
32, ABINGDON STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.; or

JOHN MENZIES & Co., 12, HANOVER STREET, EDINBURGH, and
90, WEST NILE STREET, GLASGOW; or
HODGES, FIGGIS, & Co., LIMITED, 104, GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

1894.

[C.—7397.] Price 6s. 3d.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

VOL. II.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE TAKEN IN INDIA BETWEEN 18TH NOVEMBER AND 29TH DECEMBER 1893, WITH APPENDICES.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

LIST OF WITNESSES.

	Page		Page
1893.		DECEMBER 1ST, SEVENTEENTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—	
NOVEMBER 18TH, SEVENTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—		The Hon. D. R. Lyall (further examined) -	123
The Hon. Sir David M. Barbour -	2-11	Mr. K. G. Gupta (further examined) -	123-127
Surgeon-Major-General Rice -	11-15	Mr. E. V. Westmacott -	127-131
NOVEMBER 20TH, EIGHTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—		The Hon. Sir John Lambert -	131
Bishop J. M. Thoburn -	15-21	Mr. F. Wilcox -	131-132
Mr. J. G. Alexander -	21-26	Mr. H. Dawson -	ib.
NOVEMBER 21ST, NINTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—		DECEMBER 5TH, EIGHTEENTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—	
Mr. J. G. Alexander (further examined) -	26-38	Mr. J. F. Finlay (further examined) -	132-135
NOVEMBER 22ND, TENTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—		The Hon. A. S. Lethbridge -	135-138
The Rev. W. B. Phillips -	38-43	Sir Edward Buck -	139-141
Mr. Siva Nath Roy -	43-46	The Maharaja of Dinajpur -	142
NOVEMBER 23RD, ELEVENTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—		DECEMBER 6TH, NINETEENTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—	
The Rev. T. Evans -	46-51	Mr. H. S. Howard -	142-143
Mr. J. H. Rivett-Carnac -	51-59	Mr. Shragar -	143-144
NOVEMBER 24TH, TWELFTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—		Mr. A. E. J. Abraham -	144-145
Mr. J. F. Finlay -	59-60	Mr. E. M. Cohen -	145-146
Mr. Ram Durlabh Mazumdar -	60-63	Messrs. Lin Sin Khoon, Iyak, Eup Ate, Pin Yen, Assowi -	146
The Hon. D. R. Lyall -	63-67	DECEMBER 7TH, TWENTIETH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—	
Mr. J. L. Hopkins -	67-69	Mr. J. Munro -	147-150
Surgeon-Captain F. P. Maynard -	69-70	Mr. S. M. Gibbon -	150-152
NOVEMBER 25TH, THIRTEENTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—		Mr. S. E. Peal -	153-155
Surgn.-Col. E. Harvey -	70-75	Mr. J. Wilson -	155-156
Surgn.-Lieut.-Col. A. Crombie -	75-81	Mr. W. H. Ryland -	156-158
Surgn.-Lieut.-Col. O'Brien -	81-89	Mr. D. Zemin -	158
Surgn.-Lieut.-Col. P. P. McConnell -	82-83	Mr. T. N. Mukharji -	158-159
Surgn.-Lieut.-Col. E. C. Sanders -	83	DECEMBER 8TH, TWENTY-FIRST DAY'S EVIDENCE:—	
Brigade-Surgn.-Lieut.-Col. Purves -	83-84	Mr. R. Steed -	160-161
Surgn.-Lieut.-Col. E. G. Russell -	84	Mr. W. H. Chentham -	161-162
Surgn.-Major R. Cobb, M.D. -	84-85	Mr. F. Schiller -	162
Surgn.-Captain J. H. Tall Walsh -	85-86	Mr. Nil Ratan Sircar -	162-165
Surgn.-Lieut.-Col. Crombie (further examined) -	86	Mr. Heramba Chandra Maitra -	165-166
Mr. J. G. Alexander (further examined) -	ib.	Mr. H. M. Rustomjee -	166-167
NOVEMBER 26TH, FOURTEENTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—		Mr. Nil Comul Mookerjee -	167-168
Dr. Kailas Chunder Bose -	87-90	Rai Sheo Bux Bogla Bahadur -	168-169
Dr. Juggo Bundo Bose -	90-92	DECEMBER 9TH, TWENTY-SECOND DAY'S EVIDENCE:—	
Dr. Surji Coomar Surbadhikari -	92-92	(a.) Calcutta Section—	
Dr. Hira Lall Ghose -	94-96	Maharaja Bahadur Sir Narendra Krishna -	169-170
Miss L. Hamilton -	96-97	Maharaja Durga Churn Law -	171-172
Rai Bahadur Kanny Lall Dey -	97-99	Maharaja Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore -	172
Mr. Kburgeshur Bose -	99-100	Raja Peary Mohun Mookerjee -	172-174
NOVEMBER 28TH, FIFTEENTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—		Rai Rajkumar Servadhikari -	174
Dr. D. Morison -	100-105	Babu Saligram Singh -	174-176
Dr. G. R. Ferris -	105-108	Dr. Mahendra Lall Sircar -	176-178
Kabirajee Gauga Prasad Sen Gupta, Bijaya Ratna Sen, and Peary Mohun Sen -	108-109	The Hon. Gonesh Chunder Chunder -	178-179
NOVEMBER 30TH, SIXTEENTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—		Mr. J. P. Hewett -	179
Mr. Sudam Ch under Naik -	110-112	(b.) Rangoon Section—	
Mr. Gouras Sankur Roy -	112-113	Mr. C. G. Bayne -	180-183
Mr. Bhagban Chunder Dass -	113-114	DECEMBER 11TH, TWENTY-THIRD DAY'S EVIDENCE:—	
Dr. Ram Moy Roy -	114-117	Mr. A. M. B. Irwin -	183-186
Dr. James Robert Wallace -	117-121	Surgn.-Major P. W. Datzell -	186-188
Mr. K. G. Gupta -	121-122	Mr. G. L. Weidemann -	189-191
		Surgn.-Captain Davis -	191-192
		Capt. G. E. MacMullen -	192-193
		Mr. F. Bradley -	193-194
		Mr. C. Findlay -	194-195

	Page		Page
DECEMBER 12TH, TWENTY-FOURTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—		DECEMBER 20TH, TWENTY-NINTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—	
The Rev. Dr. Cushing	195-198	(continued).	
Mr. Cheng Taik	198-200	Mr. Dwarkanath Ganguli	248
Mr. Park Chan	200	Mr. Krishna Kumar Mittra	249
Mr. Ah Nam	200-201	The Rev. K. S. MacDonald	249-253
Mr. Tan Kyu	201	Nawab Syud Ameer Hossein	253-254
Mr. Sit Kaung	ib.	DECEMBER 21ST, THIRTIETH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—	
Mr. Sit Hon	202	The Hon. D. B. Lyall (further ex-	
Mr. Kum Loang	ib.	amined)	254-255
Mr. Ah Chew	ib.	Rai Lal Madhub Mookerjee, Bahadur	255-258
DECEMBER 13TH, TWENTY-FIFTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—		DECEMBER 22ND, THIRTY-FIRST DAY'S EVIDENCE:—	
Mr. P. M. Madooray Pillay	203-204	Mr. Krishna Kumar Mittra (further ex-	
Maung Hpo Hmyin, K.S.M.	204-206	amined)	259-261
The Sawbwa of Thibaw	206-207	Mr. J. J. S. Driberg	261-262
Surgn.-Lieut.-Col. Hugh Johnstone	207-208	Mr. Upendro Nath Barooah	262-264
Mr. Leong Shian Tuck	208-209	Mr. Gonnabhiram Barooah	265-266
DECEMBER 15TH, TWENTY-SIXTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—		Mr. Trinoyan Barkakoti	266
Surgn.-Major Dantra	209-212	Mr. Haribalas Agarwala	266-267
Mr. J. E. Bridges	212-214	DECEMBER 23RD, THIRTY-SECOND DAY'S EVIDENCE:—	
Mr. Law Yan	214	Mr. Dwarkanath Ganguli (further ex-	
Mr. Sidney Jennings	214-216	amined)	267-269
Haji Shamsuddin	216	Mr. Kali Sankur Sukul	269-271
Mr. Yang Fu and Mr. San Tu	216-217	Mr. W. Raju Naidu	271-272
The Rev. M. B. Kirkpatrick	217-221	Mr. S. Somasundram Pillai	272-274
DECEMBER 16TH, TWENTY-SEVENTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—		DECEMBER 27TH, THIRTY-THIRD DAY'S EVIDENCE:—	
Saw Maung, Ex-Sawbwa of Nyunggywe	221-222	Mr. J. J. S. Driberg (further examined)	275-280
Kam Swe, Amatgyök of Southern Thein	222-223	Mr. J. D. Anderson	280-282
Mr. F. R. Bagley	223-224	Surgn.-Major Edwin F. H. Dobson	282-285
Mr. H. S. Guinness	224-225	DECEMBER 28TH, THIRTY-FOURTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—	
Maung Aung Min	225	Mr. J. J. S. Driberg (further examined)	286
DECEMBER 19TH, TWENTY-EIGHTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—		Mr. Satyanath Borah	286-288
Mr. D. M. Smeaton	225-240	Mr. Jadab Chandra Ghose	288
Mr. Kum Low Fong	240	Mr. Lalit Mohan Lahiri	288-291
Mr. F. W. R. Fryer	240-242	Mr. R. C. Haviland	291-293
DECEMBER 20TH, TWENTY-NINTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—		Mr. E. P. R. Gilman	293-294
Mr. Abul Fazl Mahomed Abdur Rahman	242-244	Mr. Ernest Bridge	294-296
Prince Jahan Kadar Mirza Mahomed		Mr. Jagannath Barooah	296-299
Wahid Ali Bahadur, the Hon. Maulvi		Babu Mohendra Nath Phukan	300
Abdul Jubbar, Khan Bahadur, Shamsul		DECEMBER 29TH, THIRTY-FIFTH DAY'S EVIDENCE:—	
Ulama Maulvi Ahmad, and Maulvi		Mr. J. J. S. Driberg (further examined)	300-301
Syud Muhammad Khan Bahadur	245-247	Munshi Bahamat Ali	301-302
Prince Wala Kadar Syed Hussein Ali		Babu Madhav Chandra Bardalai	302-305
Mirza Bahadur	247	Mr. Radhanath Changkakoti	305-308
Suja-ul-Mulk Asaf-ud-Dowlah Nawab		Dr. James L. Phillips	308-311
Syed Zainul Abidin Khan Bahadur		Mr. Atool Krishna Datta	311-313
Feroz Jung	ib.	Mr. J. J. S. Driberg (further examined)	313

LIST OF APPENDICES.

	Page		Page.
I. Memorial presented to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal by the British Indian Association, dated 23rd August 1893	313	VIII. Statement showing the amount of the opium revenue, handed in by Mr. Finlay, Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department	341-344
II. Memorial presented to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council, dated 21st September 1893, by the Calcutta Missionary Conference	314-315	IX. Note headed "Opium produced or consumed in India," handed in by Mr. Finlay, Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department	344-354
III. Note by the Hon. D. R. Lyall, dated 16th November 1893, on the memorial presented by the Calcutta Missionary Conference, dated 21st September 1893	315-318	X. Note headed "Arrangements with Native States regarding opium," handed in by Mr. Finlay, Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department	354-370
IV. Reply, dated 27th November 1893, of the Calcutta Missionary Conference, to Mr. Lyall's note of 16th November 1893	318-319	XI. Account of previous proposals for abolishing the Government monopoly of the cultivation, manufacture, and sale of opium in Bengal, handed in by Mr. Finlay, Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department	371-383
V. Note on the supply of opium by Mr. J. H. Rivett-Carnac, Opium Agent of the Benares Agency	319-335	XII. Report of Consul Spence, dated 11th April 1893, handed in by Mr. Finlay, Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department	383-388
VI. Map to show the extent of the cultivation and output of opium in the Behar Agency, handed in by Mr. J. H. Rivett-Carnac, Opium Agent of the Benares Agency	337-338		
VII. Map to show the extent of the cultivation and output of opium in the Benares Agency, handed in by Mr. J. H. Rivett-Carnac, Opium Agent of the Benares Agency	339-340		

CONTENTS.

	Page.		Page.
XIII. Statement showing exports of opium from India to China and other foreign countries since 1855-56, handed in by Mr. Finlay, Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department -	389-391	XXVIII. Correspondence regarding the supply of opium to native troops on field service -	452-453
XIV. Papers regarding the consumption and preparation of opium in unlicensed places in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, handed in by Mr. Finlay, Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department -	392-397	XXIX. Supplementary statement handed in by Mr. K. G. Gupta, Commissioner of Excise, Bengal -	454
XV. Papers regarding the visit of Mah Kie Tchong to India in 1861, handed in by Mr. Finlay, Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department -	397-398	XXX. Historical account of the administration of Opium in Assam, handed in by Mr. Driberg, Commissioner of Excise in Assam -	454-455
XVI. Statement of advances to cultivators of opium, handed in by Mr. Finlay, Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department -	398	XXXI. Note by Mr. Driberg on the Provincial system of Excise in Assam -	456-458
XVII. Extract from a joint note presented to the Famine Commission by Mr. Elliott (now Sir Charles) and Mr. (now Sir Edward) Buck, handed in by Sir Edward Buck, Secretary to the Government of India, Revenue and Agricultural Department -	398-399	XXXII. Papers regarding the outbreak at Phulguri in 1861, handed in by Mr. Driberg -	459-460
XVIII. Map to illustrate opium cultivation in British India, handed in by Sir Edward Buck, Secretary to the Government of India, Revenue and Agricultural Department -	401-402	XXXIII. Resolution recorded by the American Baptist Mission at Gauhati, Assam -	460
XIX. Map to show the comparative density of the population in British India, handed in by Sir Edward Buck, Secretary to the Government of India, Revenue and Agricultural Department -	403-404	XXXIV. Statement by Mr. C. J. Handcock, M.E.C.S., received from Surgeon-Major-General Rice -	460-461
XX. Tables of analysis of opium, handed in by Surgeon-Captain Maynard -	405-406	XXXV. Statement of Surgeon-Major Mullans, Civil Surgeon of Lakhimpur, Babu Hem Chandra Barua and Babu Benudhar Barua -	461
XXI. Supplement to the "Indian Medical Gazette" for July 1892 -	407-425	XXXVI. Memorial from the Jorhat Sarvanjanik Sabha -	462
XXII. Brief historical sketch of the law and rules regarding the supply and sale of excise opium in Lower Bengal, handed in by Mr. K. G. Gupta, Commissioner of Excise, Bengal -	425-426	XXXVII. Note on the system of Opium Administration in Burma, handed in by Mr. C. G. Bayne, Revenue Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Burma -	463-481
XXIII. A short account of the system under which excise opium is sold in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, handed in by Mr. K. G. Gupta, Commissioner of Excise, Bengal -	426-435	XXXVIII. Papers regarding the use of opium by Burmans -	481-483
XXIV. "Opium-eating" by the late Dr. Vincent Richards (extracted from the "Indian Medical Gazette" of August 1877) -	436-437	XXXIX. Note on excise establishments in Burma by Mr. C. G. Bayne, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner -	484-487
XXV. Memorial to the Chairman from the clergy of the Church of England in Calcutta, received from the Lord Bishop of Calcutta -	438	XL. Correspondence regarding the revised rules as to the use of opium in Burma -	488-500
XXVI. Letter from Archbishop Goethals received from the Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department -	i.	XLI. Memorandum by Mr. Fryer, Chief Commissioner into Burma, on the smuggling of opium -	500-505
XXVII. Letter from the Bengal Chamber of Commerce received from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal -	439-452	XLII. Statements of offences against the excise laws in Burma, handed in by Mr. Fryer, Chief Commissioner -	506-513
		XLIII. Supplementary note by Mr. Fryer, Chief Commissioner of Burma -	514-522
		XLIV. Letter from Mr. J. O. Scott, late Superintendent of the Northern Shan States -	523-524
		XLV. Letter from Mr. A. H. Hildebrand, Superintendent of the Southern Shan States -	524-525
		XLVI. Letter from the Upper India Chamber of Commerce, received from the Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department -	525
		XLVII. Petition from members of the Chinese Community in Rangoon -	525-526
		XLVIII. The Law relating to opium -	527-536
		XLIX. Letter from Mr. Warry, Adviser on Chinese affairs to the Chief Commissioner of Burma -	536
		L. Further papers regarding the use of opium by Burmans (vide Appendices XXXVIII and XL.) -	537

THE INDIAN OPIUM COMMISSION.

At the Council Chamber, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

SEVENTH DAY.

Saturday, 18th November 1893.

PRESENT:

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B. (CHAIRMAN, PRESIDING).

SIR JAMES B. LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.	MR. A. U. FANSHAW.
THE HON'BLE SIR LACHHMEESWAR SINGH BAHADUR,	" ARTHUR PRASS.
MAHARAJA OF DARBHANGA, K.C.I.E.	" HARIDAS VENKATIDAS DESAI.
SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D.	" H. J. WILSON, M.P.
MR. E. G. C. MOWBRAY, M.P.	

MR. J. PRESCOTT HEWETT, C.I.E., *Secretary.*

The SECRETARY read the order of reference.

The CHAIRMAN:—In opening the work of this Commission in India it may not be unfitting that I should offer one or two observations from the chair. First, I desire to refer to the circumstances which have led to the appointment of this Commission. The subject-matter of our inquiry, which is the manufacture, sale, and consumption of opium, has been repeatedly brought to the notice of Parliament at home. More than half a century ago the affairs of the East India Company formed the subject of an inquiry by a Select Committee of the House of Commons. That Committee was called upon, among other things, to consider the opium question, and chiefly in relation to the trade with China. The traffic at that time was contraband, yet the Committee gave their express sanction to its continuance. A few years later, in 1840, Lord Shaftesbury, then Lord Ashley, made a vigorous attack in the House of Commons on the opium trade. Coming down to a much later period, in the course of the inquiries of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on East Indian Finance, extending over three Sessions, the subject of the opium traffic was frequently brought up. Turning to the latest phase of the question in Parliament, a Resolution to the effect that the opium revenue is morally indefensible was passed in the House of Commons in 1891 by 160 votes to 130. Many prominent members of the present Government voted with the majority. In the list we see the names of Messrs. Asquith, Fowler, Mundella, Burt, Majoribanks, Sir Edward Grey, and Sir Charles Russell. The late Government, the Government of Lord Salisbury, while unwilling to accept the proposal actually brought forward in Parliament by the representatives of the Anti-Opium Association, were anxious to show themselves, at least in some measure, in sympathy with their views. It was stated by Mr. W. H. Smith that the policy of the Government of India had been greatly to reduce the acreage under poppy cultivation, and he promised that that policy would be continued. Lord Cross also pledged himself to certain important changes. The smoking of opium was no longer to be allowed in the premises where it is sold. In Bombay the condition that the licenseholder should undertake to sell a certain quantity of opium was no longer to be imposed. I now come to the present year. In the last Session of Parliament the subject which has been referred to us was again brought forward in a motion introduced by Mr. Webb and supported by Sir Joseph Pease, the President of the Anti-Opium Association. That motion was to this effect:—"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 the opinion by ceasing

to grant licenses and by taking measures to arrest the transit of Malwa opium through British territory, and recognizing that the people of India ought not to be called upon to bear the cost involved in this change of policy, that oppressive taxation and the stoppage of expenditure necessary for the welfare and progress of the Indian people must be avoided, this House is of opinion that a Royal Commission should be appointed to inquire, both in India and in this country, and to report as to (1) what retrenchments and reforms can be effected in the 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." That was the resolution moved in the House of Commons, and it is certain that, if the present Government had moved a direct negative, they would have sustained a Parliamentary defeat. That result was only averted by Mr. Gladstone throwing himself into the breach with a vigorous speech and with a counter proposal for the appointment of a Royal Commission with more limited powers. Looking at the state of opinion in England, where we find men in the position of Archbishops and Bishops and men like the late Cardinal Manning supporting the Anti-Opium movement, yet admitting themselves to be painfully ignorant of the facts, and urging the Government to give them the light of an exhaustive and impartial inquiry, it must be recognized that the decision to appoint a Royal Commission was inevitable. I understand that a suggestion in that sense had gone forward some time ago from the Indian Government. In conclusion, I would urge that the active concern which has been shown in England in the opium question should be accepted as evidence of the deep interest which is taken in England in all that concerns the good government of India. Never has that feeling of interest in India and sympathy with and regard for the people of India been more strongly felt than at the present time. In any action which may be taken on the subject before us, our Commission is expressly charged with the duty of ascertaining the opinions and the wishes of the natives of India. To those engaged in the weighty task of governing this country, I can give an assurance on the part of the Commission that we have no desire to be unduly meddlesome, and that, in common with our fellow countrymen at home, we admire and recognize to the full the admirable qualities for which the Civil Service in India is so justly renowned.

Sir David
Barbour,
K.C.S.I.

The Hon'ble SIR DAVID MILLER BARBOUR, K.C.S.I., called in and examined.

2050. (Chairman.) How long have you served in India?—I came to India in December 1863, consequently I have 8 Nov. 1898. served nearly thirty years.

2051. In what parts of India have you served, and in what capacities?—I have served in the Patna Division of the Bengal Province where opium is grown; and also for a short time in other Bengal districts. Altogether I have served in Behar and Bengal about eight years, during which time I was employed partly in judicial work and partly in connection with the collection of the revenue; and for the rest of my service I have been employed in or under the Financial Department chiefly or almost entirely.

2052. Have you had any special opportunities of watching the poppy cultivation in India?—When I was in Behar, I lived among the people who grow the poppy for the production of opium. For the last five years I have been in charge of the Finance Department as Member of the Governor General's Council; and all business connected with opium which comes to the Government of India comes to that Department.

2053. What, in your view, would be the effect of the prohibition of the poppy cultivation? Would such a step be likely to occasion grave discontent among the cultivators?—I think I ought to observe that my actual personal experience of the value of the crop in Behar is now about twenty-two years old. At that time it certainly was a valuable crop; but I believe that, owing to improved means of communication, which enable other more bulky produce to be sent out more cheaply than was formerly the case, and possibly owing in a measure to the depreciation of silver, the crop in Behar (and the same would apply, no doubt with more or less force, to the Benares

Agency in the North-Western Provinces) is probably not so valuable as it was twenty-five years ago. But still it is a valuable crop; and I imagine that if the cultivation of the poppy were prohibited, there would be a serious loss to the ryots and zemindars. I cannot speak from recent experience on this subject; no doubt you will get evidence from men who reside in that province at the present day. I may mention that I believe (though I have no personal knowledge of it) that the crop is much more valuable to the ryots in Malwa than in Behar, because, owing to peculiarities of climate and soil, there is another specially valuable crop to substitute for it in Malwa.

2054. Have you formed any opinion as to the physical results from the use of opium?—I have lived thirty years in India, and I admit that I have not had special means of seeing the effects of opium, but practically no "evil results" have come under my notice. I have lived in the opium growing districts. I was stationed for some years in Patna, where there is a very large city and where a good deal of opium is believed to be consumed. I cannot recall to mind more than one or two cases in which men were said to suffer from the effects of consuming opium, and in the case of those men all I noticed was, that they used to be rather stupid and sluggish in the morning until they had had their allowance of opium. These were cases of men who were supposed to take opium immoderately; but, practically, I may say that no evil results from the consumption of opium have come under my notice. At the same time I must say that I only know a limited portion of India. There is no man alive who knows all India. It is impossible for any man to know all India. I speak therefore, of that part of India with which I am acquainted.

and of the class of people with whom I have some in contact.

2055. Taking the population of India as a whole, those who consume opium, whether moderately or immoderately, are a small minority of the whole?—They are a small minority of the whole. In the evidence I have just given I was speaking from my personal knowledge. I have formed a belief from the papers I have seen and the persons I have talked to, and I believe, taking India as a whole, the evils arising from the consumption of opium are certainly not serious. Opium is consumed more largely in some provinces than in others.

2056. Have you any opinion with reference to the physical effects of the opium habit in China?—I have not been in China myself, and I have no personal knowledge on the subject, but I have spoken to one or two persons who have been there. I may mention that I have spoken to Mr. James, now Commissioner in Sind, who travelled some years ago in Manchuria. Travelling in Manchuria—he practically travelled as a Chinaman would, moving about with carts or mules from place to place and stopping at the same hotels or sarais as the people stopped at. I think his impression was that many of the people who consumed opium were remarkably fine men physically—unusually fine;—that they took their opium as a matter of course, and that it did not seem to do them any harm. I think he also mentioned to me that he had come across one or two people who seemed to have suffered very much from something, and they did consume opium. I have read statements made as to the evil effects of opium in China, but I think they are very much exaggerated. I have no doubt that there are cases of abuse of opium there, and possibly the consumption of opium may amount to a considerable evil; but, on the other hand, I have heard very strong statements made to the effect that the consumption of opium is often beneficial. A friend of mine visited some tin mines in a very unhealthy locality in the Straits where a number of Chinese were employed, and also people belonging to other countries, and he told me that the hospitals there were full of people belonging to other countries, but that remarkably few of the Chinese had to go to hospital. That result was ascribed to the fact that the Chinese regularly took a little opium. Of course as regards China you must only take my opinion for what you consider it is worth. I have never been in China.

2057. You have had the opportunity of consulting with men who have been there?—Yes; and I have read many reports on the subject.

2058. I will now ask you to turn to that very important aspect of the question which has been referred to us, and with which from your position in the Government, you would be more particularly called upon to deal, namely, the financial aspect of the question. It is a fact that, to the various objections that have been urged to the opium-revenue, the Government of India have always put forth in reply, among other arguments, that the revenue derived from opium is in the present condition of the finances of India, indispensable. I need hardly remind you that Mr. Gladstone, in resisting the motion of the last Session of the House of Commons, which led to the appointment of this Commission, insisted chiefly on the financial argument. He said, "You cannot give a pledge for the further contraction of the opium traffic without being possessed of the operative means." Can you give us any statement showing the amount and fluctuations in the opium-revenue, and showing the degree of your dependence upon that financial resource?—I have not got such statements with the intention of putting them in: they can be put in hereafter. I have not got the statistics in detail, but papers have been prepared, which will be put in for the information of the Commission. The total revenue derived from the consumption of opium in India is about Rs. 1,000,000. The net revenue derived from the export of opium is much larger and may be taken at about Rs. 5,000,000 in the present year. The revenue derived from the export of opium has materially fallen off in recent years. This is mainly due to the growing competition of opium produced in China, but it is partially due to temporary causes, such as poor crops of opium in recent years in India, and probably in some degree to the introduction into China of the system under which a consolidated rate of duty is levied on import in place of the *likin* or transit duties. We may fairly take the total net revenue from opium at Rs. 6,000,000 yearly at the present time. I have no hesitation in saying that it would be impossible to carry on the

administration of India if the revenue was reduced by Rs. 6,000,000. As it is, there is considerable difficulty in making revenue balance expenditure; and for my part I would positively refuse to attempt the task if the revenue were reduced by Rs. 6,000,000. Some revenue could, of course, be raised by additional taxation, but not Rs. 6,000,000. I have no doubt that the people in this country would bear some additional taxation, if the taxation were imposed in consequence of some disaster which we could not have avoided; but the imposition of heavy or perhaps of any considerable amount of taxation on the people of India, in order to make good the loss of revenue caused by interference with the consumption or export of opium, would cause most serious discontent among the people of India. I should be most unwilling to face the consequences of taxation imposed for such a purpose. Of course, this Rs. 6,000,000 does not represent the total loss to the country that would be caused by the prohibition of the production of opium; but it represents the loss of revenue to the Government. Certain Native States, if the production of opium were prohibited, would lose very heavily, and the peasants and cultivators in many places would suffer severely if deprived of the opportunity of cultivating a specially valuable crop. I am aware that it has been said or suggested that any loss of opium revenue might possibly be made good by a reduction of the home charges on account of the British troops serving in India. For my own part, I am unable to see any connection between the two questions. If the home charges are too high, they should be reduced without any reference to the opium question. If this Commission or the Home Government are in a position to announce positively on behalf of the British Government that the home charges will be reduced, I can take that fact into consideration and allow for an improvement *pro tanto* in the financial position. But if they are not in a position to do so, I cannot take into account any possible decrease of expenditure due to this cause. The Government of India have represented that the home charges ought to be reduced, and I believe there has been some consideration of the expediency of appointing a Commission to inquire into the subject; but, on the other hand, I understand that the War Office and the Treasury hold that, if anything, the charges made against India on account of British troops serving in this country are lower than they might fairly be. There is one other consideration that has been put forward as regards the loss of revenue, that if the export of opium from India were prohibited, the measure might be spread over a series of years, say, thirty, so that the loss of revenue would be gradual and Indian revenue and expenditure would have time to adjust themselves to the altered conditions. Against that proposal I desire to protest in the strongest terms. It would throw on posterity a burden which we are unable and unwilling to take upon ourselves, and there is no good reason to suppose that posterity will be in a better position to bear the burden than we are. No man can tell what the history of India will be during the next thirty years. It may be that the country will be financially prosperous thirty years hence, or it may be that it will be in great financial difficulties. 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. 6,000,000 less than it actually is.

2059. Turning to what you have said about military charges, the reasons for opposing any modification in the present system of dealing with opium being partly, indeed, I may say, essentially, financial, it is impossible to exclude altogether from view the general consideration of the various charges which the Government of India has to meet. In a speech in the House of Commons in support of motion which led to the appointment of the present Commission, Sir Joseph Pease made a special reference to the rapid increase in the military charges. He pointed to the fact that the military charges had increased from 1881 to the time when he was speaking by Rs. 8,500,000. He mentioned that the number of British soldiers had been increased from 63,000 in 1883-84 to 71,000 in 1891; and he pointed to the increase of the native army from 126,000 to 149,000 in the same period. I believe there has been a large increase in the expenditure on military works. Have you any reason to apprehend a further development in the same proportion of the military expenditure for the external defence of India?—Nobody would be better pleased than I should, if it were found possible to reduce the military expenditure in India; but there are different opinions held on the subject. It would

Sir David
Barbour,
K.C.S.I.

18 Nov. 1898.

INDIAN OPIUM COMMISSION :

Sir David Barbour, K.C.S.I.
18 Nov. 1899.

depend very much on the course of events whether the charges should increase or not.

2060. You are not in a position, because you are here as Financial Officer, to form any anticipation of the military necessities of the future?—Going back to what Your Lordship has already said, my objections to the prohibition of the production of opium are not by any means purely financial. If every rupee that India would lose directly or indirectly were to be made good to the Government of India, I would still say that it is a mistake to prohibit the production and consumption of opium, because I think that no extreme measure like that should be forced on people who do not want it, unless it should be found to be necessary to adopt that expedient in order to get rid of evils of the most serious character. Looking at the question from a financial point of view, it is quite true that some charges may be reduced; it is quite true that it may be possible to reduce the military charges of this country. On the other hand, it is equally possible that the home charges may not be reduced, and that the military charges in this country may be increased. It is conceivable that we might have a war on the frontier which would certainly be a source of financial embarrassment; again it is conceivable that we might have a famine. We may have great difficulties to meet in connection with the attempt to introduce the gold standard in this country, and I can say that the actual financial difficulties of the present time are serious; the financial future is clouded and uncertain, and I am not prepared to take into consideration a possible increase of revenue or reduction of expenditure unless it can be put forward on more definite grounds than have yet been shown to exist. I admit that if the home charges were reduced, the financial position would be improved; but I have no guarantee as to reduction of expenditure or increase of revenue, and I can form no estimate on which it would be safe to rely. I should be very glad if the military expenditure could be reduced.

2061. If military advice of a character so weighty that no Government, whether of England or India, could afford to disregard it, had been tendered, recommending certain preparations for the defence of the frontier, and if it had been financially impossible for the Government of India to carry into effect this recommendation in such a contingency as that, would it not have been incumbent upon the Imperial Exchequer to deal with the defence?—I should say so, or at least I hope so, but the Imperial Exchequer has never shown any special readiness to help us in these matters.

2062. In such a contingency as I have suggested, we know what the public feeling in England would be?—I have little doubt, at least I hope, that when things came to the worst we should get assistance. There is one matter on which I should like to say a few words, that is, as to the feeling of the people of India with regard to the prohibition of the consumption of opium in India. I hold a very strong opinion that the prohibition of the consumption of opium in India would of itself excite the gravest discontent in many parts of India, and I think it would be simple folly for such a Government as ours to attempt to enforce prohibition on the people. It is a different thing possibly where everybody has a vote, and a great majority of the people have come to the conclusion that the use of a certain article should be put down. You may be able to enforce prohibition under such circumstances, but where such a thing is done on the fiat of the Government and in opposition to the general wish of the people, or of a large section of them, I think the consequences might be very serious.

2063. That contingency was provided for by Parliament and the Government when this Commission was appointed and, as you will have noticed, we are specially charged under the order of reference with the duty of travelling through the country and putting ourselves in personal contact with those races in India who are the consumers of opium to test their feeling on the point?—I merely mention the opinion I have formed as the result of my experience, because the Commission, I apprehend, will find it very difficult to take the opinion of all these races. There are a great many parts of the country, and to visit them would be a work of great time and labour. I am not aware that the Government of India have any right or authority to prohibit the production or consumption of opium in Native States. I am sure there are many Native States that would resent in the strongest manner any attempt to coerce them in this matter. The amount of revenue derived from opium is very great in Central India.

2064. Perhaps we might not inappropriately glance at one aspect of this question on which I think you are prepared to give us your opinion, that is, with reference to the

situation in relation to China. What is your view as to the feeling entertained by those who govern in China with regard to the opium traffic?—I have no special means of saying what the feeling of the Government of China has been in the past, or what it is at the present time. I have no doubt the Commission will find other witnesses who can give them a much better opinion on the point than I can; but I am quite satisfied that the Government of China could not prevent the consumption of opium in that country, even if they wished to do so; I think that they would find it impossible.

2065. Supposing that a large increase in the duty imposed by the Chinese Government were agreed to, what is your view as to the probable effect of such an increase of the duty levied in the Chinese ports with reference to smuggling?—We know that the Chinese are the most adroit smugglers in the world, and I presume that the higher the duty on imports into China, the greater the temptation to smuggling would be. But the Chinese seem to prevent smuggling tolerably well now. I rather think they have an agreement with the Hong-Kong Government to prevent smuggling from Hong-Kong.

2066. That was arranged by Sir Thomas Wade, I believe?—I think they have such an agreement, and I am inclined to think that they could prevent smuggling, unless the temptation was very great indeed. You must take that opinion for what it is worth.

2067. As a matter of fact, we know that the management of their customs is now in the hands of Europeans?—I know that it has been under Sir Robert Hart; and for some years they have levied a large revenue on imported opium, and I apprehend they can only do so by checking smuggling in a tolerably effective manner.

2068. I should like to direct your attention to a point which seems to me of considerable practical importance. Looking at the matter on behalf of Government you would naturally desire, if you could, to conciliate and to meet the objections of those who do object to the opium revenue?—Certainly.

2069. Particular exception has been taken to what may be called the Bengal monopoly system. In his speech in seconding the motion in the House of Commons in the present Session, Sir Joseph Pease, the President of the Anti-Opium Association, expressed himself in words which I think it would be proper that I should read. "The position of the Indian Government is a position which is terribly unique. The Indian Government licenses every poppy plant that is grown; the Indian Government subsidises the whole of the cultivators of the crop; they frequently have as much as £2,000,000 out in subsidies on the crop. The Indian Government are the people who were responsible for this. They are the people who license and who decree more or less growth according to the exigencies of the trade. It is a position which, as I have said, is perfectly unique. They subsidise the grower, they buy the crop, they manufacture the drug, and they sell it by auction at Calcutta. This is the position of a professing Christian nation. We do license public houses, but we do not carry on a trade in public houses. We are not the manufacturers of all the whisky used in this country; and if we were, we should hesitate before trying to force our whisky crop according to the exigencies of the trade. As a moral and a Christian nation, we have no right to trade in that which does others harm, and which is one of the greatest causes of misery to the human race. That is the simple point I endeavour to make." That was the position taken by Sir Joseph Pease, and I wish to bring it prominently forward for the consideration of those who govern this country. Then we have another view of the same kind from an authority even more weighty—that of Lord Hartington when Secretary of State for India. In a despatch addressed to the Government of India, June the 16th, 1881, he expressed himself as follows:—"The two points on which the position of the Government has chiefly been attacked, are (1) their direct connection with the trade; and (2) the policy pursued towards the Chinese Government in relation to it. As regards the first, it can scarcely be contended that the subjects of Native States, or, indeed, our own subjects, should be entirely prohibited from growing opium for exportation, or that an export duty on such opium is not a legitimate source of Government revenue. But it is obvious that Government are placed in a very different position, when, as in Bengal, they are manufacturers and dealers in a drug which is at least capable of great abuse, and which is, in the opinion of many persons, the cause of much misery and evil." Then we have the views of the Anti-Opium Association so far as I have been able to collect them, and as put forward more particularly in a pamphlet which they have published on

Sir William Muir's Minute of 1868. In that Minute reference is made to the recommendation of Sir Charles Trevelyan in favour of the appointment of a Commission—I suppose a Commission under the Government of India—for the consideration of the expediency and practicability of extending or introducing the Bombay system in Bengal. Among other arguments urged by Sir Charles Trevelyan was that argument of the large amount locked up in advances to the cultivators. That and other objections were discussed in Sir William Muir's Minute, and among other references there was a reference to the opinion of Mr. Wilson, who was, I suppose, Finance Minister in India at that time, and whose objection to the change which has been proposed in Bengal was almost limited to this, that if you had the Bombay system in Bengal you would no longer have a Government brand on the opium chests, and that the opium would therefore sell less advantageously in the market. To that it was answered that the Malwa opium did not bear the Government brand and nevertheless commanded a rather better price than the Bengal opium. The main argument for the change urged by Sir William Muir was put in this way:—“*Prima facie* the change proposed would remove a blemish from the Administration without imperilling the finances. That cannot be an edifying position for the Government to occupy, in which it has year by year to determine the quantity of opium which it will bring to sale, in which there is a constant inducement for it to trim the market, and in which its haste to secure wider harvests and larger returns has repeatedly recoiled upon the trade, stimulated baneful speculation and gambling in Central India, and ended in much misery. I do not speak of the undignified aspect of the British Government growing, manufacturing, and selling the drug—performing, in fact, all the functions of producer and speculator.” This was taken up by the Anti-Opium Association. They reprinted Sir William Muir's minute, and they put in conclusion the argument which they founded upon that minute. This is what they say in reply to those who on behalf of the Government wish to sustain the monopoly. “The argument is, that when evil will be done, it matters not who is the doer of it. It is the same thing morally, whether the Government permits private persons to carry on a noxious trade or itself embarks its own capital and energies in that trade. This argument is so monstrous that even when fortified by the qualification in the minute of Sir William Muir that Government must be ‘sufficiently despotic to effect a total prohibition of the trade in question’, it could only find acceptance with minds predisposed to welcome any argument favouring a foregone conclusion. What but the most audacious impiety will venture to assert that the permission of evil is exactly equivalent to the caution of evil when evil occurs in the dominions of the only absolutely omnipotent sovereign. Have we never heard on the highest authority that ‘offences must come: but woe to that man by whom they come.’ To descend to lower levels for our illustrations, every human Government refrains from interference with a vast variety of evils which, nevertheless, no sane man would advocate that the Government should itself promote. Gambling and prostitution exist in England. Would our State be no worse if the Houses of Parliament were to create branches of the public service to conduct gambling houses and brothels, in order to divert the profits of those vices from private individuals to the public treasury? It would be waste of time to occupy more in exposing this false principle. If evil must needs be, better, incalculably better, that the evil should not be the work of the Sovereign, the Government, the Magistrate, but that of private persons, who at least do not compromise the dignity of the Crown, the sanctity of law and justice by their wilful proceedings.” I thought it well to put before you the arguments which have been addressed to the British public and have so far prevailed with them as to produce that parliamentary position which has led to the appointment of this Commission. It seems to me that the point on which the assault is most seriously directed is the question of the Bengal monopoly. I am aware that the despatch of Lord Hartington, from which I have read an extract, was met by a very able Minute on the part of the Government over which at that time Lord Ripon presided, and that reasons of a cogent nature were urged in defence of the Bengal monopoly. But as I have shown by the quotation from the speech of Sir Joseph Pease, he at least is still impressed very strongly with the objections to the Bengal monopoly. I should, therefore, like to ask you what your view is on that point, and specially with reference to this, that Sir William Muir in his Minute recognizes the utter impossibility of any sudden change. He says that the new system would of course be substituted gradually for the old. Then he suggests that it might be treated experimentally, and that districts should be selected in which the Bombay system could be tried. The Government, he says, might withdraw district by district. It might,

for example, for the present stop advances in the district of Cawnpore and westward. That would give time for testing, and if the results were such that Government could not accept them from a financial point of view, and if further it were found by experiment that smuggling was stimulated and that the result might be to increase rather than to diminish the growth, then the experiment would have been tried and the result must be accepted. At any rate, the consideration of this Bengal monopoly is pressed very strongly upon us, and I should be glad to hear your views.

(Witness.) The arguments which you have read are no doubt plausible, and I have no desire to speak otherwise than with respect of those who have used them, and of their conviction. At the same time I must say that I think those arguments, when examined, will prove to be entirely unsound. The primary question is this—Are you or are you not going to abolish the production of opium in Bengal? If you are going to abolish it absolutely, there is no use discussing whether you should have a monopoly system or whether you should have a system of what perhaps may be called free-trade, at any rate of production and trade open to the general public. The question then resolves itself into this: assuming the production to be continued, which system gives the best results, taking everything into consideration, the monopoly system or the system which it is proposed to substitute for it? I must say that I think that Sir Joseph Pease has put the argument unfairly when he talks of us as subsidizing and encouraging the growth of opium. The natural course of the Government would be, as regards the poppy and opium and every other article, to leave it to the people to produce as much or as little as they pleased. The result of the monopoly system is to very largely reduce the area in which the poppy would otherwise be cultivated, and the cultivator is paid a smaller price than he could get if there was absolute free-trade. Under those circumstances, I do not think the Government is fairly open to the charge of stimulating or encouraging the consumption of opium. The truth is, that the monopoly system materially limits the cultivation of the poppy and the production of opium, and regulates the trade for the purpose of raising as large a revenue as possible and for the purpose, or with result of, checking the immoderate use of opium in India and other countries. Take the case of England. There is a very large consumption of spirits there. If the Government decided to adopt a system such as I believe has been advocated elsewhere in another form—that of making over the production and sale of spirits to local bodies—and if the Home Government reduced the quantity of spirits produced every year, to say one-fifth of the quantity now consumed, would they be fairly charged with stimulating the consumption of spirits? No doubt such a measure would seriously check the consumption of spirits. What the Government of India do in the case of opium is to limit the production and consumption of opium and to raise a large revenue from it; and I think if you adopt any other system you will get worse results. At present under the supervision of the Government officers the poppy is cultivated and opium is produced and brought to the central factory and there manufactured, and the production is limited. If you had a different system, a system of what I may call free-trade, Government would still have to license the cultivation of the poppy and the production of opium; it would still employ officers to supervise the crop from the time it was sown till the time when the opium was manufactured; it would still have to levy duty; but I think it would do all these things in a less effective way. The persons who embarked in the trade would make advances to the opium cultivators instead of the Government, and they would require to have their officers to manage the business; they would expect a higher rate of interest on their capital than Government would accept; they would require to keep up their own establishment, and at the same time the Government would require to keep up an establishment. There would be a double establishment and a higher charge for interest by the persons engaged in the trade. Those persons must also make their profits; and the result would be that opium could not bear as high a rate of taxation as at present, because all that expenditure would have to come out of the selling price of the opium. On the other hand, I think it will be admitted that the door would be opened to smuggling when there were two sets of officers looking after the opium,—one on behalf of the Government, and the other on behalf of those traders, because Government could not exercise the same control and supervision as when the matter was entirely in the hands of its own officers. It would also be impossible to restrict and define the area of cultivation in the manner now adopted. I also think the opium would not fetch so high a price on account of its being at present

Sir David
Barbour,
K.C.S.I.

18 Nov. 1898.

Sir David
Barbour,
K.C.S.I.

8 Nov. 1898.

of a uniform brand. Reference has been made to Malwa opium. That is produced in a different place and under different conditions, and it is a slightly different article. I think a chest of Malwa opium contains 20 per cent. more opium than a chest of Bengal opium of the same weight, although it is nominally the same thing. In commercial opium there is not only the pure opium, but there is a certain amount of moisture, and there is more moisture in the Bengal opium than in the Malwa. I am, therefore, of opinion that it might be a serious thing to allow general cultivation of the poppy under license. Probably its growth would be extended over a much larger area, and in that case there would certainly be a greater risk of smuggling, because smuggling specially prevails wherever the poppy is cultivated, and I do not see how the same amount of revenue could be raised except by a considerable increase of the cultivation which would necessarily be accompanied by increased production and increased consumption. Therefore I think on all grounds the monopoly system, even from the point of view of the Anti-Opium Association, is preferable to the system of open trade. No doubt the Commission have seen the despatch of the Government of India on the subject.

2070. (*Chairman.*) I had contemplated asking you one or two questions as to the Home charges, but you have already given us in your statement your general view, and I think it is hardly necessary that I should occupy your time or that of the Commission in eliciting the obvious admission that you would be very thankful to see those Home charges reduced, and that you would not refuse to entertain the belief that on grounds of equity something might be done in mitigation of the present burden which India has to bear at home. Those points are obvious, and it is also obvious that if anything is to be done in pleading the cause of India with the British public, it is not particularly the work of this Commission, though some of us may return home in the belief that in another capacity it might be our duty to move in the matter. Have you anything further to add?—There is one point upon which I should like to make a few remarks. It has been said that we should give up our Treaty rights with China as regards the importation of opium into that country, and that we should prohibit the export of opium to China in the interests of the Chinese people. It seems to me that to justify any interference of that nature, it would be necessary to prove, first, that the consumption of opium in China was such an overwhelming evil as to make it our duty to interfere in the interests of humanity, and, secondly, that our interference would be attended with such benefits as to outweigh the undoubted loss of revenue to India which would certainly follow. Of course it is for this Commission to come to a conclusion whether the consumption involves evils of such a character as to justify our interference. In my opinion this is not the case. But I have never been in China, and, as I have already said, my opinion can only be taken for what it is worth. On one point, however, I have no doubt. 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. We sell yearly a certain quantity of Bengal opium to the highest bidder, and every additional rupee of taxation imposed on it on import into China will involve a corresponding reduction in the price paid for the opium in Calcutta, and every such reduction in the Calcutta price means the loss of an equivalent amount of Indian revenue. The Malwa opium trade has been in anything but a flourishing condition for some years. The export has fallen off, and the trade with difficulty sustains the taxation it now bears. Any increase in the taxation in China must be met by a corresponding reduction in this country, unless we are prepared to see the trade destroyed. The destruction of the Malwa trade would be a most serious blow to the States that produce that opium, and to the inhabitants, because opium is their especially valuable crop. On the other hand, the imposition of a higher rate of duty on import of opium into China would in my belief have no effect upon the consumption in China. It would not affect the total taxation on Indian opium, because Indian opium already bears the highest rate of taxation which it is possible to impose upon it, and any increase in China would be followed automatically in the case of Bengal opium by a corresponding decrease in India; whilst in the case of Malwa opium the Government of India would be forced, as I have said, to reduce the export duty in order to save the trade and the interests of the Native States concerned. Even if we assume that the Government of India are prepared to see the Malwa trade extinguished or materially reduced, the total consumption of opium would not fall off in China. The place of Malwa opium has already been largely taken in China by indigenous opium, and, to some

extent, by Persian opium, and the progress of substitution is still going on. Its progress would be merely accelerated by a decline in the quantity of Malwa opium exported to China. In my opinion the financial consequences to India of doing away with the whole, or the greater portion, of the Indian revenue derived from the export of opium, would be of the most serious character. Apart from the question of losing revenue, which at present I can see no means of replacing, the destruction, or serious reduction, of one of the most valuable articles of our export trade would have consequences on the rate of exchange which might prove disastrous at a time when we are attempting to introduce a gold standard into India. The success of that measure depends very largely on the proportion which is maintained between Indian exports and imports, and anything which would materially reduce our exports would have injurious consequences, and might produce evils which would prove irreparable. It is conceivable that the consumption of opium might be the cause of such evils in China as to make it desirable for us in the interests of morality and humanity to wash our hands of the whole business at any cost, but I deny that this is the case. I have served for thirty years in India; I have been connected with the Finance Department for more than twenty-one years; I was a member of the Royal Commission on Gold and Silver which sat in England for two years, and I have made a special study of the Exchange question; and I wish to give this Commission the most solemn warning as to the probable consequences of destroying the Indian opium revenue. I can see no justification for measures involving such a result, and I am confident that those measures would not produce any benefits in the case of the people of China. My connection with India and with the Government of India will come to a close before another week has passed, and I desire to place this deliberate opinion on record as the outcome of experience which I think, I may fairly say, is of its kind not surpassed by that of any other living Indian official.

2071. It will be our duty to weigh carefully the statements you have made. I am sure they will have our attentive consideration. Speaking of the matter generally in relation to China, I suppose we may take it to be your opinion that whatever view may be held of the relations between England and China in regard to opium matters in the past, at present those relations would be governed by the declaration of Sir James Ferguson in the House of Commons to the effect that public opinion would never sanction any exercise of force on the part of the British Empire to compel the Chinese to receive our opium. That declaration is before the Chinese Government for them to act upon as they may think discreet. It would seem to me, as I think I have already suggested in a question that I put, that in considering the expediency of any re-opening of negotiations with reference to the tariff, the action of the Chinese Government must be governed by the following consideration. If a great increase were made in the duty levied in Chinese ports, it must necessarily lead to increased smuggling. Considering the nature of the Chinese administration, the character of the navigation on their coasts, and so on, it would be exceptionally difficult for the Chinese Government to put a check upon smuggling if the temptation offered by an excessive duty were sufficient to stimulate smuggling operations. That seems to be obvious.—These are questions for the consideration of the Commission. I have given my opinion as to the possible consequences of a loss of Indian revenue, and I have given it to the best of my ability.

2072. (*Sir James Lyall.*) If a saving of home charges for military expenditure could be effected, and if no crisis occurred, such as war or famine, is it not still the case that there are many urgent claims on the Indian revenue which would be so set free, in the way of money wanted for canals, the salt tax, etc.?—Nobody knows better than I do that the claims on the Indian Government for good and useful purposes are indefinite in amount. A great many things are wanted in this country which ought to be provided if the money were available. My whole career in recent years has been that of occupying the unfortunate position of refusing to provide money for objects which I admitted were important.

2073. In the last letter to Lord Kimberley from the Anti-Opium Association, which is said to represent the present case of that body, it is said that the stoppage of the Indian trade in opium in China would in all probability have a very beneficial effect on the silver exchanges by putting an end to the drain from China to India in payment for opium, thereby enabling the Chinese to substitute the use of silver for their present cumbersome coinage; that it would thus tend to check the depreciation

of silver which at the present time is so serious an embarrassment to the finances of India. Do you think there is any truth in this theory?—I think there is no foundation for it at all. I have heard many strange arguments in connection with the currency question, but that is one of the strangest.

2074. Do you think it would have any effect either way, or that it would have a bad effect?—That if we do not export opium to China the Chinese would abolish their present system of currency and have a silver coinage. I do not see the connection between the two things. Moreover, we have no longer got a silver standard, and the reduction of our exports would injuriously affect the exchange.

2075. It is also said in the same letter that if the trade in opium from India to China were stopped, in all probability the trade in other products would be greatly increased, which would tend to the benefit of India?—I imagine that if the cultivation of the poppy for the production of opium were stopped in India, whether for export or import, the land would not lie fallow, other crops would be put in, but certainly nothing nearly so valuable to India as the present opium cultivation. We now export about Rs. 10,000,000 worth of opium. If that were stopped, we would fail to pay our foreign debts by that amount, and we must export something by which to pay these debts. I apprehend that the way an adjustment would be brought about would be by the exchange falling until the exports were increased and the imports reduced. I know no other way in which the account could be adjusted.

2076. You think the result would be the exchange falling?—Decidedly. If you take away ten crores from our exports, you may depend upon it that the exchange will fall considerably.

2077. (*Mr. Fanshawe.*) The Resolution of the House of Commons on the 30th June 1893 presses on the Government of India a continuation of their policy of greatly diminishing the cultivation of the poppy and the sale of opium. I should like to ask for an explanation of the Government policy at the present time as regards its real objects and the practical limits within which it is contemplated the diminution should be carried out?—The policy of the Government of India in regard to opium, I imagine, has varied somewhat at different times according to the views of the members of the Government for the time being. 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 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. I may also mention that the policy of the Government has not been quite the same in every province. 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. It may be a question whether the Resolution has rightly described this policy, but, in any case, the policy has been what I have stated.

2078. That is to say, that a great diminution as regards exports is not a necessary part of the present policy of the Government, speaking generally?—Nor can I say that it has been in the past. My attention has been called to a statement made in the House of Commons by the late Mr. W. H. Smith, but I think he has described the policy he mentioned as the policy of the Home Government. 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.

2079. (*Mr. Howbrey.*) Among the subjects referred to the Commission is the amount of compensation to be paid. Does that mean the compensation to Native States or compensation to cultivators?—I suppose it must mean compensation generally?—I have not sufficient means to make an estimate of the total amount of compensation, but the serious

amount of compensation would be the compensation payable to Native States and to the inhabitants of those States. As you have no right to stop the cultivation of the poppy there, I suppose the amount of compensation would be a matter of bargaining with the States. It would be a large amount certainly, but I could not pretend to say what it would be, nor can I say what the States would accept. Opium is grown in a great many Native States, and I have no doubt it is grown in States of which I even do not know the names. It would be a large amount, several crores of rupees I should say. A crore of rupees is ten millions of rupees.

2080. Would you consider that there would also be compensation to the cultivators who had been in the habit of cultivating under the Government of India?—That is a difficult question. If the cultivators lost their profits, and the landlords lost their rents, I suppose it would be a question whether they ought not to be compensated. If the loss was small, it would be unnecessary, but if the loss was serious, I should think that something would have to be done. I could not give any estimate of what the probable payment would be, but I do not think it would be anything like so large as the compensation payable to the Native States and to the inhabitants of those States.

2081. I believe there are other products of the poppy besides the opium drug?—Yes; the poppy seed is of considerable value. There is a good deal exported and a good deal used in this country.

2082. Another point mentioned is the cost of the necessary preventive measures. Assuming that it would be impossible to prohibit growth in the Native States, and assuming, as you put it, that the Government would have a right to prohibit the growth in British territory for the consumption of the people of India, do you think it would be possible with all the resources of the Government of India, to stop the export trade (an illegitimate export trade) to China or elsewhere?—I think a good deal could be done in the direction of stopping very large exports to China, because the opium sent to China is of considerable bulk, and it would have to go down the coast and be embarked on steamers and so forth. It might be sent no doubt to small vessels and transferred afterwards to steamers, but on the whole, I think, the export to China could be practically stopped; but I am confident that the whole resources of the Government of India would be unable to prevent smuggling from the Native States into British India. The States are interlaced with British territory, and the total boundary line between the Native States and British India is of immense extent, so that the prevention of smuggling from Native States into British India would be beyond the resources of the Government of India. I have no hesitation in saying so.

2083. But you cannot give the Commission any evidence on the subject in default of the necessary information?—I can give no estimate, but you would require a large army of preventive officers, and even with that army you would not succeed in preventing smuggling.

2084. With regard to any possible alteration in the monopoly system in Bengal, I believe you have in the Punjab a system of acreage duty. Has that experiment been tried on a sufficiently large scale to enable you to speak with any certainty as to its effect?—The system is peculiar to the Punjab, and the circumstances there are totally different from what they are in Bengal, but I believe it will be found that the amount of taxation imposed on opium by that acreage duty is very much lighter than that levied on opium grown in Bengal. But other officers will be able to give accurate evidence on the subject.

2085. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Did I understand you to say in reply to a question put by Mr. Fanshawe that the policy of the Government of India was hardly the same as that declared in the House of Commons by the late leader of the House, Mr. William Henry Smith?—What I said was that the policy of the Government of India was what I have explained in my answer. It might be a question whether that policy, as I explained it, was accurately described in the recent Resolution; but whether it was or was not the policy of the Government of India has been what I stated.

2086. The language of Mr. W. H. Smith was this: "The course which this Government has taken, and which all Governments have taken during the last few years, has been to diminish the area of cultivation in India."—I should hardly say that he is speaking there of the policy of the Government of India; I should say that he was speaking of the policy of the Home Government, and I must say that I was not aware until that statement was made that it was the policy of the Home Government. I wish to add something more to my answer. I do not know whether your attention was called to a question that was asked in the House of Commons on a subsequent date—April 23rd, 1891,

*Sir David
Barbour,
K.C.S.I.*
18 Nov. 1893.

Sir David Barbour, K.C.S.I.
18 Nov. 1898.

by Mr. Maclean. Perhaps it is as well that I should read the question.

"Mr. Maclean (Oldham). I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the India Office has any evidence to show that the recent reduction in the area of poppy cultivation in Bengal is due to the intention of the Government of India to do away with the opium revenue little by little, and not to the commercial necessity for reducing production in order to keep up the price in face of the increasing competition of opium grown in China; and whether the policy of the Government of India, with regard to this source of revenue, is correctly expressed by Sir David Barbour, the Indian Finance Minister, who in introducing his Budget for the year 1891-92 said—"The opium revenue has no doubt fallen largely, and at this moment there are no indications of a recovery. On the other hand, the fall up to date has been discounted, and provision made to meet the consequent loss of revenue. As the fall has been so great, we may fairly hope that for the present we have seen the worst." That remark was taken from the Financial Statement which I delivered in 1891-92. You will observe that I did not then contemplate any progressive reduction of the opium revenue, because I said we might fairly hope that for the present we had seen the worst. Sir John Gorst's answer was—"The reason given for the reduction of the area of poppy cultivation in Bengal is that the reserve stock of opium had become unduly large." Mr. Smith's statement might be taken to mean that it had been intentionally reduced in order to get rid of the production. 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. Sir John Gorst added—"The statements of Sir D. Barbour, no doubt, do correctly express the policy of the Government of India."

2087. It really comes to this, that Mr. Smith was scarcely correctly informed as to the policy of the Government of India when he made that statement to the House of Commons?—I think some allowance must be made for Mr. Smith, who unfortunately is not here to defend himself. Mr. Smith was not Under-Secretary of State for India, and India is a very large country, composed of a great many Provinces, inhabited by great many races. There are a great many complicated questions connected with its administration, and it is not to be wondered at that members of the Government at home should not be perfectly informed of the facts concerning questions that may be raised in the House of Commons.

2088. Has your attention been directed to part of a speech by Sir James Fergusson on the same occasion?—He was speaking on behalf of the India Office, and he used these words—"I freely admit that the Government of India have never denied that it would be very desirable that this source of revenue should be altered. They have taken means to reduce it; they have diminished the number of licenses; and they 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?"—The amount of reduction may, as a statement of fact, be correct; but I think it was shown in that answer of Sir John Gorst's that the area was reduced because we happened to have a large stock of opium at the time. Therefore, to keep up the usual supply, it was not necessary to have so large an area under cultivation. In point of fact, the area was reduced. As I said in my evidence, it sometimes rises a little, and sometimes falls, according to circumstances. If there are bad crops for a number of years, the ryots are not so willing to grow the poppy.

2089. Taking the statement of Sir James Fergusson as representing the India Office, and the statement of Mr. W. H. Smith, who was the leader of the House of Commons, I think you will agree with me that they can hardly have conveyed a correct impression to the House of Commons?—I cannot say what the impression on the House of Commons may have been, but I believe that on various occasions inaccurate impressions have been conveyed to that House.

2090. On the question of fact to which you referred just now, was it quite correct to say that the reduction was 100,000 acres?—I cannot give you exact figures, but they will be put in. I dare say I have the figures here somewhere.

I will hand you the book,—"Finance and Revenue Accounts, and Miscellaneous Statistics relating to the Finances of British India," published in Calcutta, 1891.

The figures are given on page 43. I have the cultivation here for the last ten years,—the area under cultivation.

2091. I find when Sir James Fergusson was speaking about the 100,000 acres that the amount for the year 1891 was a little over 500,000 acres?—Yes, I have that figure for 1891.

2092. If you take it precisely, the ten years that he has stated, that is to say, going back to 1881, it was 536,000 acres?—Yes, I have no doubt that figure is correct if you find it in that book. I have not got it here.

2093. So that taking ten years strictly it was 36,000, and not 100,000?—I think that corroborates my statement that inaccurate observations are sometimes made in the House of Commons.

2094. But if you take it in a different way and compare it then with what it had been a short time before, taking an average of two or three years, it was no more than a reduction of 35,000 or 36,000?—I have ten years' figures, and they corroborate what I said,—that the production sometimes rises a little, and sometimes falls a little. I do not think you will find any very great fluctuation.

2095. On the whole, it has been rather rising?—Of late years I think it has rather fallen off. For 1892-93, I find it is down at 456,000 acres.

2096. It is substantially now just about the same as it was ten years ago?—I do not think there is any material difference.

2097. In 1882-83 it was under 500,000?—Yes.

2098. In 1889-90 it was under 500,000, so that it is practically the same?—I think the fluctuations 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. We were liable to have it said of us that more opium was being grown, and that we were stimulating production and consumption, and therefore during the last few years we have rather avoided any increase of the cultivation.

2099. On the same page of the same book there is a statement of the average produce per bigha?—Yes; it is customary to give the average produce per bigha.

2100. The general appearance of the table rather goes to show, I think, that the produce is falling off per bigha. Do you know if that is so?—That is a question which was very much discussed a number of years ago, probably twenty years ago. There was a considerable falling off, and a theory was started that the soil did not produce the same quantity of opium as it used to do; that it was deteriorating for the purposes of opium cultivation, but just about the time we thought that theory was established, a change in the seasons took place, the produce became very large, and we had a series of very good years. Recently we have had a series of bad years; therefore I am not prepared to say that the power of the soil to produce opium has or has not fallen off. You cannot base that conclusion on the results of only a few years. Certainly the last few years have been bad years. Formerly we had good seasons, and before that we had bad seasons; perhaps we may have good seasons again.

2101. You are aware that Sir Cecil Beadon gave evidence before the Select Committee on East India Finance in 1871?—Yes.

2102. Do you know what his official position was then?—I fancy he had left India before that date. I do not think he was connected with the Government of India then.

2103. He had been Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, and afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal?—He was Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, I know, in 1863.

2104. I wish to ask you how far you agree with the statement here. He was asked this question—No. 8396:—"Then the action of the Government has been, while encouraging the use of opium in other countries, to discourage the use of it among their own subjects?" He answered, "Certainly." Would you agree with that?—If you limit the production of an article by saying it shall only be grown in a certain area, and impose a high rate of duty on it, and only allow it to be sold in a limited number of shops, and charge a heavy license fee, and say that it should only be sold between sunrise and sunset, and so forth, I should say you distinctly discourage the consumption of that article.

Note.—Mr. Wilson regrets that questions 2089-6 were put in rather loose and perhaps misleading terms, as on further examination of the table in question he finds that the average quantity of land under poppy during the five years 1886-92 (the last in the table) is less than the average during the five years 1876-82 by nearly 32,000 acres, being a reduction of more than 6 per cent.

2105. I will read you two or three more questions and answers.—"3397: What is the reason for that?—The object of the Government has been simply a fiscal object, to get as much revenue out of opium as it possibly could. It therefore sells opium to its own subjects at as high a rate as possible, and it also endeavours to derive from the sale of the opium for exportation as large a price as it can obtain. 3398: But in a fiscal point of view is it indifferent to the Government whether it is consumed by their own subjects or by the Chinese?—Not quite. The profit upon opium sold for exportation is very much greater than the largest profit which we obtain on opium sold to our own people. We only sell the opium to our own people in order to prevent them from attempting to smuggle opium and to sell it without payment of duty."—From a fiscal point of view you ask whether it is the same if opium is exported or sold for consumption in the country. Of course the aggregate revenue received from opium exported is greater than the aggregate revenue received from opium consumed in the country; but certainly in many provinces, I should say in a large number of places, the profit per pound on opium sold for internal consumption is greater than the profit on opium sold for export. I should say that the profit on a seer of opium sold in Burma was much higher than on a seer exported to China, but it is a matter of calculation which can be worked out without difficulty. The rate of duty on opium for internal consumption varies in different provinces. In some provinces the consumption is comparatively small, and in others there are great facilities for smuggling. In those cases we do not charge so high a rate of duty as, for instance, in such a Province as Burma or Assam.

2106. (Chairman.) In Burma the Government have decided, have they not, to put restrictions upon the sale of opium?—There always were stringent restrictions; but, as a matter of fact, it has been decided, I do not say by whom, that the consumption of opium by natives of Burma should be absolutely prohibited. I think that measure has just come into force, making, of course, an exception in the case of persons who have been accustomed to use opium in the past.

2107. (Mr. Wilson.) The next question that was asked, was this: "But it has been the wish of the Government not to encourage the consumption of opium among their own subjects." And he replied, "I do not think that 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." And the Government would have been quite ready to see it consumed by their subjects as well as by the Chinese?—I do not think the Government have ever regarded the subject in that point of view, but only looked upon it in a fiscal point of view, and endeavoured to get as much revenue out of it as they possibly could.—That is the opinion of Sir Cecil Beadon, who, no doubt, had the means of knowing what the policy of the Government was at the time; but he is giving evidence as to a state of things which has long passed. I suppose his evidence refers to what actually took place about or before the year 1860. I should say that in the past, and especially in the first instance, when the opium revenue began to be collected in this country, the point that was looked to at that time, possibly almost exclusively, was the raising of the revenue. At the same time it must be remembered that the raising of the revenue had also the effect of checking the consumption, although that may not have been the object of the Government. The raising of the revenue does not stimulate consumption; it diminishes consumption. I am inclined to agree with Sir Cecil Beadon as regards the policy of the Government some years ago, that they looked mainly to the revenue question, and that the question, whether the consumption of opium was a great evil and ought to be checked by the Government was not raised, or not raised in a form that forced it upon the attention of the Government. That would be my impression, but I have not got personal knowledge of the facts.

2108. Then he was asked, "Therefore you may say generally that your sales of opium in India as well as in China are adjusted to obtain the utmost revenue possible." And he said, "yes." Probably your answer would be the same?—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 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.

2109. Did I understand you to say that you thought that, probably at the time to which Sir Cecil Beadon was referring, the question of the consumption of opium as a great evil in the country had not been raised?—I will not say that the question had not been raised, but at any rate it had not been so strongly raised, or raised with such effect as to force it on the attention of the Government of India. 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.

2110. Sir Cecil Beadon was asked this question: "I understand you to say that opium is grown in India simply for purposes of revenue; no moral consideration at all influenced the Government?" And his reply was: "The Government only regard opium as a means of obtaining revenue." Then he is asked, "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 consideration, as to the deleterious effect which opium might produce on the people to whom it is sold," and he replied, "Probably not."—Sir Cecil Beadon no doubt had personal knowledge of the matters on which he gave evidence, and it would not be for me to contradict him as regards the times of which he spoke; but I can say confidently that no consideration of revenue would have induced the Government of India to attempt to double the cultivation of opium in recent years. I am quite certain that if the Government of India had attempted any such thing the Home Government would have prevented it—that is the India Office; and I am sure that, if the India Office had permitted it, Parliament would not have allowed it. Therefore, in fact, we never dream of such a thing as doubling the cultivation of opium. I may add that it is doubtful if doubling the production of Indian opium would increase the revenue. We should have to pay a higher price to the cultivators, and we should doubtless receive a lower price for Indian opium.

2111. You have referred to the revenue as being five millions?—The net revenue from the export in round figures is Rs. 5,000,000.

2112. Are you aware of a statement made in the House of Commons this year by Mr. Russell that that was not likely to be realized by Rs. 600,000?—It is certainly doubtful if we shall get as much as Rs. 5,000,000 this year. The amount of revenue varies from year to year. We had a bad crop this year, and had not to pay for so much opium; that is a gain, but on the other side the price has fallen. We may take it this year at five millions. It will be somewhat less unless the price rises, but probably it may be something more next year. At present the export revenue may be taken to be five millions. I would not depend on getting more than that. Of course it is liable to fluctuation; you may get a million or two millions more or less; but five millions is a very fair estimate—probably it will be something under in the present year.

2113. Mr. Russell said: "We now expect a reduction of Rs. 600,000 in the net receipts this year"—When the estimate was made for this year, we expected a rather better crop than we have got, and we expected a rather higher price than we have got. The poor crop is a gain to us for the time, because we paid less for it. I cannot give the exact figure, but probably Rs. 400,000 would be the temporary saving. On the other hand, when the coinage of silver was stopped, the price of China opium fell at once, and we lost very heavily. I think we lost Rs. 130,000 or Rs. 140,000 in one sale alone, certainly Rs. 110,000. The price has since risen, but is still much below the original estimate. Mr. Russell may have given that estimate, and it may have been a good one at a time, but it was very difficult

Sir David
Barbour,
K.C.S.I.

19 Nov. 1893

*Sir David
Barbour,
K.C.S.I.*
18 Nov. 1898.

to make an estimate immediately after the Indian mints were closed. Possibly the revenue may be less this year by Rs. 500,000; but you may take it that Rs. 5,000,000 is about a fair average at the present time.

2114. Mr. Russell would not be likely to put forward a more gloomy prospect than he could help or than the circumstances at the time justified?—The price of opium has improved since he made that statement. I can get the figures for past years. The average used to be Rs. 8,324,000. It was afterwards Rs. 6,907,000, and later Rs. 7,090,000. The budget estimate this year was Rs. 5,970,000 including internal consumption; but as Mr. Russell stated, that probably may not be realized, by how much we cannot say. Last year the net revenue was Rs. 7,392,000, so that, in one year, there was a falling off of Rs. 1,400,000. Probably it will be a little more than Mr. Russell's estimate when the accounts are made up, but I should expect a considerable proportion of any loss to be recovered next year.

2115. (*Chairman.*) It is a very considerable reduction upon the average of the last forty years?—Five millions is much less than the average of recent years. Six millions is the total revenue; five millions from exports. In the preceding year the revenue instead of being six millions, at which I put it, was Rs. 7,392,000, and in the year before Rs. 7,155,000, and in the year before Rs. 6,693,000, and in the year before that Rs. 7,949,000. It varies from year to year. Five millions for export on an average is a low estimate.

2116. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Are you aware that the Anti-Opium party in England have regarded the payment of any deficit that may arise as a payment that ought to be made by England as part of their policy and programme?—If measures are taken which do away with the opium revenue to any material extent, I really think that England would have to pay, and, of course, in so far as England pays, the financial objection is removed. I myself would not recommend the abolition of the production of opium, even though England were to repay every penny lost, because I do not approve of the measure in itself.

2117. That was hardly my question. I asked you if you were aware that that was part of the programme of the Anti-Opium party?—I know there are members of the Anti-Opium party who are distinctly in favour of England paying if the production of opium is abolished. I cannot say what the policy of the party as a party is; but if you say it is the policy of the Anti-Opium party that England should pay, I accept the statement. I know nothing to the contrary.

2118. In the Debate of 1891 Sir Joseph Pease, who is the President of the Society, stated that in the House of Commons?—In so far as England will meet the total loss, direct and indirect, due to any change of policy, so far the financial objection falls to the ground. There can be no question about that.

2119. (*Sir James Lyall.*) So far as it is permanently met?—Of course I mean the whole cost. There is no question about that.

2120. (*Mr. A. Pease.*) I think it is true that the revenue accounts for the last few years do not accurately represent the returns of each year, because there has been a considerable reduction of stocks; is not that so?—There has been a considerable reduction of stock; in fact there is no reserve now, I think. But the revenue accounts show accurately the amount of revenue actually received in each year.

2121. In 1889-89 there was a very considerable reduction of area under cultivation?—There was a reduction about that time.

2122. Was any compensation given to the owners of the soil or cultivators when licenses were refused them in those years?—There was a reduction in the cultivation; but whether or not licenses were refused to men who applied I cannot say; I never heard of any compensation. Nobody would think of proposing compensation for such a reduction. I was at home in England at the time, but my belief is that the reduction was made under the orders of the Government of India; but what the precise nature of those orders was, I cannot say. I may mention that had I been in India at the time, I should have recommended that the area should not be reduced.

2123. You mentioned that there was a considerable revenue to the Native States from the cultivation of opium; have you any figures you could give us upon that point?—The figures will be put in if possible. I cannot give the figures myself, but we are preparing what figures we can. No doubt the officers of the Native States will give

evidence. I think, however, they raise their revenue mainly by charging a very high rent upon the land that grows the opium. You will be able to ascertain the facts; I cannot give any definite figures myself. You will find a great difficulty in getting accurate figures, but the best information available will be obtained from the Native States.

2124. That is rent on land belonging to the Government?—It is difficult to say to whom the land belongs. The land system here is different from what it is in England. In one sense the whole land belongs to the State. I fancy all the land in the Native States practically belongs to the Government or the State.

2125. (*Sir James Lyall.*) In theory?—In theory. The cultivators have certain rights: that is to say, as long as they pay their rents they have the right to cultivate.

2126. (*Mr. A. Pease.*) Have you any information with regard to the revenue obtained by the Chinese Government from the import of opium?—It must be very considerable, but I cannot give you the figures. I think they charge 80 taels as import duty, and I think they charge about 80 taels as a consolidated likin duty. You can easily get the figures with regard to the import.

2127. Have you any information with regard to native-grown opium?—I have none, and I doubt if you can obtain it. I have always understood that the Chinese Government get a larger rate of revenue from the imported opium than from the native-grown opium, and I have further understood that the Central Government had a difficulty in getting into its own hands the revenue collected on the opium grown in China, because the money had to pass through the hands of the local Governors, and they appropriated as much as they could of it for the purposes of their provinces. I have no knowledge as regards the actual amounts.

2128. In your view the consumption of opium is harmless in by far the majority of cases. Under these circumstances, do you think it is the right policy of the Government of India to discourage the consumption of opium?—It is certainly the right policy to discourage to a reasonable extent any immoderate use of opium. It is a drug that is undoubtedly liable to abuse.

2129. (*Mr. Fanshawe.*) In answer to Mr. Wilson's questions as to the Government of India regarding the production and sale of opium, so far as the people are concerned, as solely a matter of revenue, do you intend it to be understood that the moderate and beneficial use of opium has never received consideration on the part of that Government?—Of course it has.

2130. I understood you to say in answer to Mr. Wilson that you admitted that in the past the Government had looked on the question entirely as a matter of revenue. I would ask you whether that is your meaning,—that the moderate and beneficial use of opium by the people has not also received consideration, at any rate of late years, by the Government?—I understood Mr. Wilson's question to refer to the state of things disclosed by the evidence of Sir Cecil Beadon. Sir Cecil Beadon was an official who had special means of knowing, and I apprehend his answers with regard to the time to which they referred, and so far as his experience extended, were correct. But it is certainly the case that moderate and beneficial use of opium has been brought to the notice of the Government in recent years. Formerly, I do not think the case was inquired into. I must say that until the last two or three years, I myself was not aware of the extent to which opium was consumed in moderation with beneficial effects; but on inquiring into the subject, I have been surprised at the amount of evidence forthcoming to show that it is consumed in moderation and with beneficial effects.

2131. May we take it that it has received the consideration of the Government in recent years?—Yes; of course every branch of the subject has received consideration of late years. But I think I may say that I, like other European officials, started with a very decided prejudice against opium, and that when I came to this country, I, like many others, thought the consumption and production of opium was one of the greatest evils in the world. But now, however, I have honestly and fairly come to the conclusion, and specially within recent years, that I had greatly exaggerated the evil. That there are evils from the improper and excessive use of the drug I do not deny.

2132. (*Sir James Lyall.*) In answer to Mr. Wilson's question about Sir Cecil Beadon's evidence, you admitted that probably he correctly described the policy which had existed down to about 1890. Sir Cecil Beadon's knowledge on the subject, I suppose, was confined to Bengal, but my recollection is distinct that in the *Kecise Manuals*, which were issued in Northern India, under the name of

Thomason's Directions to Collectors, and in the circulars which were issued by the Punjab and North-West Provinces Governments long before 1860, the moral obligations of so managing the internal sale as to check the consumption of opium in India was plainly asserted. Have you ever had to refer to these manuals?—Never, and these manuals would not come before me in the course of business. Sir Cecil Beadon's experience would no doubt be mainly, perhaps entirely, confined to Bengal; but in so far as he spoke of matters coming under his own observation, I think his evidence is as good as that of any other person; it is impossible that he could speak with equal authority as regards

the North-West Provinces or the Punjab. So far as his personal experience went, there could be no better authority.

(Chairman.) It remains for me on behalf of the Commission to thank you very much for your attendance and for the very clear manner in which you have made us acquainted with your views. There is only one part of your evidence to which, in closing, I should refer, that is the statement that you are about to leave this country. I am quite sure that the Government of India will sustain a great loss in your departure, and I am none the less clear that we at home shall greatly gain by your presence among us.

The witness withdrew.

Sir David
Barbour,
K.C.S.I.
18 Nov. 1898.

Surgeon-Major-General Rice, C.S.I., called in and examined.

Surgn.-Maj-
Genl. Rice,
C.S.I.

2133. (Chairman.) You are at the head of the Indian Medical Department?—Yes.

2134. I understand that you have been a member of the Indian Medical Service, Bengal establishment, for thirty-seven years?—That is so.

2135. During thirty years of that time you have been employed as a Civil Surgeon in the Central Provinces?—Yes.

2136. And about twenty-eight years you have been in medical charge of District and Central Jails?—Yes.

2137. For the last twenty-two years you were in charge of the Central Jails, and for several years you were Superintendent of Jails?—Yes, as well as in medical charge.

(Chairman.) It is evident that you have had great opportunities of gaining professional experience with reference to the questions referred to us. As we have the great advantage of the presence of an eminent member of your profession on the Commission, I will ask him to conduct the examination on the medical points on which you are prepared to give us information.

2138. (Sir William Roberts.) I think it was your duty to examine the state of health of the prisoners that came into the jail?—Yes, every prisoner that came into the jail was brought before me for that purpose.

2139. What was the number?—The average number of natives passing through the jails in the year was about 1,300 or 1,400.

2140. You had this charge for a large number of years?—I should say twenty-eight years.

2141. What was the social condition of the prisoners?—Being mostly of the criminal classes they had no social position.

2142. You were dealing not only with the lowest kind of criminal classes but those in the worst possible state of health?—Yes, it was always my duty to examine into the state of health of every prisoner on coming into the jail and when he was discharged. I estimate that about 1,300 or 1,400 prisoners passed through the jail every year on an average. For the 22 years that I was in medical charge of a central jail it was occupied by long-term prisoners from eight civil districts. In those days prisoners were transferred without any regard to the state of their health, so that I was dealing not only with the lowest kind of criminal classes, but with those in the worst possible state of health, for which with them the standing means of relief was opium. Being medical officer I was held responsible for any undue sickness and mortality that occurred, so that it became imperative on me to appraise carefully the state of health of every prisoner on admission, and, by a personal examination of every one of them at least once a week, to see how they kept their health during their imprisonment. So that I came, for a long series of years continuously, to be intimately acquainted with the health-characters of a not inconsiderable body of individuals who from their mode of life are most prone to become addicted to the abuse of opium.

2143. What do you mean by saying that they were a body of individuals who from their mode of life were most prone to become addicted to the abuse of opium?—The lower classes of India, speaking generally, become criminals when they are unable to earn their livelihood. The more general cause of their inability arises from sickness and the effects of a malarial and tropical climate on the human constitution. Then they naturally fly to this drug, which is more or less at their hand. It was an important part

of my inquiries to ascertain the extent to which they were addicted to the use of it; for several reasons, one of which was to enable me to determine the nature and extent of the labour which should be allotted to them in each case, a duty which in all cases rested with me; and also to enable me to advise the Magistrate as to the degree of culpability attaching to the prisoner when he failed to perform the full task awarded. I may explain that when a prisoner failed to complete his allotted task he had to undergo a trial, and he was punished if it was found that he failed through carelessness or culpability of some sort. From my general knowledge of the people, as well as of these prisoners in particular, I became impressed with the fact that, when deprived of his daily dose of opium, a man habituated even to the moderate use of it would fail to complete his full task, and in consequence it devolved upon me to state whether I thought this occurred from the above deprivation or from a vicious perverseness in the individual. In common with tobacco, alcohol, hemp drugs, luxuries in diet, etc., opium was forbidden as an article of ordinary use, under the prison rules.

2144. Except for medical use?—I was always at liberty to prescribe it medically. It is a fact of which I have no doubt whatever that never from the very first years of my service did I recommend opium to be given to a prisoner as a special case in the form in which he had used it when free. That did not prevent my giving it in an ordinary pharmaceutical form if I thought he required it. As far as I can estimate, I should say that in no more than two cases in the year were men imprisoned who were suffering from the abuse of opium, and in those cases I was able to satisfy myself that this abuse was owing to pre-existing disease.

2145. That is, out of the 1,300 or 1,400 cases annually passing through your hands, you only saw two or three per annum who seemed to be suffering?—Two or three. In most of those cases the men had been previously suffering from repeated attacks of malarial fever, or dysentery, or diarrhoea, or severe rheumatism—diseases which are very prevalent in the provinces in which I served at the time—the Central Provinces. In the Central Provinces, malarial fevers with severe agues and dysentery and diarrhoea, and, I should add, rheumatism, are diseases with which the people are afflicted. In these, muscular pains, nervous irritability, griping, and tenesmus are common and persistent, symptoms causing an amount of depression and inability to exert oneself that can only be appreciated through actual suffering.

2146. I presume that your experience is entirely confined to the Central Provinces?—During the last six or seven years, since I have come into the administrative charge, my experience has been extended beyond those Provinces. I have experience in the North-West Provinces. It may, I think, be safely stated that not ten per cent. of the population all over India ever consult medical men of any nationality practising the European system of medicine.

2147. Nevertheless, I presume there is a dispensary system?—Yes, there is a large and extensive dispensary system. There is a strong prejudice against the European system of medicine, and I think I am right in saying that not twenty per cent. of the population ever see a medical man practising on that system. Practically, therefore, the great majority of the population are beyond the reach of such advice. The consequence is that either they consult Hakims or Vaid who invariably administer opium for these torments, or they have discovered its beneficial effects, and take it themselves. They soon have to take to it regularly, for these pains are ever present in one form or another and seriously hinder the people in their work. The

van-Maj-
lent. Rice,
C.S.I.
Nov. 1899.

effect in such cases is magical: a man literally disabled from these ills, after a dose of a quarter or half a grain of pure opium, in a few minutes begins to become a new man, and is able to do a full day's work. He knows that if he cannot do this he and his family must starve. Even in the cases of Europeans who do not suffer anything like the hardships and exposure natives do, this drug is often called for, and in my hands has been equally successful. When the European gets well he stops the drug and, as the causes of his ailments which obliged him to resort to it are in his case only occasional, he is not called upon to recur to the use of it soon again. Not so the native: he is always exposed to these causes and the results never leave him, and as, for the reasons I have above stated, the use of opium is the only relief available, he must resort to it continuously or die prematurely of disease or starvation. Taken in small quantities—

2148. What do you mean by small quantities?—Probably about half a grain. When the native takes it to relieve his pains on beginning to work in the morning, he takes a little pill about the size of half a grain. That is the form in which opium is taken—a solid form—under the name of madak. From long experience he takes a little pill, and he probably measures it out most accurately—half a grain, or a grain if he is one of those who require more.

2149. How many times a day will he take it?—I cannot say accurately. He will take it as often as he wants it.

2150. Do many take it half a dozen times a day?—Yes, just as one man may take half a dozen cigars while another will only smoke two. Taking it in small quantities, and, as a rule, it must be in small quantities, for opium is dear and the native too poor to indulge in it unnecessarily,—the individual leads a healthful and if not a vigorous or robust life, certainly one in which he is enabled to maintain himself and his family in tolerable prosperity. In these remarks I am dealing with what is called the bulk of the people. I do not profess to describe what a wealthy native gentleman would be. I am talking of the poor people with whom professionally I have most been brought in contact.

2151. All the evidence you are giving bears on the habit of taking opium in malarial districts among the lower classes who are really suffering under what one may call a malarial constitution?—Quite so. But a small percentage suffer so severely from the effects of the diseases I have named that they must resort to the drug in steadily increasing quantities, and I presume it is from those individuals that pictures of the injurious effects of opium are drawn.

2152. In it your suggestion that dysentery, rheumatic conditions, diarrhoea, and malarial trouble increase in some cases in spite of the opium?—Yes.

2153. Therefore they take it more and more?—Yes, they increase the dose according as the effects of the disease become more severe.

2154. It is your suggestion also that if they were not to increase the dose they would be in a still worse plight?—Considerably, certainly.

2155. That is distinctly your suggestion?—That is distinctly my suggestion.

2156. The unconscious exaggerations and pictures of the effects of opium taken in excess have been somewhat misinterpreted?—They have no general applicability.

2157. In spite of the opium?—In spite of the opium.

2158. If a man is suffering from malarial disease or organic disease tending to go from bad to worse, if he takes opium for the relief of suffering his disease will go on and he will have to increase the opium, but the symptoms are the symptoms of the disease and not of the opium that he takes?—That is my experience.

2159. You do not seem to have had any experience of the opium habit except in the case of persons suffering from some ailment—no experience of the habit among perfectly healthy people?—I do not think I can say that, because a number of those persons had the appearance of being perfectly healthy. They may have had attacks of malarial fever and dysentery; still I could not pronounce them unhealthy.

2160. You still think that the malarial influence is about them?—Those diseases suggest the use of opium. I think it may be stated that there is no native of India who does not at one time or other suffer from malarial intermittent fever.

2161. You make so general a statement as that?—I think there is no native of India who does not at one time or other suffer from malarial intermittent fever.

2162. Have you ever been to Rajputana?—No. I do not know anything about it. I am talking of the Central Provinces, except for the short time I was in the North-West. They are a malarial people in the Central Provinces, and they also suffer severely from dysentery, diarrhoea, and rheumatism. Without this remedy at their hands and readily accessible, the sufferings of the people would be very great. As I have stated above, it may be accepted that medical relief for the great bulk of the people is non-existent, and I regard it as most providential that such a remedy as opium is within their reach.

2163. You are aware that a new plan has been introduced for supplying quinine?—Quinine will not cure dysentery or diarrhoea, and the charge is so high for it that it is a good deal beyond the reach of the poorer classes of the people even at 8 pies a dose. A man with an attack of intermittent fever has to take at least three doses a day for four days, and perhaps one dose a day for eight or ten days subsequently. Then he may not only have to procure it for himself but for his wife and all his children. It is not uncommon to see a whole household down with intermittent fever at one time. Quinine is a good deal beyond the means of the very poorer classes, in Bengal especially.

2164. Am I to understand that, dear as opium is, an effective dose of it is cheaper than an effective dose of quinine?—It is cheaper for a great number of diseases. It is practically of no use as a curative of intermittent fever. Bearing in mind that there are a number of diseases the painful effects of which it relieves, besides malarial fever, it is more generally useful.

2165. (*Mr. Fanehawo.*) You know that the system of selling Government quinine at post offices has been introduced?—I know it in Bengal. To be of any use you must give three doses of five grains a day for four days.

2166. The system has only just been introduced?—I am aware of the circumstances.

2167. (*Sir William Roberts.*) You know that the demand for it is much increasing?—Yes, I admit that. Although there are a number of people too poor to buy it, there are a number who would be only too glad to get it.

2168. Opium is still cheaper than quinine?—Practically, because I have an idea that a good deal of opium is used in India that has not paid revenue; therefore they get it cheaper. The recollection is familiar to me of prisoners declaring that their inability to perform their allotted tasks was owing to their being deprived of their small daily dose of opium. It was also well recognized among the jail officials that, no matter how successful they may be in excluding tobacco, spirits, or other forbidden articles, they were never sure of being able to keep opium out of the jail. Most people believed that, owing to its small bulk and the ease with which it would be concealed, it was constantly being smuggled in and in free use among the prisoners.

2169. That is your experience with regard to prisoners mainly?—Yes.

2170. But your experience is wider than that?—In singling out my experience among prisoners, it must not be understood that my experience lay altogether among persons of this class. It should be recollected that during all the years named above I have had to deal with native infantry and cavalry soldiers, policemen, and some hundreds of thousands of patients resorting to charitable hospitals and dispensaries.

2171. All those cases were within those malarial districts?—Yes.

2172. You have spoken of soldiers. Have you had experience of Sikh regiments?—I have never had a Sikh regiment.

2173. Your general experience among the native infantry soldiers, policemen, and patients in hospital confirms your views with regard to the effect on the prisoner?—Quite so. My general experience with the latter class confirms me in my opinions as to the mode of use and effects of opium among the former. It should also be recollected that there is a sort of popular idea among Government officials of all classes and nationalities that an unusual slothfulness or inactivity in the performance of their duties, or sickness, the prominent signs of which was lethargy, on the part of their subordinates, was due to the abuse of opium, or to an occasional debauch with it. In consequence it was a common occurrence with me to have my attention directed to the possibility of this being the cause

of the individual's temporary incapacity. But the result of my inquiries was just the reverse: the sluggishness was due to his inability from one cause or another to procure his usual dose.

2174. Your impression is that it was the secondary effect of opium rather than the primary that was the cause?—Yes, it was the secondary effect—the want of the accustomed stimulant.

2175. It has been brought before the Commission by several witnesses that it is a marked peculiarity of opium as compared with other dietetic stimulants that the want of the dose is more severely felt than in the case of alcohol and tobacco?—That has been my experience.

2176. Much more pronounced?—Much more pronounced. I am talking of the generality of people who use opium. There are exceptional cases, but, ordinarily speaking, a man can more easily go without alcohol and without tobacco than he can without opium.

2177. I suppose you have no suggestion to give us why that should be the case?—I have not.

2178. You take it as an ultimate fact?—I take it as a fact, but I can offer no reason.

2179. Suppose you had a prisoner who had been an opium-eater and unable to perform his allotted task, how long would his inability continue—his inability for the want of his customary stimulant?—That is so uncertain that I could not give an answer.

2180. A week?—It is too conjectural for me to give an answer. I do not know.

2181. How soon would a man recover?—I could not say. Men are different. It would vary. Perhaps one man would take a week and another a month.

2182. But he would recover?—Yes, he would recover; and if I could only be sure that he did not get opium surreptitiously I should say that he recovered from withholding it from him. But I was never sure that he would not get his dose surreptitiously. The improvement in jail in a great many cases was due to regular habits, regular diet, regular clothing, and no excessive work.

2183. The habitual use of opium did not seem to produce permanent damage?—No; I mean, of course, in the generality of cases among the great masses of the people.

2184. I think you stated that the alleged causes of insanity from opium in asylums are few, and that even when those few have been inquired into, they have broken down?—Yes. I was twenty-two years medical officer and superintendent of a lunatic asylum.

2185. As far as your personal experience goes, people in these malarial districts take to opium first as a remedy rather than protective?—Quite so.

2186. And perhaps, in some cases, from the increasing stress of their ailments they take it so that it becomes an evil; the opium itself is taken in such quantities that they suffer from the opium as well as the disease?—Only in those few exceptional cases that I mentioned in regard to the prisoners, not the general body; they do not suffer until old age comes, when they suffer in common with other people.

2187. I suppose you are aware that the doses you have told us about are very small as compared with the dose of many opium-eaters?—Of course, but they take it several times a day; how often I cannot say: I have no personal knowledge of that.

2188. Three to five grains a day?—Probably, but I have no personal knowledge, and I do not wish to state anything that I do not know personally. One of the reasons I had for mentioning these details is to show what means I had, or was obliged to resort to, of ascertaining the effects of opium on the people as it is used by the great masses of them. If such use of it as they now resort to were even restricted only, it would be productive of a considerable amount of suffering from the consequences of residence in malarial tropical climates, for which I know of no other single remedy, of the nature of food, drink or drugs, that could be substituted for opium. Quinine, besides being expensive, is useful only in malarial fevers, and has little or no effect in relieving the torments of dysentery, diarrhoea, rheumatism, etc. It will be noticed that on the maxim that "two wrongs will never make one right," I abstain altogether from defending the use of opium on the grounds that it is not nearly so demoralizing as alcohol, and that we should look at home (I mean England) as to the effect of the latter before going abroad to trouble ourselves with the former. I do not look

upon this as at all a satisfactory line of argument. To me it appears that the fact of our not being able to prevent the abuse of alcohol is no reason at all why we should leave opium alone, if it is anything like so destructive, physically and morally, as it is represented to be.

2189. I presume that you must draw a distinction between the use of opium as it occurs in these districts, which is scarcely more than medicinal, and the cases we hear of persons taking opium in very much larger doses, not for any disease but as a dietetic stimulant?—Certainly, I recognize that difference.

2190. May I assume that you really have had no experience of the effect of opium when used as a dietetic stimulant in healthy persons?—I should not say that. My idea was that, although they used it as a dietetic stimulant, they selected it because of the relief it gave from the pains and torments I have described.

2191. They really take it for medicinal purposes?—Yes, if you choose to put it in that way.

2192. You would not say that of the Chinaman who takes his opium pipe?—How can we say that the Chinaman does not take it under the same influence as the Indian does and for the same purposes?

2193. You do not recognize the use of opium as a dietetic stimulant in the same category as tobacco and alcohol—not taken for disease, but as a pure restorative, or comforter, or stimulant?—That is a question that requires a good deal of consideration. I am not at all sure that either alcohol or tobacco is necessary as a dietetic stimulant.

2194. Not necessary, but they are taken by millions?—They are taken by many, but the question is whether, instead of calling them dietetic stimulants, they are not taken to relieve malaises and discomforts which may or may not arise from dietetic errors. Why should we not say that people take tobacco or opium from causes which are pretty much of the same nature as those resulting from residence in a malarial climate, such as the discomforts attendant on some derangement of the health? A man takes a cheroot after breakfast.

2195. But he is not ill?—He may have dyspeptic feelings and be uncomfortable.

2196. You scarcely recognize alcohol and tobacco as a comforter for perfectly healthy people?—Why do they resort to them?

2197. Because they get comfort?—What do they want comfort for?

2198. There is nothing in the world that we look for so much as comfort?—But something must create the want.

2199. The man wants it to promote an enhanced sense of well-being?—If he is a perfectly healthy man, he has as much well-being as is good for him. I have seen it stated that the natives of India are by nature much more tolerant of the action of opium than those of China or Upper Burma. I really believed this is only a general popular notion for which there are no substantial or rational grounds, except the one that Indians have been accustomed to opium from time immemorial, and in their case a constitutional tolerance may have been developed. I have no experience with Chinese, but I have had a goodly number of Burmans under my medical charge in jail, and I did not perceive any more or less toleration of the drug when administered medicinally on their part as compared with the Hindustani prisoners. Besides, I have satisfied myself in my professional practice that Europeans are more tolerant—i.e., require larger doses of opium—than natives, bulk for bulk. Yet the former have acquired no tolerance of it as a race. It may be said that the Indians having been accustomed to the use of opium from time immemorial, a constitutional tolerance may have been developed in the course of ages; but this cannot be said of the Europeans.

2200. You say that Europeans require a larger dose?—I have found it so,—to produce the same medicinal effect. I mean that to produce the same effect from a medicinal dose of opium in a European you would have to give a larger quantity of it than you would to a native; and it may be said in answer to that, that it is because the European has acquired a tolerance of it; but we know he has not acquired any racial tolerance.

2201. Do you mean that the tolerance was there before,—that the European came into these malarial districts with that tolerance?—What I wish to say is that the Europeans have no tolerance of opium—no more tolerance than a native, although they require a larger dose to produce the same effect. I will put it in this way. A European requires a larger dose

Surgn. Maj.-
Genl. Rice,
C.S.I.
18 Nov. 1898.

Surgn.-Maj.-Genl. Rice, C.S.I.
18 Nov. 1893.

of opium than a native to produce the same effect. It may be answered, then, that the European has acquired a tolerance; but it will be generally admitted that Europeans have not acquired a tolerance as a race.

2202. Is it a congenital tolerance?—Yes; and the point of my remark is that if Europeans require a larger dose, or take a larger dose, of opium to produce the same effects, and they cannot be said to have any tolerance of it, so also the Indians may be said to have no tolerance, although they may take a larger dose as a race. The point I want to show is that the Indian is not more tolerant of opium than a Chinaman or a Burman.

2203. With regard to the medicinal use?—Yes. In this connection it may not be amiss if I mention that in the early years of my professional practice I learned that to produce the full beneficial medicinal effects of opium, much larger doses of it were necessary than is laid down in books or than were prescribed by my brother medical officers in India. As time and experience gave me confidence in this direction I became what may be called a fearless prescriber of the drug; doubtless timid persons would describe me as a reckless one. But this never deterred me; it was sufficient encouragement to me that my patients got well of their diarrhoea and dysentery within short periods. My practice lay in districts where these bowel complaints are yearly very prevalent and very fatal, being especially harmful to young European children. They occurred mostly in the rainy season—a time when the rivers being in flood there was no getting away from them for change of climate as can be done now with so much facility in these days of railways. I enter into these otherwise trivial details in order to convey some idea of the extent to which I became familiar with the various uses and effects of opium, and of the yeoman's service it did me during thirty years of extensive professional practice.

2204. Has it not struck you that your experience of a more fearless use of opium was due to the fact that you were practising in malarial districts, and that the people were more tolerant?—It may be so. In regard to young children not more than a year old, of course I do not say that they might not come under the malarial influence too; it may be so—I do not deny it.

2205. You never have prescribed opium except for a complaint?—No, never.

2206. Therefore it might have been a complaint touched with malaria?—Yes.

2207. That may be the explanation?—It may be so.

2208. With regard to the whole of your experience it seems to be an experience in the medicinal effect of opium and not in the effect of the opium habit?—It is none the less a habit, although it may be acquired from being taken medicinally.

2209. It seems in your experience to be connected with illness from malaria, or malarial influence?—I believe that is the first thing that induced the people to take it. There is one other fact I ought to mention, and that is the habit of mothers among the poorer classes in India giving a little opium pill to their children when they have to leave them to go about their household duties, or go away from their houses for any little time. They have no nurses or other people to look after the children in their absence, and if the children are awake they wander about and tumble into wells, or have some other mischance. The mothers give the children this little pill of opium to keep them quiet during their absence. Probably in that way they have acquired the habit of taking opium in their childhood.

2210. Have you any idea of the quantity given under those circumstances?—It looked about the size of a pill, one-eighth grain of pure opium. I may also tell you that the opium these people use is largely adulterated. It is mixed with foreign substances, probably of a harmless nature.

2211. (*Mr. A. Pease.*) I understand it to be your view that there is no more necessity for Indians to consume opium than for Europeans?—A greater necessity for Indians.

2212. Under the same circumstances?—They are not under the same circumstances.

2213. You say the natives are more susceptible to the influence of opium than Europeans, that is, a smaller dose will produce the same effect upon an Indian, bulk for bulk?—Yes, given medicinally.

2214. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I notice that you have expressed a certain amount of disagreement with some of your professional brethren in your early years with regard to the use of

opium. Does that difference of opinion continue?—I cannot say that I have spoken to my professional brethren upon that point. I do not think I have any experience which would justify my giving an answer one way or the other. I have not made inquiries; but it is a curious fact that one medical officer, speaking to me yesterday, mentioned that he also had found it necessary to prescribe larger doses of opium in this country than were prescribed or laid down in the Pharmacopœia.

2215. (*Sir William Roberts.*) Where was his experience gathered?—He was in Calcutta chiefly.

2216. (*Mr. Wilson.*) You have expressed some little difference of opinion as to practice from some of your professional brethren; does that difference of opinion continue?—I cannot say.

2217. Do you know Russell's book on malaria which relates particularly to Assam?—I have heard of the book, but have not read it. I have never been in Assam.

2218. Dr. Russell uses this language: "The opium-eater enjoys considerable immunity from malarial affections in the early stage—the first few years of indulgence in the habit before the organic visceral changes are set up, and the general shattering of constitution results, which prematurely break down the consumer of opium, and render him an easy prey to diseases of every kind."—My experience does not coincide with that. In my opinion the disease from which the man suffered arose from other causes,—from climatic causes in spite of the opium.

2219. Then Dr. Russell deals with prisoners in jail. He says—"No work can be got out of a long-confirmed opium-eater. He can digest nothing but light food—milk or soups. On ordinary diet he suffers from diarrhoea, tending to rapidly run to dysentery. His system has very slight heat-making power, he is extremely susceptible to any changes of temperature, and cannot stand cold; he thus is especially liable to both chest and bowel disorders."—I have no experience of that in the Central Provinces.

2220. (*Dr. Russell further says.*) "The emaciation of the opium-eater is characteristic and extreme. Eventually after having been a source of infinite care, after repeated courses of medical and dietary treatment, after having caused large expenditure in sick diet, extras, etc., he perishes, usually of a chest or bowel disorder, or, perhaps, from practical starvation from eventual inability to digest any kind of food, even the lightest and most delicate."—My experience in the two or three cases *per annum* which I have mentioned always enabled me to detect the disease as the cause of death, and not the opium habit. The disease went on and progressed to a fatal issue, in spite of the use or abuse of opium. It was the disease that killed the man, and not the opium. I differ from the conclusions drawn in that book.

2221. Further on it is said—"The observations of several surgeons, of extensive experience in opium-eating regions, confirms the popular belief that the opium-eater, in the early stages of the habit, while as yet not constitutionally broken, by its long continuance, does, as a matter of fact, enjoy considerable immunity from malarial affections." It would appear from the whole tenor of this that Mr. Russell thinks that in the earlier years of a man it affords some relief, but that afterwards it breaks him down, and I take it, leaves his later state worse than his first?—He and I are in agreement, until the disease has so far made progress that the man gets worse and dies in spite of the opium. I say the man dies from the disease; he says he dies from the opium.

2222. (*Mr. Haridas Vekaridas.*) You say that the prisoners were not allowed to take opium?—No, it is prohibited according to the jail rules.

2223. Did you give them something instead until they got rid of the habit?—No, except in the case of these two or three men a year, who, I found, were extremely weak and suffering from the abuse of opium. I treated them for the specific ailment from which they were suffering, which was generally bowel complaint, chronic diarrhoea, or chronic dysentery. I am bound to add that opium entered largely into my treatment of their cases.

2224. When they got rid of the habit in jail, were they as healthy and strong as those who entered the jail not taking opium?—They were not so healthy and strong because they were constitutionally weak and feeble from pre-existing disease. But I was never sure that they were not getting opium surreptitiously through the prison warders. I could not give a positive answer, because there was always a suspicion that opium was being surreptitiously introduced.

2225. (*Mr. Fanshawe.*) You spoke of the malarial districts. I think you have had experience in eight different districts in the Central Provinces?—I was referring to the eight districts from which the prisoners were transferred.

2226. You spoke of malarial districts?—Not particularly malarial districts, but having the ordinary surroundings of malaria which are so common in this country. You meant it in that sense?—In that sense.

2227. All the districts of which you have practical experience in the Central Provinces?—Yes.

2228. Has it been your experience that opium-eaters who live in these malarial surroundings continue the habit which you describe without a tendency to increase the dose largely, or to increase it at all?—I am not sufficiently acquainted with the quantities they take to enable me to give an answer from personal observation. It is generally understood that they have to increase the dose; but I have no personal knowledge whether they do so or not.

2229. You state as the result of your experience that a moderate use of opium in these districts is, to some extent, general among the people?—Yes.

2230. That is what I understood to be your meaning?—That is my meaning.

2231. That the moderate habit of eating opium among these people is fairly general and well established?—Quite so.

2232. (*Sir James Lyall.*) As you have had some administrative experience, you may be able to answer the question I am going to put. You have said that opium is greatly used as a medicine and stimulant by the people of India. Can you conceive any practical system whereby opium could be provided all over the country for medical purposes without facilitating or allowing its use as a stimulant or an intoxicant? Can you conceive any system by which it could be done?—As far as the Medical Department

ment in India is concerned it is impracticable. The agency *Suryn-Maj.,* is not sufficiently extensive. *Genl. Rice,*

2233. Would the agency be trustworthy?—The bulk of the agency would be untrustworthy. The temptation to sell or to make use of it privately would be too great. *C.S.I.*

2234. (*Mr. Wilson.*) There has been some evidence that the opium is sometimes, or frequently, taken for the purpose of exciting and stimulating sexual passion: do you know anything about that?—I have no knowledge of that from personal statements by patients. A man in my position is not likely to come into relations of that sort as regards the use of opium for stimulating the sexual passions on the part of the natives. I have no experience of that. I have heard it said, but I have no experience.

2235. (*The Maharaja of Darbhanga.*) You have said that one of the reasons why people in these malarial districts take opium is that the Hakims and Vaidis, their practitioners, are in the habit of prescribing opium for diarrhoea and dysentery; and you consider that opium is the cheapest medicine? Do you not think that there are other medicines besides opium,—more popular ones,—which are admissible for diarrhoea and dysentery, vegetable substances?—These vegetable substances prescribed alone are not nearly so efficacious as when a little opium is added. I do not say that opium was the only thing prescribed.

2236. Do you not think that generally in cases of diarrhoea and so on the Hakims and Vaidis prescribe more of vegetable extracts like the bael fruit?—Undoubtedly they prescribe bael fruit, catechu, and kino. Other indigenous astringents are prescribed moderately. They also prescribe opium. I did not say that it was the sole drug.

2237. Do you not think that bael fruit is more popular and more usually prescribed in cases of diarrhoea and dysentery than opium?—It is very popular; but my experience is that it is not nearly so efficacious as when prescribed with opium added to it.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to Monday, the 20th instant, at 10-30.

At the Council Chamber, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

EIGHTH DAY.

Monday, 20th November 1893.

PRESENT:

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B. (CHAIRMAN, PRESIDING).

SIR JAMES H. LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
THE HON'BLE SIR LACHHMEWAR SINGH BHADUR,
MAHARAJA OF DARBHANGA, K.C.I.E.
SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D.
MR. R. G. C. MOWBRAY, M.P.

MR. A. U. FANSHAW,
" ARTHUR FRASE,
" HARIDAS VIHARIDAS DEBAL,
" H. J. WILSON, M.P.

MR. J. FERRISOTT HEWITT, C.I.E., *Secretary.*

Bishop J. M. THOBURN called in and examined.

2238. (*Chairman.*) Will you kindly state to us your profession and occupation?—I am a Missionary. At present I am Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church for India and Malaysia.

2239. How many years have you been in the East?—Thirty-four years.

2240. In what part of the East have you had personal experience?—Only in India and Malaysia.

2241. In what parts of India?—In all parts; my present duty is to superintend all the missions of our church in the Empire. We have missions among thirteen different races, and I am expected to visit all these sections every

year, so that I have had a very wide observation of India generally.

2242. Have you a large number of natives amongst those who are under your spiritual supervision?—About 50,000.

2243. And of various races, I presume?—Chiefly in North India. We have some of all these races. Our chief force is in North India.

2244. You might give us in a general way a sketch of your experiences, showing the special opportunities that you have had of forming a judgment upon the question which has been referred to the Commission?—

Bishop J. M.
Thoburn.

20 Nov. 1893.

Bishop J. M. In my early life I was constantly among the people, spending a great deal of my time in the villages, making tours among the villages and towns, and I think I enjoyed the confidence of the people sufficiently to have the opportunity of understanding their views and feelings upon public questions generally.

2245. What were the conclusions at which you arrived with reference to the opium question?—In the main I have for many years been convinced that it is a very great evil; not so much, however, to India as to China. I have had opportunities of seeing this at Singapore and Penang, where the Chinese population is in the majority. In every place I regard the opium habit as a very bad habit and very dangerous to those who indulge in it; but it is very much more hurtful among the Chinese than it is among the people of India.

2246. You would not say that the opium habit exists to such an extent in India as to cause what you might call a general demoralization and degradation of the people?—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. It is worse in Rajputana and in parts of the Panjab than it is in Rohilkhand; while in Koonau and Garhwal I never met a case. Although there might have been some there, I never met them.

2247. Take the Panjab. Is the condition of the people physically and in general ways otherwise than satisfactory?—Their physical condition is very satisfactory, unless they are victims of this or some other habit. The Panjabis are a very fine race.

2248. They compare favourably with the populations of other parts of India where the opium habit does not prevail?—They are a finer race naturally.

2249. What would you say of the people of Rajputana as compared with other races in other parts of India?—The lower classes of Rajputana are an inferior class. There are many classes in India; and sometimes living in the same village or in the same city, you will find one class who make a very fine appearance, and another class who appear to much less advantage. The lower classes of Rajputana I have generally found a very inferior class.

2250. Is the opium habit as generally prevalent among the people of Rajputana as it is among the people of the superior classes?—I think it is more so.

2251. Have you anything to say to us with reference to the hold that the opium habit gains upon people?—There is a very great difference in individuals. Some people, apparently, can use opium and give it up again without very much trouble; with others, however, it is nearly impossible to give it up. Among the Chinese beyond a doubt it has a fascination that is peculiar. Intelligent Chinese have told me down at the Straits that it has a fascination for their race that alcohol has not. Still, among the people of India, there are also a very large number who cannot give it up without extreme suffering. An ordinary opium-user, after he has become confirmed the habit, is simply terrified if you propose to put him in a place where he cannot get opium.

2252. Is there a marked difference between moderate and excessive consumers; and can you form any judgment as to the proportion which the excessive consumers bear to the total number of persons who make use of opium?—It would be very difficult to form an estimate, but as a general rule you can tell when a man begins to use it to excess. He shows it on his countenance very quickly. It would have to be a mere guess if I were to be asked how many do use it to excess. I should say that among those who have money enough to get it, at least one-half would use it to excess, and among the poorer classes about one-tenth.

2253. Can you tell us what proportion of their income the habitual consumers spend on opium?—The very poor people spend about one-eighth; that is, the minimum which a labouring man uses,—one pice a day. The maximum sum that a man belonging to the labouring class who has become an habitual user of it would spend would be four pice a day. These men earn from eight pice to twelve pice a day. At the lowest a man spends one-eighth of his income on opium. The highest labouring classes spend from one-third to one-half; it is very common to have them spend one-half. Then as he earns only, say, three annas a day at the highest, in my opinion one of the very worst features of the opium habit is that it starves the children. There are from forty to fifty millions in the Empire who have insufficient food as it is.

When you take one pice out of the earnings of a man who only gets eight pice a day, and who already has not enough for his family, you must cause suffering among the children. I think that the worst evil of the habit to-day is that it is starving millions of the children of India.

2254. Would that apply to the district of Rajputana more particularly?—It does apply to Rajputana to my certain knowledge.

2255. What would you say about the Panjab?—Much the same among the poorer classes. Those classes in India which we call the "depressed classes" are the same in all parts of India.

2256. Can you give us a general view as to what in your experience are the results of the opium habit,—whether viewed physically, mentally, or morally?—Physically, where it is used at all to excess, it undoubtedly weakens the constitution after a very few years. That differs in natives, however. Some can use it for many years without much apparent harm; but if you take fifty confirmed opium smokers and look at them, you will find that forty are physically wrecks; they show it at a glance. With regard to those who eat opium the effects are not so bad. There is a very great difference in my opinion between eating and smoking, and drinking. They take it in all three forms.

2257. In the Panjab, is opium chiefly taken in the solid form?—In the solid form. Sometimes they mix it with their drinks, but I think that is more common in Rajputana.

2258. Among the Chinese it is chiefly smoked?—The Chinese prefer smoking; but recently, about three years ago, somebody introduced morphia into Singapore, and it became very popular; so much so that two years ago it seriously affected the revenue. But a Chinaman told me last April that he thought morphia was becoming less popular.

2259. Have you any experience as to the value of opium as a protection against attacks of fever, especially in malarial districts?—I think that it is a popular delusion. I have never met a doctor in my life in India who would prescribe opium in any form, either as a preventative or as a cure. The Natives of India, especially the more ignorant classes, are subject to all manner of notions. They believe, as, indeed, most people do in the world, that anything that makes a man feel more comfortable is doing him good. When they are more or less shaken with fever, they take opium, and it undoubtedly makes them feel the effects less; but that it cures there is no reason to believe whatever. I have been in districts where the natives will expose their children perfectly naked in the rain in order to cure measles; and nothing will persuade them that that is not a good cure. I never heard of a case in my life of an intelligent doctor using opium in any form in treating fever.

2260. Upon this particular point you give your opinion to the best of your ability as a layman?—Certainly as a layman. I ought to say, however, that I have had experience in the most sickly belt of jungle in India where they use no opium at all; and in sections of Bengal where they do use opium, and where some of our Civil Surgeons affirm that it does protect them from fever, they do not seem any more exempt than in other sections where they do not use it at all.

2261. Have you any experience as to the value or otherwise of opium as enabling people to bear an unusual amount of bodily toil?—I have given some attention to that subject. They can carry heavier burdens when under the influence of opium,—perhaps 50 per cent. heavier,—and they can do a larger amount of work in a given time but they cannot endure as much. It gives strength but not endurance. It inevitably tends to break down the system. Coolies have told me that if they carried, for instance, 80 lbs., an opium pill would give them abnormal strength—sufficient to enable them to carry 120 lbs. If in Singapore, where we have 10,000 men who draw jirikshawas, and where it is commonly said that they could not do the work without opium, we have quite a number of Christian Casuarines who work with the others, who do not use opium, and yet can put in their full day's work apparently without difficulty. But the reaction that is caused by the taking of opium must in the nature of the case, and as a matter of fact undoubtedly does, break down the constitution. An intelligent Chinaman in Singapore and a man who is connected with the Opium Revenue told me last April that in his judgment the 10,000 jirikshaw men do not live on an average more than seven years. I asked an intelligent physician if he thought that was correct, and he said he would not like to say without

statistics, but undoubtedly it shortened their lives very much.

2262. Have you anything to tell us with reference to the light in which the opium habit is regarded in public opinion from a moral point of view?—It is considered as a public vice generally. In sections where the use is more common it is in less disfavour. Wherever the Hindustani language is spoken the term "aphimi" is used as a term of abuse. There is a certain sting about the term "aphimi" which does not belong to the epithet "drunkard." The opium-user is always a man who is untruthful,—that is, if he is a confirmed opium-user. Many of them will steal. They will do anything to get the drug. Hence it is looked upon as disreputable.

2263. Are you prepared to say from your own personal knowledge that persons who consume opium are generally unreliable and dishonest?—Unless they are well-to-do men. If they have money, they are like other men; but if they have not money and they have become confirmed in their habit, they must have it. Hence I would not trust one of them. I never think of trusting their word. With regard to the ordinary people, I cannot say that it makes them dishonest or untruthful. But in the main a man who gets the reputation of being addicted to the use of opium, even if it is not a besotted case, undoubtedly suffers in reputation.

2264. I believe in China it is a matter of common knowledge that many of the natives in China who are employed in confidential positions in mercantile houses and banks are more or less consumers of opium?—I do not doubt that. As illustrating what I have said, I went to the shop just up the street a few weeks ago, and I stood and watched the people buying. The man who sold told me that the highest quantity any man bought was 2 oz. a day. That costs a rupee and a half. When a man must have a large quantity and he is a poor man, there is only one way to get it; but the class of persons that Your Lordship speaks of in China are not poor men who are driven to any such necessity.

2265. With regard to the licensing system, do you consider that the existing system of granting licenses for the sale of opium tends to the spread of the habit, or do you think it may be regarded as a restrictive influence?—I should say that anything which is put on sale publicly will have its use increased. No matter what the article is which is exposed for sale freely, it must in the very nature of the case have its use increased. People generally think that because it is under Government restriction it is literally a Government interest. That also tends to help it. I do not think any article can be sold publicly without increasing its consumption. That would hold true of sugar.

2266. (Sir James Lyall.) What do you mean by opium being sold publicly and sugar not sold publicly?—They are both sold alike at present.

2267. One is free to be sold in any number of shops, the other only in a limited number of shops and subject to a heavy duty?—Every shop increases the use. There is a better chance for sugar, perhaps, but both have a chance.

2268. The restriction of opium to a very few shops is a restriction, surely?—Of course every shop that is closed is so much in favour of public morality, but as long as you keep enough to supply the public, in the nature of the case the use of opium will continue to increase.

2269. (Chairman.) If the Government adopted the policy of prohibition, naturally the sale would be much more restricted than it is under the system of licenses, but the system of licenses, to a certain extent at any rate, operates as a restriction as compared with the permission of free sale without license by anybody who chooses to offer the article?—Certainly, as in the case of liquor. The cess-till system was much more pernicious than the limited system. Anything that reduces the number of shops is better than free trade.

2270. Can you tell us whether the closing of shops for the consumption of opium on the premises has been fully carried out in the localities with which you are acquainted, and if so, how long that change of system has been in force?—I think it is carried out as far as I know everywhere now. It has been carried out in Calcutta since last April—I think about that time—perhaps March.

2271. Have the results of this change been in your experience beneficial?—Undoubtedly they have. Some private clubs have been set up, I am told, in the city, but I think they will do much less harm than the public opium dens which we used to have.

2272. Do you consider it desirable to prohibit the sale of opium altogether, excepting for medical purposes?—I do.

Bishop J. M.
Thoburn.

2273. Would public opinion be in favour of such a measure?—I should say in answer to that question that if you will take a million of people from the higher classes, and about thirty to fifty millions from the lowest classes, putting them out of consideration, the balance of the people of India would be overwhelmingly in favour of closing all the shops. Many of those men who are intelligent enough to understand the political bearings of the question would be opposed to closing the shops, and I should think many of the lowest classes would think it a great hardship. But the rank and file of the people, what you might call the general average of the Indian people, would be overwhelmingly in favour of closing.

20 Nov. 1893.

2274. Do you recognize any exceptional difficulties in the enforcement of such a measure by a Government constituted as is the British Government of India?—I see nothing very difficult. I think they would have to consider the question of the confirmed opium-users; at least I should be very willing as an individual to see some consideration shown in those cases.

2275. You recognize that the British Government in India is especially desirous of giving consideration to native opinion in all that it does?—Certainly; but native opinion is overwhelmingly on the other side.

2276. That is as far as you are able to judge?—I have had some opportunities of ascertaining in all parts of the Empire; it is my opinion.

2277. You can only give us your opinion. Supposing that prohibition were adopted, how would you propose that the loss of revenue resulting from such prohibition could best be made? Do you feel prepared to propose additional taxation for that purpose? Does your experience enable you to suggest economies, or any other way of meeting the difficulty?—I am not a British subject, and naturally feel a little hesitancy in expressing opinions upon some of these questions. I might say that the people of India are extremely sensitive about any increase of taxation. If they were to be assured that there would be no increase of taxation in any form, I think they would be unanimously in favour of doing away with the business. Perhaps I may be allowed to make a suggestion or two. If tobacco were put in the place of opium, I think it could be made to yield almost the same revenue, certainly it would yield one-half of it; and then if the Home Government were to take into consideration the fact that the heaviest military expenditure at the present time is in the North-West (the North-West Frontier question is a European and not an Indian question—Constantinople is the objective point and not Delhi)—if the Imperial Government would pay part if not all the military expenditure of the North-Western Frontier, this question would disappear in a moment.

2278. There are two more general questions that I would like to ask you. Do you think it is possible that the bad repute in which it is alleged the opium trade is held is owing to the persistent representation of missionaries in India and China?—That view has been put forward in some of our Indian papers recently, but I think it absurdly improbable chiefly for the reason that the question is just the same now as it was a century ago. At the impeachment of Warren Hastings, one of the articles of impeachment arraigned the opium traffic in quite as severe terms as any missionary has done in modern times. At that time there was not a Christian missionary in China, and only about a dozen in India. The question has not changed. I think the unanimous opinion of the missionaries on the subject is owing simply to its moral bearings.

2279. You are aware, are you not, that by a recent declaration of the representative of the British Foreign Office in the House of Commons, the position now taken by the British Government as regards the opium trade in China is that it is free to the Government of China to adopt any policy they may think fit with regard to the importation of opium?—I am aware of that.

2280. It has also been represented on the part of the Government of China in conferences with Sir Thomas Wade—I may also say in the correspondence and negotiations that have more recently taken place between the Marquis Tseng and Lord Granville and Lord Salisbury—that at the present time the Chinese Government seemed disposed to treat this question rather as a fiscal question—I have heard of those representations. The missionaries who regard the whole trade as immoral would naturally hold their former views. That is a political phase of the question upon which I do not feel competent to express an opinion.

Bishop J. M. 2281. You naturally regard this matter, and fitly so, as
Thoburn. a moralist?—Certainly.

6 Nov. 1893. 2282. Do you think that there is any practical danger of the
opium habit spreading among the Indian people generally?
—I think if the present policy is pursued, probably it will.
I think there is very great danger, because the people are
slowly becoming more prosperous all over the country.
If they have the means, and if the sale of opium is in their
reach, I think there is great danger that it will spread to
all parts of the Empire, and become a very common
habit.

2283. Do you know anything of the statistics of the con-
sumption in India?—I do not.

2284. You are not prepared to say that there are statis-
tics which show an increased consumption per head of the
population in recent years?—I have not had opportunities
of collecting such statistics. I had not expected to appear
before the Commission until recently. I am travelling all
the time, and I have not had opportunities.

2285. (Sir William Roberts.) I think you said that
the belief in the good effects of opium as a prophylactic in
malarial districts was believed in some districts and not in
others?—Yes.

2286. I presume you speak rather of what medical men
have told you?—No; I speak from personal observation.

2287. From what the natives told you?—Certainly.

2288. Do you know of any districts in India where there
is not a belief in the useful power of opium—any malarial
districts?—It was India I referred to.

2289. Could you mention any districts?—In the Tarsi
Districts of Hohlkhand. I have not been there for some
years; but when I was there some thirty years ago, I never
heard of any opium being used at all, and that is the most
malarious district in all India.

2290. It is a sort of negative evidence, as I understand,
that you did not hear it spoken of as a prophylactic?—I
think I certainly would have discovered it if it had been
there.

2291. Is that the only district where you did not hear
it spoken of?—I am told that in some parts of Lower
Bengal it is not used; but I cannot say so from personal
observation.

2292. You were speaking about the expense of the opium
habit to the very poor. Of course you have heard it said
that opium enables a man to do with less food?—Yes.

2293. I presume that is scarcely an opinion you would
endorse?—I believe it does. I believe a man eats less
who uses opium.

2294. And can do with less, so to speak?—If you call it
"doing," he can.

2295. Of course you are also aware that the belief in the
prophylactic power of opium in malaria is not confined to
ignorant people?—I am aware of that.

2296. And that it is believed in by high medical authori-
ties?—When I first came to India nearly all your doctors
taught me, and taught us all thirty-four years ago, that we
could not live in this country without alcoholic drinks. Now
the majority of doctors say otherwise.

2297. Do you regard drinking as bad a vice as opium?—
I always think that question is like asking which is the
worse, a cobra or a krait; they are both so bad. I should
say the alcoholic habit is more violent and creates more
disorder. Parents who use alcoholic drinks are very willing
to have their children learn the habit; but I never met
parents who used opium who were willing that their boys
should learn the habit. I never met a man, who even
apologised for the use of opium, who was willing that his
children should learn the opium habit.

2298. The smoking habit?—Yes, or any other.

2299. I presume you are aware that it is a common cus-
tom among the natives to administer small doses of opium
to their children—to their babies even?—I am glad you
have mentioned that. It is a very pernicious custom, and
it is regarded as a vice by the people generally. Only two
weeks ago one of our own teachers was complained of to me
because he allowed his wife to administer opium to his child-
ren. The natives generally regard it as a vicious practice.
It leads to the death of a good many children, and it certainly
injures a great many of them permanently. I knew of
the case of one of our own missionaries whose infant,
about a year old, had been dosed in this way by a native
nurse, and the child almost lost its life. It is a very dan-
gerous practice.

2300. Of course you are aware that the tolerance of
native infant and of an European infant would probably be
different?—But the native infants undoubtedly suffer, at
very least that is the common opinion. I made inquiries
about that yesterday.

2301. (Mr. A. Pease.) Do you confirm the statement made
by Sir William Roberts just now, that your observation
would show that there is a difference of tolerance between
a native infant and European?—No, I have not noticed
any difference.

(Chairman.) It is very much a professional question.

2302. (Mr. A. Pease.) Are any members of your churches
opium-consumers?—We do not admit any person who
uses opium.

2303. If a person becomes a consumer of opium, does he
remain a member of the church?—He would be put under
discipline.

2304. Can you give us the reason?—As I have said be-
fore, the use of opium in my opinion is inconsonant with
a correct Christian life. It creates certain vices that no
other habit does that I know of. I once asked the Com-
missioner of Police in this city why it was he closed the
opium shops at six o'clock 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.

2305. I gather from what you say that there is less
susceptibility to moral and religious influences in those who
consume opium than in those who abstain?—Undoubtedly.
It takes the moral stamina right out of a man.

2306. (Mr. Wilson.) I am anxious to understand the
exact position of the Methodist Episcopal Mission in this
country. I think your head-quarters are in America?—
Yes.

2307. Am I right in believing that the Methodist Episco-
pal Church in America is one of the largest Christian
denominations in the United States?—It is the largest.

2308. Is it numerous?—It is numerous.

2309. Your missionaries here are sent from the United
States?—Yes.

2310. I am not sure whether you told us how many mis-
sionaries you have in this country?—I could not say at
this moment. I should think about eighty,—that is,
foreign missionaries.

2311. Do you know the number of native missionaries?
—We have a very large number of native preachers of all
classes: I suppose we have over a thousand.

2312. Are some of your missionaries medical mission-
aries?—Quite a number.

2313. You refer to the Rajputs. What is a "Rajput"?
—A Rajput is the descendant of the ancient warrior caste
in India. They have settled in what is called Central
India. They are remnants of the old warrior caste, and
occupy that territory.

2314. Are they what I might call a kind of aristocracy?
—They used to be. I should say they are at the present
time. For the most part, their Native States are very
much reduced, but still I should say they are regarded all
over India as forming a kind of aristocracy.

2315. In that part of the country does the term
"Rajput" refer to the people at large or to the upper
classes?—I should say it would refer to the upper classes.
It is a caste term. In many parts of India you meet
the term of "Rajput": that refers to caste. But the
country is called Rajputana, and I should say that most
persons when they use the term "Rajput" refer to the
people belonging to that caste.

2316. I thought you said in reply to Lord Brassey that
you never knew a doctor who used opium in cases of
fever?—I said so.

2317. Afterwards I rather understood you to qualify that
in reply to Sir William Roberts, and that you said you
were aware that a good many people use it?—I did not feel
tend to say so. I did not think that question was asked.

2318. You had referred to a popular opinion of ignorant
persons?—I simply understood Sir William Roberts to say
that many doctors held that doctrine; but as a matter of
fact, I never knew of one using it in his practice. I have
been told by medical men that it does good, and that it
does serve as a preventive; but I never found one who
used it for that purpose himself, and I have asked many

2318. Does he recommend it to his patients?—Never. I regard the whole thing as a myth.

2320. You were asked a question as to whether this opium was regarded as disgraceful. As far as India is concerned, were you referring to smoking, eating, or drinking?—Every form.

2321. Alike?—No, not alike. Opium-smoking is held in worse repute than opium eating or drinking. Opium-smoking is regarded more unfavourably than opium-eating. But in any form of it, when a man gets a reputation of being a confirmed user of opium, it undoubtedly injures his standing.

2322. Am I right in thinking that opium-smoking is most common in China, and that opium-eating is most common in India?—You are perfectly correct. Opium-smoking in India, as far as I have observed, is confined to cities and towns. When I have been down at the Straits I have been told by Chinamen that they always prefer smoking.

2323. You referred to a large number of races in India with which your missionaries are more or less connected. Are you at all of opinion if an action took place, or any alteration was made, that it would be practically possible or desirable to discriminate in any way between one part of the country or another, or between one race and another?—I do not think it would; not under the present circumstances. Everything in India is becoming cosmopolitan now. All the different tribes and races and languages are mixed together in such a way that I think it would be impossible to draw a line.

2324. You referred to what had been represented, I think you used the expression, "by some of our Indian papers." May I ask what class of papers you referred to as "Indian papers"?—The *Pioneer* of Allahabad was the leader in the matter. It took that position. I think one of the Bombay papers followed. I cannot say how the others went. I only see the papers in the section of India where I may be; but the *Pioneer* started the discussion by representing that the whole thing could be traced to the opposition of the missionaries, especially in China.

2325. Have you any general knowledge of the attitude of the native papers printed in the Indian language?—Not sufficient for me to form an opinion. I have not read any paper recently. I think, as I said before, they would be largely influenced in their views with regard to the question of taxation.

2326. When you used the expression "our Indian papers" you really meant Anglo-Indian?—Anglo-Indian.

2327. You referred to the use of opium being worse than alcohol in its promotion of certain vices. May I ask you to what you referred?—I was told in Singapore by a gentleman who had gone in disguise through the city that there was not a public woman in the city of Singapore who was not an opium-smoker. I have often been told that it undoubtedly does lead to immorality in the sexual sense of that word.

2328. Would you say that it was taken for that purpose, or that that resulted?—It was an accessory to the vice. I believe it was kept for that purpose.

2329. Do you know anything about the cultivation of the poppy?—Not very much.

2330. You do not care to say much upon that subject?—I have not had a chance to live in districts where they cultivate the poppy to any great extent.

2331. (Mr. Mowbray.) You have told us that a large number of children are actually starving in consequence of the waste of money spent on opium by their parents?—I mean they are receiving insufficient food.

2332. Have you any reason to think that if the parent spent less upon the opium, if it were possible to prohibit the use of opium, those same parents would not waste their money on ganja or alcohol or any other form of stimulant?—If they could get it, they probably would.

2333. Therefore, in order to prevent the evils which you have pointed out as arising from opium, it would be necessary to go a great deal further and prohibit those other things besides?—Ganja ought to be prohibited anyhow. It is probably more harmful than opium. And the liquor habit produced the same effect to my certain knowledge in Bengal at the time of the opium system. The worst evil that resulted from it was the starvation of children.

2334. (Mr. Haridas Feharidas.) Have you ever visited Gujarat, Kathiawar, or Kutch?—I have not been in Kathiawar; I have been in Gujarat, but not in Kutch. I have been in and about Baroda. I have been at Ahmedabad also, but only to make one visit.

2335. Did you see the same thing about opium as you saw in the Panjab and Rajputana and other places?—I cannot recall any instance where I saw anything whereby I can speak from actual observation. With regard to Gujarat my knowledge is limited.

2336. (Mr. Fanshawe.) Will you kindly tell me in what provinces your actual experience has been? You said Northern India generally. Do you mean in the Panjab and the North-West Provinces?—I lived first in Kumaun and then in Garhwal, then in Rohilkhand, then in Oudh. Then in more recent years I have frequently been in the Doab between the Ganges and the Jumna.

2337. Have you had any practical experience in the Panjab of the Sikhs?—Very little.

2338. It is mainly in the North-West Provinces and Oudh that your experience has been?—Yes; but I have constantly met Panjabis.

2339. You say the opium habit is starving millions of children. To what province does that apply? In which province do you wish us to understand that the poorer classes so largely consume opium that millions of children are affected by it?—As I remarked before, the classes that we call the "depressed classes,"—the term given by the Census.

2340. In which provinces?—In all of them.

2341. You are not speaking them from your own knowledge: your knowledge is in the North-West Provinces and Oudh?—As far as I have seen, the conditions being the same in other provinces, the result would be the same.

2342. Is the opium habit now so widely spread in those provinces that millions of children can be said to be starved,—even accepting your view?—Not millions in those provinces, but I speak of the 234 millions of India.

2343. You are generalizing from what you know in the North-West and Oudh?—And Bengal. I have lived twenty years in Bengal.

2344. You spoke generally of the general average of Indian people, and said that their opinion was overwhelmingly in favour of entire prohibition of the sale of opium. What provinces would that apply to?—I was speaking of all India.

2345. I want to get it a little more in detail. As regards the Punjab, there is the Sikh population which is supposed to eat opium as a racial matter; then there is the Rajput, who is supposed to eat opium as a racial matter; do you wish it to be understood that in those particular provinces there would be an overwhelming opinion against eating or smoking opium?—I am not prepared to admit that it is a racial matter with all the Sikhs.

2346. I am only asking you to which provinces you wish your statement to apply?—I refer to the whole of India. I have been in contact with the people sufficiently to enable me to speak, that is in the provinces in which I have lived, with a population of 125 millions. Speaking from observation among those 125 millions, I should say, with regard to the whole Empire, that my estimate is a very moderate one.

2347. Then here, too, you are generalizing from your experiences in two provinces. Do you still say that the general average of opinion amongst the natives would be entirely in favour of total prohibition?—I should say in six or seven provinces.

2348. Meaning the North-West Provinces, and Oudh, and Bengal?—The North-West Provinces, Oudh, Bengal, and Behar. It is about half of India.

2349. Then as regards Rajputana, I wanted to bring out one point with reference to Mr. Wilson's question. Is not the term "Rajput" used generally to cover the whole of the residents in Rajputana? There are Rajput cultivators and Rajputs occupying other positions in society?—I think you would offend a Rajput in Rajputana if you spoke of a Chamar as a Rajput.

2350. You seem to distinguish between the lower classes and the upper classes: there are Rajput cultivators, are there not?—Yes, plenty.

2351. You have expressed an opinion that smoking opium is more deleterious than eating it. You said the objections did not go so far as regards eating opium?—That is my opinion.

2352. I think you also said your own view was that smoking opium was regarded generally by the natives as being objectionable, or more objectionable than the other habit?—Yes, I did.

Bishop J. M. Thoburn.
20 Nov. 1898.

- ishop J. M. Thoburn.
Nov. 1893.
2353. As regards the provinces which you know, is it the case that smoking is generally regarded by the natives as distinctly objectionable?—Yes.
2354. With reference to the poorer classes who eat opium, is it a fact that they go on eating for some time without increasing the dose? You spoke of poor men spending an anna a day, or two pice, do you wish it to be understood that they go on for a period of years spending money to that extent, or is there a tendency to increase the dose more and more?—If they can get money enough they increase it: the majority cannot get money.
2355. Is there a habit of eating a moderate dose over an extended period?—I am told that there is with those who are able to get about two pice worth. Those who get one pice worth have to do it intermittently. They cannot help themselves. After they get up to one anna the tendency is for all of them to increase the dose.
2356. You do not know that of your own personal experience. Has it been your experience that this opium-eating habit prevails in the rains and in the cold weather (not in the hot weather) in districts where there are malarial conditions, or that it continues all through the year?—It continues all through the year. I have never noticed any difference.
2357. (Sir James Lyall.) You said that the term "aphimi" is considered a greater term of abuse, more than "that of drunkard." I should like to know what is the native term which people use for the word "drunkard"?—It differs—"matwalla" is common.
2358. Do you deliberately say that the term "matwalla" is a less term of abuse than the term "aphimi"?—I think so. I have made inquiries.
2359. Among respectable people?—Respectable people do not use abusive language so much as others. I made inquiries last week about it among the Hindustani people themselves.
2360. It is quite different from my experience.—It is my observation. I inquired last week among the Hindustani people.
2361. Does not the term "aphimi" in talking among natives practically apply to what you may call an "opium sot," like the word "drunkard"?—It corresponds with the term "drunkard," but it has a sting in it that the word "drunkard" has not.
2362. Does not that term apply to an opium sot and not to a moderate eater, just as the word "drunkard" does not apply to a moderate drinker of wine or spirits in England?—I cannot speak of England, but I am speaking of India, where we have them side by side.
2363. We know that the term "drunkard" in England applies, not to the person who drinks wines and spirits moderately, but to the man who uses them excessively. Is it not the case, with your knowledge of India and your familiarity with the colloquial use of words in India, that the term "aphimi" applies as the term "drunkard" does in England?—I used it in that sense, I think, because I compared it with the word "drunkard."
2364. Is it your experience that opium-consumers in India generally do not use spirits or hemp drugs, that is, that the man who uses opium as a stimulant usually confines himself to it, with the exception of, perhaps, some very depraved characters, and does not consume spirits or hemp drugs?—He does not consume spirits, but he is very likely to consume ganja, and ganja in many cases breaks the opium habit.
2365. If the use of opium as a stimulant were stopped, would it not be likely that the poor people, who now stint their children to buy opium, would spend as much money or more in buying spirits or hemp drugs?—I should say that the same policy should be applied to ganja and spirits.
2366. And that you would have a general system of prohibition?—I think that all these drugs and drinks must in the case of these very poor people prove a scourge.
2367. And the same reason exists for a general system of prohibition, except for medical use, of liquor, opium, and hemp drugs?—Among the very poor people, certainly.
2368. That is practically what you have in your own church?—Yes.
2369. You said that in your church if a convert was found to take opium you brought him under discipline?—I did.
2370. I suppose that equally applies to hemp drugs or spirits?—It does.
2371. Did you sign the memorial to the Viceroy by the Missionary Conference of the 30th of September: I believe you were Secretary to that Conference?—I am not quite sure. I was not in Calcutta at that time. I think, perhaps, I have not signed it.
2372. Have you signed it?—If I have signed it at all it must have been some months ago. I was not in Calcutta for four months, and I think I never saw the memorial and did not sign it.
2373. You cannot give any opinion; you have not examined the authorities quoted in it to see if the extracts given fairly represent the opinion?—I could not at all.
2374. I think you know that opium is immensely used in India, particularly by the common people in the villages, which form the great part of India; it is greatly used among the people themselves for medicine, for themselves and for their cattle too; you propose that the use of opium should be prohibited except for medical purposes: have you ever tried to think out how opium could be readily supplied for medical wants, and yet its use prevented as a stimulant or intoxicant?—I have thought a little on the subject. I do not think it would be an insuperable difficulty; of course it would be a difficulty. I have seen it applied in our own country in States where they have prohibition. When they have to supply alcoholic drinks, it is always attended with difficulty, but they succeed in doing it.
2375. Alcoholic drinks are not used as medicine in anything like the extent opium is used in India by the country people themselves, by Hakim and Vaid, and that sort of people?—I do not know that: I should rather think it is used quite as much.
2376. Spirits?—Some forms of alcoholic drinks are in constant use for medicinal purposes in the prohibitive States.
2377. The difficulty in administration always is to get reliable instruments. If you give an ordinary native of India some power or discretion, I am sorry to say he generally tries to make money out of it?—I understand that.
2378. You know our State dispensaries and all that sort of thing are mere points scattered about in the country?—I do.
2379. Even if they were to be relied upon to carry on a sort of brisk trade in opium without degenerating into opium shops, have you thought how you could possibly work a system by which opium would be readily available, and not too dear for medicine, and yet not available as a stimulant?—I think it would be no worse than it is in many parts of the country. I have just been in Garhwal where they have no opium whatever, and they get along very well without it. I think it would be no worse in other parts.
2380. Garhwal is a very healthy country?—Not very.
2381. It is a cold climate?—It has been scourged by cholera more than any other district in North India during the last few years.
2382. Not malaria?—I do not value opium very much as a medicine if I may be allowed to say so. Speaking as a layman, I do not think it is what would be called a medical necessity among the common villagers. There must be a multitude of villages where they never see it.
2383. Speaking of how the financial difficulty might be met, you suggested that a tax might be put upon tobacco, which would raise as much money as the opium does. Are you aware that an attempt to put a tax upon tobacco by the Shah of Persia, who is a pretty despotic ruler, led to a revolt about two years ago?—I should not think that the Shah of Persia could be mentioned in the same connection with the Governor General of India.
2384. You think we are more despotic?—I think the Governor General of India could do a thing without difficulty that the Shah would not dare to try. I should not have ventured to make that suggestion if it had not been that I originally read the suggestion in a work by Sir John Strachey. I think he estimated that they could get a revenue of two millions from it.
2385. Are you aware, though the thing has often been considered, that it has always been thought so unpopular a suggestion, that it has been abandoned on that ground?—I remember Sir John said it was unpopular, still he said it was practicable, or rather possible.
2386. Do you think that the English Government in India has so much popularity that it could afford to take the risk of adopting such an unpopular measure?—I am very glad you have asked me that question. People often talk confidentially to me because they know I am not an

Englishman. I believe that with the same people I spoke of a little while ago, the average people of India, leaving a million at the top and from 80 to 50 millions at the bottom out of consideration, the English Government is exceedingly popular.

2387. And that popularity would bear the putting on of additional taxation?—On tobacco it would.

2388. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I have not got it quite clear about these Rajputs. I understand that Rajputs live in Rajputana. What I want to get, and what I did not quite get, was this, what proportion of the population of that part of the country are properly called Rajputs?—That I could not say; but I should say that a very large minority are not properly Rajputs.

2389. Do you think that the missionaries in this country over whom you have superintendence would, speaking generally, agree with the opinions you have expressed?—I think so, perhaps without exception: on some details they might differ.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. JOSEPH G. ALEXANDER, LL.B., called in and examined.

2395. (*Chairman.*) I believe you are the Secretary of the Anti-Opium Association?—Yes. I may remind the Commission that I have already given a little formal evidence. I appeared before the Commission in London, and put in a few documents which I thought might be useful at that stage, reserving further evidence. I need only repeat that I am Secretary of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, and have been so nearly four and a half years. But I had for a much longer period been a member of the Executive Committee of the Society, and taken great interest in its work.

2396. You are a Barrister-at-Law?—Yes, but I have not been in practice since I became Secretary.

2397. We may take it from you that you have been actively concerned in bringing the case which you wish to present to the consideration of the Commission to-day under the notice of Members of Parliament, and also before the public in England, at public meetings, by pamphlets, and otherwise?—That is so.

2398. I think it is your wish that we should regard the last memorial presented by your Society to Lord Kimberley as containing in brief your case for the suppression of the opium trade?—That is so. Not strictly the last memorial, but our last general memorial. We have since had occasion to address His Lordship about Burma.

2399. Your last general memorial is a general statement of your case?—Yes.

But before entering upon the consideration of the points in that document, I should like to say a few preliminary words as to the tone which the Society desires to adopt towards the Indian Government in this matter. I wish to take the opportunity of adopting on behalf of the Society the very appropriate words with which Your Lordship closed your opening address the other day: "To those engaged in the weighty task of governing this country, I can give an assurance on the part of the Commission that, in common with our fellow countrymen at home, we admire and recognise to the full the admirable qualities for which the Civil Service in India is so justly renowned." I wish to say in that connection that our Society is composed of gentlemen who would be very sorry indeed to take up anything like a hostile position towards the Government of India. We differ from them on this very important question, but we are very anxious not to impute evil motives. We know that men differ on great questions of morality and policy from various circumstances. Speaking personally, speaking on behalf of our President and on behalf of the Executive Committee especially, I am sure it is far from our desire to take up any position which would assume that those who are responsible for the Government of India are not actuated by the highest motives in their desire to fulfil their duty towards the people of India. In support of that I would mention that we have in connection with our Society a number of gentlemen who have spent a good part of their years in the service of the Government of India. The venerable Sir Arthur Cotton, now more than ninety years of age, is one of our Vice-Presidents and one of our most ardent supporters. I will not say that he is proud of what England has done in India, but the way in which he has expressed it to myself and others is that he feels intensely thankful to God for the wonderful providential way in which, as he believes, England has been permitted to discharge its duty towards India. Then we have on our Executive Committee Lieutenant-General Trem-

2390. Have you missions in the Central Provinces?—We have. *Bishop J. M. Thoburn.*

2391. In Southern India?—We have.

20 Nov. 1893.

2392. I suppose I may take it that during your earlier years in India you came into personal contact with the people?—A great deal.

2393. Since you have been Bishop you have probably had more intercourse with the missionaries themselves, and not direct intercourse with the people?—That is correct from the nature of the case. I am travelling all the time and superintending. I cannot often get opportunities of going into the villages.

2394. Therefore the opinions you have given us, especially as regards late years, are very much those of missionaries from whom you have gathered this information?—I think that most of the missionaries have stronger views on the subject than I have.

heers, who was for some years Administrator of Sind, and who was also at one time the Chairman of our Executive Committee; and Brigade-Surgeon Pringle, who has spent 30 years in the Medical Service of India. We have also two other members of the Committee who have sons in the Indian Civil Service. It will therefore be seen that we are not likely to wish to take up any attitude of general hostility to the Government of India. Our attitude is that, admiring that Government, and rejoicing in what it has done for the people of India, we want to remove from it a stigma which we believe rests upon it at the present time in connection with its opium traffic.

2400. Turning to the general memorial, I notice that in the first paragraph reference is made to the vote taken in the House of Commons on the 10th of April 1891, when by a majority of 81 it was resolved: "This House is of opinion that the system by which the Indian opium revenue is raised is morally indefensible, and would urge upon the Indian Government that they should cease to grant licenses for the cultivation of the poppy and sale of opium in British India, except to supply the legitimate demand for medical purposes, and that they should, at the same time, take measures to arrest the transit of Malwa opium through British territory." Have you any observations to make upon that part of the memorial?—I should like to point out that we have adopted a somewhat careful wording with regard to the action of the House of Commons. The House adopted the resolution "in principle." A good deal has been made of a somewhat technical point, owing to the way in which resolutions have to be submitted to the House of Commons on Friday evenings. The motion was not an affirmative motion; it was an amendment to the motion to go into Committee. The actual vote was taken on the question whether the words "That Mr. Speaker now leave the chair" should stand as part of the question. Sir Robert Fowler had given notice of an amendment dealing with the financial question; and the result was that, whilst the vote was taken on the main question, it was technically only a vote not to go into Committee of Supply. At the same time, practically, as the Members of the House of Commons will recognise, it was an adoption of Sir Joseph Pease's words.

2401. In your second paragraph you allege that the use of opium brings misery to countless millions in China, and that whereas we in England subject the sale of opium to great restrictions, and it is recognised, as you allege, by the entire medical profession as a dangerous poison, on the other hand, in our dealings with China we did in past years endeavour to force the importation of opium into China by acts of war; and you represent the opposition which was taken when we were at war with China in relation to opium to be what you call a "continuing fact." You point to the repugnance of the English people to the whole system as being evidenced by resolutions passed at hundreds of public meetings almost always with complete unanimity; and you refer to the large number of petitions which are constantly being presented to Parliament in support of the views of the Anti-Opium Association. I think that that is a fair summary of your second paragraph. Have you anything that you wish to say to us further with reference to China?—I need scarcely point out that those wars are old history, and you will recognise that the attitude of the Government is substantially changed, as is clearly proved by the speech of Sir James Fergusson, so often referred to, and by the speeches of Mr. Smith, Lord Cross, and other representative public men?—With regard

Mr. J. G. Alexander, LL.B.

Mr. J. G. Alexander,
L.L.B.
20 Nov. 1898.

to that question of the China wars, I should have been disposed to say exceedingly little, looking upon them as past transactions, had it not been for the evidence produced before the Commission in London. As the members of the Commission who were in London will remember, we had three gentlemen—Sir Thomas Wade, Mr. Lay, and Dr. Lockhart—all alleging that England never forced the opium trade upon China. It seems to me that one can hardly allow such an allegation as that to pass unchallenged, because, as we put it here, the fact of those wars and the fact that, as we believe, opium was by those wars forced upon China, impose upon the British nation a greater degree of responsibility for this trade than it would have had if China had from the beginning voluntarily accepted the trade. I am afraid, therefore, that I shall have to trouble the Commission with some attempt to show that the statements of Sir Thomas Wade, Mr. Lay, and Dr. Lockhart are really not well founded. In the first instance I should like to refer to a pamphlet published by my predecessor, the first Secretary of our Society, Mr. Storrs Turner. As I told the Commission in London, he was very ill at that time, and was unable to give evidence, as I had hoped he would. In one portion of that pamphlet he has dealt very carefully with this question of the wars, and I think he has made a very full reply. The pamphlet was written in connection with the debate at the Society of Arts meeting last year, when Sir Thomas Wade made a speech very much to the same effect as the evidence he gave before the Commission. Mr. Lay not only made these statements, but he banded in a Note on the Opium Question. I think perhaps it would be more satisfactory if, instead of attempting to reply to that pamphlet in detail, I should go through the history briefly, and put forward my own view and the view of the Society on the question.

2402. That would be the more convenient course.—I have here a book which may be looked upon as an authoritative history of China. I have seen the statement that the book, Williams' "The Middle Kingdom," is adopted officially by the diplomatic service in China as a text-book of Chinese history and Chinese questions generally. It is written by Dr. S. Wells Williams, who was at one time a missionary in China, and who is an American, not an Englishman, so that he may be supposed to look at the question from an impartial and outside point of view as between England and China. The early history of the opium trade is best told in Dr. Edkins' pamphlet which has been already put before the Commission and will be printed as an Appendix; but Dr. Edkins has omitted one point which Dr. Williams here refers to. Dr. Williams says: "The use of opium amongst the Chinese two centuries ago must have been very little, or the writings of Roman missionaries, from 1580 down to the beginning of the nineteenth century, would certainly have contained some account of it." That point is still better brought out by Dr. Dudgeon, of Peking, another very high authority on Chinese questions. In an article which was printed in the *Friend of China* for 1892, page 195, he says: "The absence of any reference by the Jesuit missionaries who resided in all parts of the country to either opium-smoking or poppy cultivation is very remarkable. All other sources of information are equally reticent, whether it be travellers, diplomatic agents, or missionaries. Barrow and Staunton, who describe China most minutely and correctly in their visit in 1798, only remark that many of the higher mandarins smoke tobacco with other odorous substances, and sometimes a little opium." There is also a book containing a description of Lord Macartney's mission, which travelled through a considerable district of China to Peking, and had a botanical gentleman attached to it. It contains a careful and accurate notice of the plants met with, but it has no mention whatever of the poppy as having been grown, that is at the end of the last century. Dr. Dudgeon has also pointed out that Dr. Edkins does not sufficiently and clearly bring out the fact that the early use of opium in China appears to have been merely medicinal. Some of the earlier extracts given by Dr. Edkins refer only to the medicinal use, and not to what one may call, by way of distinction, the sensual use. Dr. Dudgeon further points out that the decree of 1729, which was for the first time brought to light by Dr. Edkins, and which was the first Chinese decree against opium, was not a general decree applying to the whole country, but simply to the island of Formosa, where apparently the opium-smoking habit was first known in China. A few years later, as I am informed by Dr. Dudgeon, there was a decree generalizing that, because it was found that the use of opium-smoking had spread to the mainland.

Then I pass to the position which led up to the China war. Dr. Williams states that the first war with England

arose out of the ceasing of the East India Company's commercial privileges in 1834; and he deals with the mission of Lord Napier which followed that change. He comments upon Lord Napier's ill-advised proceedings in his attempt to set aside the rules of the Chinese Government, which ended in a somewhat tragic way by his death before the question was settled. I now quote a despatch from Sir O. B. Robinson, who succeeded Lord Napier as Superintendent of the British trade: "On the question of smuggling opium I will not enter in this place, though, indeed, smuggling carried on actively in the Government boats can hardly be ignored such. Whenever His Majesty's Government directs us to prevent British vessels engaging in the traffic, we can enforce any order to that effect, but a more certain method would be to prohibit the growth of the poppy and the manufacture of opium in British India; and if British ships are in the habit of committing irregularities and crimes, it seems doubly necessary to exercise a salutary control over them by the presence of an authority at Lintin." Dr. Williams, commenting on that despatch, says: "There is not the least evidence to show that the Court of Peking was not sincere in its desire to suppress the trade, from the first edict of 1800 till the war broke out in 1840. The excuse that the Government smuggled because its revenue cruisers engaged in it and the helpless provincial authorities winked at it is no more satisfactory than to make the successful bribery of custom-house officers in England or elsewhere a proof of the corruption of the treasury department." I might apply that argument in India. When I was passing through the Central Provinces, I was told some stories about smuggling from the Native States, said to be carried on with the connivance of the Government Police. I think it would be just as appropriate to say that the Indian Government is not sincere in its desire to suppress the smuggling of opium into its territories because some of its police officers are, or are said to be, bribed, as to say that the Chinese Government were not sincere because some of its officers were bribed. I therefore strongly object to that phrase, which I think was quoted either by Sir Thomas Wade or Mr. Lay with approval, that it was not properly to be called smuggling because there was so much official connivance with it. Then Dr. Williams goes on to recount a remarkable proposal made to legalise the opium trade by Hu Nai Tai. Some quotations were made from his memorial in the evidence which was put forward in London, as if those were the views of men who did not recognise the evils of the trade. I think to any one who reads through those memorials it is clear that these men did recognise the great evils of the trade; only they thought it was hopeless to attempt to stop it, and it was better to legalize it. But those memorials were replied to by statements on the other side. One of them says: "It has been represented that advantage is taken of the laws against opium by extortionate undertakings and worthless vagrants to benefit themselves. Though the law should sometimes be relaxed and become ineffectual, yet surely it should not on that account be abolished." I venture to think that these arguments may have some application in India at the present day as they had in China then. The result was that the Court of Peking decided not to legalize. Meanwhile Captain Elliott had expressed himself in despatches home as confident that legalisation was about to take place. The contrary actually took place. There is one point I should like to mention which I find in two of these memorials. They suggest that the purpose of the English in introducing opium into the country has been to weaken and enfeeble it. That was in the memorial of Chu Teun. A Sub-Censor supported him, and in the abstract of that memorial Dr. Williams says: "The Sub-Censor agrees with Chu Teun regarding the designs of foreigners in doing so, that they wished first to debilitate and impoverish the land as a preparatory measure, for they never smoked the drug in their own country, but brought it all to China." It is interesting to compare those views, expressed more than half a century ago, with the evidence given by three or four missionaries before this Commission in London, that a precisely similar impression is at present largely prevailing in China, and that among some of the best classes in China it is said that England had the purpose of introducing opium into China in order to weaken and debilitate the Chinese nation, so that we may ultimately conquer the country. Of course we know that it is not so, but we can understand how such a view has arisen. Then Dr. Williams again refers to the question of sincerity. He says: "It is unjust to the Chinese to say, as was argued by those who had never felt these sufferings, that all parties were sincere in their efforts to put down this trade, that it was a mere affectation of morality, and that no one would be man-

"chagrined to see it stop than those apparently so strenuously against it. This assertion was made by Lord Palmerston in Parliament, and re-echoed by the Indian officials; but those who have candidly examined the proceedings of the Chinese, or have lived among the people in a way to learn their real feelings, need not be told how incorrect is the remark. The highest statesman and the debilitated, victimised smoker alike agreed in their opinion of its bad effects, and both were pretty much in the position of a miserable lamb in the coil of a hungry anaconda." (That is a very favourite metaphor with the Chinese on the subject of opium. A friend showed me not long ago a little model which he had received from some missionary friends in China representing the opium vice in that way. It was not an anaconda, but it was a cuttle-fish or octopus destroying the man.) As is well known, the result was that the Emperor sent down to Canton Commissioner Lin in order to put a stop to the trade. Before Commissioner Lin arrived some measures had been taken. Dr. Williams says: "There can be no reasonable doubt that the best part of his people and the moral power of the nation were with their sovereign in this attempt. Hu Nai Tsi was dismissed for proposing legalisation, and three princes of the blood degraded for smoking opium; arrests, fines, tortures, imprisonments, and executions were frequent in the provinces on the same grounds, all showing the determination to eradicate it. The Governor of Hukwang, Lin Tsch-sou, was ordered to proceed to Canton, with unlimited powers to stop the traffic. The trade there was at this time almost suspended, the deliveries being small and at losing prices. Many underlings were convicted and summarily punished, and on February 28th Fung A-ngan was strangled in front of the factories for his connection with opium and participation in the affray at Whampoa. The foreign flags, English, American, Dutch, and French, were all hauled down in consequence. The entire stoppage of all trade was threatened, and the Governor urged foreigners to send all opium ships from Chinese waters. Commissioner Lin arrived in Canton, March 10th. The Emperor sent him to inquire and act as thoroughly as possible on the source of the evil, for, says he, 'if the source of the evil be not clearly ascertained, how can we hope that the stream of pernicious consequences shall be stayed? It is our full hope that the long indulged habit will be for ever laid aside, and every root and germ of it entirely eradicated; we would fain think that our ministers will be able to substantiate our wishes, and so remove from China the dire calamity.' It was reported in Canton that the monarch, when recounting the evils which had long afflicted his people by means of opium, paused and wept, and turning to Lin said, 'How, alas! can I die and go to the shades of my imperial fathers and ancestors until these direful evils are removed?' Such was the chief purpose of this movement on the part of the Chinese Government, and Lin was invested with the fullest powers ever conferred on a subject. Although long experience of the ineffectiveness of Chinese edicts generally lead those residing in the country to regard them as mere verbiage, still to say that they are all insincere and formal because they are ineffectual is to misjudge and pervert the emotions of common humanity." It is well known that the Chinese Government obtained possession of the opium by imprisoning the British merchants in their houses (you had before you in London Mr. Donald Mathieson, one of the merchants imprisoned), and the opium was all destroyed. Dr. Williams states that the market value of 20,283 chests of opium at the time was not far from 9 million dollars, and the cost price nearly 11 millions. War ensued; and here Dr. Williams quotes the language used by Lord John Russell, that the war "was set on foot to obtain reparation for insults and injuries offered Her Majesty's Superintendent and subjects; to obtain indemnification for the losses the merchants had sustained under threats of violence; and lastly, to get security that persons and property trading with China should in future be protected from insult and injury, and trade maintained upon a proper footing." Undoubtedly, there were other causes leading to the war in addition to the seizure of opium; and it seems to me that Mr. Lay and Sir Thomas Wade have simply set aside this one cause and have taken those other subsidiary and collateral causes and said that they were the only reasons of the war. It does not seem to me that you can logically adopt that course.

2408. I think Sir Thomas Wade urged that the exclusiveness of the Chinese, their unwillingness to enter into relations with other powers, treating us as barbarians only to be approached through the Hongkong merchants, were a natural and inevitable cause of misunderstanding. He urged that if the Chinese authorities had been willing to enter

into direct communication with us, explanations would have been exchanged which would probably have averted the ultimate warlike proceedings which we all regret?—No doubt that was the substance of his argument. Dr. Williams combats that by pointing out that on previous occasions concessions had been obtained from China without force; and if China had been treated in a proper way, these concessions might have been obtained. But at all events, the war did, as a matter of fact, grow out of the opium trade; and Sir Thomas Wade himself admits that it may properly be called the Opium War. Dr. Williams says: "The war was looked upon in this light by the Chinese, and it will also be so looked upon by the candid historian, and known as the Opium War." Dr. Williams also refers to the debate which took place in Parliament. Of course it was not admitted in that debate by Lord Macaulay, who was the Government spokesman, that opium was the object of the war; nor was it by Sir George Staunton, who took an independent position in the debate, and whose authority, from his great knowledge of China, was very great. He defended the war, but spoke in the strongest terms against the opium-smuggling trade.

But I venture to think that the speech made by Mr. Gladstone, already quoted by Mr. Arthur Pease, truly states the case, that while there had been no doubt many things on the part of the Chinese which were objectionable, yet in the main the Chinese were right and we were wrong. Lord Melbourne in the course of the debate said: "We possess immense territories peculiarly fitted for raising opium, and though I would wish that the Government were not so directly concerned in the traffic, I am not prepared to pledge myself to relinquish it." Dr. Williams remarks: "this debate was in fact a remarkable instance of the way in which a moral question is blinked even by conscientious persons whenever politics or interest come athwart its course." He also refers to two letters written by Commissioner Lin to Queen Victoria desiring her assistance in putting down the opium trade. One of those letters has been recently published. I should like to hand in to the Commission a publication of ours, "Chinese Statesmen on the Opium Traffic." It begins with one of these letters, and the other letter will be found in Mr. Storrs Turner's book which has been distributed. On two or three occasions Dr. Williams points out that negotiations which were begun with the object of stopping the war failed mainly because of the determination of the Chinese to resist rather than to grant full indemnity for the opium. Finally, Captain Elliott concluded a preliminary arrangement on four points, mainly the cession of the island and harbour of Hongkong to the British Crown, an indemnity of six million dollars in annual instalments, direct official intercourse upon an equal footing, and the immediate resumption of the English trade at Canton. As we all know, the Chinese were defeated and ultimately had to yield. One of the conditions of the treaty was that six million dollars was to be paid by China as compensation for the opium that was destroyed, that opium having been contraband. Then, after the treaty, at the final interview between Sir Henry Pottinger and the Chinese Commissioners, there was a remarkable conversation of which Dr. Williams gives an account taken from Captain Loch's "Events in China": "When matters connected with the treaty had been arranged, Sir Henry proposed to say a few words upon the great cause that produced the disturbances which led to the war, viz., the trade in opium. But upon hearing this (Captain Loch says) they unanimously declined entering upon the subject until they were assured that he had introduced it merely as a topic for private conversation. They then evinced much interest, and eagerly requested to know why we would not act fairly towards them by prohibiting the growth of the poppy in our dominions, and thus effectually stop a traffic so pernicious to the human race. This, he said, in consistency with our constitution and laws, could not be done; and he added that, even if England chose to exercise so arbitrary a power over her tillers of the soil, it would not check the evil, so far as the Chinese were concerned, while the cancer remained uneradicated among themselves, but that it would merely throw the market into other hands. It, in fact, he said, rests entirely with yourselves. If your people are virtuous they will desist from the evil practice; and if your officers are incorruptible and obey your orders, no opium can enter your country. The discouragement of the growth of the poppy in your territories rests principally with you, for nearly the entire produce cultivated in India travels east to China; if, however, the habit has become a confirmed vice, and you feel that your power is at present inadequate to stay its indolence, you may rest assured your people will procure the drug in spite of every enactment. Would

Mr. J. G. Alexander, LL.B., Nov. 26/89.

Mr. J. G.
Alexander,
LL.B.
20 Nov. 1898.

"it not, therefore, be better at once to legalise its importation, and by thus securing the co-operation of the rich and of your authorities, from whom it would thus be no longer debarred, thereby greatly limit the facilities which now exist for smuggling? They owned the plausibility of the argument, but expressed themselves persuaded that their imperial master would never listen to a word upon the subject." Dr. Williams comments severely, as well he may, upon the tone adopted by Sir Henry Pottinger and his really untruthful statement that there was anything unconstitutional in prohibiting the growth of the poppy that had already been prohibited in a large area of British India, and upon the melancholy picture of a British statesman saying to Chinese statesmen, "Your people must become virtuous and your officers incorruptible, and then you can stop opium coming into your borders." England herself might so easily have stopped the trade. I think it must have been about that time, though I have never been able exactly to ascertain the date, that the Emperor of China used some very memorable words which are reported by Mr. Montgomery Martin. When approached with a view of legalising the trade, the Emperor replied: "It is true that I cannot prevent the introduction of the flowing poison; gain-seeking and corrupt men will, for profit and sensuality, defeat my wishes; but nothing will induce me to derive a revenue from the vice and misery of my people." Sir Edward Fry has pointed out that whilst nothing was said about this opium trade in the treaty, we almost immediately afterwards concluded a treaty with China in which we agreed to put down smuggling. That was really never carried out. A proclamation was issued by Sir Henry Pottinger, which was entirely futile, telling the traders in opium that they carried on the trade at their own cost. Dr. Williams says: "All this was done chiefly to throw dust in their eyes and put the onus of the contraband traffic on the Chinese Government, and the violation of law on those who came off to the smuggling vessels, and these proclamations and orders, like their edicts, were to be put 'on record.'" This was shown when Captain Hope of H.M.S. *Thalia*, for stopping two or three of the opium vessels proceeding above Shanghai, was recalled from his station and ordered to India, where he could not 'interfere in such a manner with the undertakings of British subjects'—to quote Lord Palmerston's Despatch to Captain Elliot: "This effectually deterred other British officers from meddling with it."

Once more Dr. Williams gives this final summary of the war: "Public opinion will ever characterise the contest thus brought to an end as an *opium war*, entered into and carried on to obtain indemnity for opium seized, and settling aside the niceties of Western international law, which the Chinese Government knew nothing of, most justly seized. The British and American merchants, who voluntarily subscribed one thousand and thirty-seven chests to Commissioner Lin, acknowledged themselves to be transgressors by this very act." As Mr. Pesse stated in London, neither Mr. Turner, my predecessor, nor I, have used the expression the Second "Opium War." It did not directly arise out of the opium traffic; although it was indirectly connected with it.

Here I turn to another authority, "The Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin," the Ambassador employed to negotiate peace and to settle the difficulties with China. His letters are full of allusions to the strong feeling he has that that war was an altogether unjustifiable and unjust war, and brought about by the misconduct of the English subjects in the East. Here is one of them: "I have hardly alluded in my ultimatum to that wretched question of the *Arrow*, which is a scandal to us, and is so considered, I have reason to know, by all except the few who are personally compromised." In another place he says: "I thought bitterly of those who for the most selfish objects are trampling under foot this ancient civilisation." Again he says: "Two months I have been there engaged in this painful service, checking as I have been best able to do the disposition to maltreat this unfortunate people." Then Lord Elgin sums up: "No doubt, as you say, one cannot help sometimes regretting that one is mixed up with so bad a business as this in China, but then in some respects it is a great opportunity for doing good, or at least for mitigating evil." May I be permitted, though it is perhaps irrelevant, to say that those extracts and others which I could have read, show how great and noble was the character of Lord Elgin, how supremely he desired that justice should be done to races which had been proved to be weaker in war than the English race, and how one cannot help rejoicing in the hope that his son who is so shortly to arrive in India will be imbued with similar sentiments. Lord Elgin went from China to Japan. There he

signed the treaty which first opened Japan to our commerce, a treaty which had not been forced by war, a treaty which absolutely prohibited the opium trade, and which has been strictly enforced by the Japanese ever since. The Japanese are well aware of the vice which is bringing such terrible evils upon their neighbours in China; therefore they have always shown themselves on the alert to prevent its introduction into their own country. I once heard a missionary who had resided some years in Japan, tell how very severely some men were treated who were once caught attempting to smuggle opium into Japan.

Lord Elgin did not deem it consistent with his duty to make the legalisation of the opium traffic one of the terms of the treaty of peace with China. But I have dealt with that subject in a letter to the *Times* a few years ago.

I said in that letter which was a reply to Mr. Lay—"It may be well in the first place to observe that our present agitation is merely based, not on the assumption that China is being still forced to admit Indian opium, but on what appears to us to be the immorality of the Indian Government in producing, for the purpose of sale to China, a drug which causes such widespread demoralisation in the latter country. The question raised by Mr. Lay is, therefore, more a historical than a practical one. At the same time it undoubtedly adds immensely to the responsibility of Great Britain if, as we are convinced, the action of our Government in the past has been such as to overbear the genuine objection formerly entertained by the Chinese Government to the admission of opium, and has brought about her present apparent acquiescence in its import. If Mr. Lay simply means that China has never been compelled, as the condition *sine qua non* of a cessation from armed force, to place opium in the category of imports permitted to be brought into the treaty ports, we must admit his correctness. But we maintain that the legalisation of the opium trade was really and truly the result of the cruel and unjust wars of 1840 and 1856, and of the powerful moral support continuously given to opium-smugglers by the British Government before the first war and in the interval between it and the second. As to the Opium War of 1840, it is needless to defend, even against Mr. Lay, the general verdict of history. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*. It was unquestionably one of the conditions of the treaty of Nanking, which brought the war to a close, that compensation should be made by China for the value of the opium destroyed by Commissioner Lin, and this fact speaks for itself. As regards the tariff supplement to the treaty of Tientsin, with which Mr. Lay was personally connected, and by which opium was first recognised as a lawful article of commerce, it is to be remembered that the treaty itself was the result of violent coercion. Lord Elgin says of the negotiations ("Letters and Journals," page 263): "We went on fighting and bullying, and getting the poor Commissioners to concede one point after another." One of the chief articles of the treaty thus concluded was, as stated by his biographer, "the tariff fixed by the Treaty of Nanking to be revised." If the treaty itself was obtained by force, how can it be said that the insertion of a fresh item in the revised tariff for which that treaty provided was purely voluntary? With regard to the circumstances under which opium was inserted in the tariff supplement, they are fully stated in the "Report on the Revision of Tariff," etc., furnished by Messrs. Giphson and Wade, the deputies appointed by Lord Elgin to act on his behalf, which is annexed to Lord Elgin's despatch to the Earl of Malmesbury, dated Shanghai, October 22, 1858. They show that on October 12th the deputies (with whom Mr. Lay was associated by Lord Elgin's request) had a preliminary conference with the Chinese Commissioners, at which, by request of the latter, they furnished the Chinese with a list of subjects for discussion, No. 7 being "legalisation of opium under duties." It appears further that on this occasion it was urged by the British deputies that opium was an article which "no laws were found to exclude, and the irregularity of the present trade in which was highly objectionable." The following day another conference was held, when, for reasons not necessary to be here stated, the British deputies desired, and the Chinese Commissioners consented, to proceed with opium as the very first subject of discussion. One of the Chinese Commissioners, whose position as Superintendent of Customs at Shanghai, says the report, "naturally gives him a chief voice in such matters, admitted the necessity of a change. China still retains her objection to the use of a drug on moral grounds; but the present generation of smokers, at all events, must and will have opium. China would propose a very high duty, but, as opposition was naturally to be expected from us in that case, it should be as moderate as possible." He proceeded to urge that opium should be treated quite differently from other articles

"of import, and, 'after much discussion' as to the rate of duty, the British first naming 15 to 20 taels and the Chinese 60 taels per chest, it was finally fixed at 30 taels. Reviewing the whole transaction, it appears clear 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.'"

I should like also to refer to a letter by my friend Dr. Legge, who gave evidence before the Commission in London on this question, and who is one of the greatest authorities in England or Europe on Chinese questions. In a letter addressed to the *Times*, but which that journal did not publish, and which I quote from the *Friend of China*, he says: "The instructions issued to Lord Elgin from the Foreign Office (April 20th, 1857) directed him when discussing commercial arrangements with any Chinese plenipotentiaries to ascertain whether the Government of China would revoke its prohibition of the opium trade, for there would be obvious advantages in placing the trade on a legal footing by the imposition of a duty instead of its being carried on in the present irregular manner. Various expressions in Lord Elgin's diary show that, as a whole, his mission was not very agreeable to him; to procure the legalisation of the opium trade was especially disagreeable. How he got over the feeling, and yet we find no reference to opium in the articles of the Treaty, appears in a letter of the 19th October, written to Mr. Reed, the American plenipotentiary: 'When I resolved,' he says, 'not to press the matter on the Chinese Commissioners at Tientsin, I did so, not because I questioned the advantages that would arise from the legalisation of the traffic, but because I could not reconcile it to my sense of right to urge the Imperial Government to abandon its traditional policy in this respect under the kind of pressure which we were bringing to bear upon it at Tientsin.' He then speaks of the circumstances under which the question was to come up for discussion in the approaching Conference on the subject of the tariff being 'happily different.' So he was able to satisfy his sense of right 'in fulfilling his mission by a delusion of the mind. The Conference on the tariff was a natural sequence to the discussions with the Commissioners at Tientsin. And the officers appointed by them to conclude the arrangements must have well known that they dared only to discuss and accede to the wishes of his officers, with any slight modification favourable to themselves which they might well be able to secure."

I do not think it material to refer to the subsequent war of 1860. Lord Elgin was sent to China a second time. It was after the burning of the Summer Palace that the Chinese finally gave way, and the treaty was ultimately ratified.

2404. Does that conclude what you have to say with reference to the war?—I will quote three opinions on the matter from very high authorities, and that will conclude what I have to say on that point. The first is the evidence of Sir Rutherford Alcock (Sir Thomas Wade's predecessor as British Ambassador in China) before the Indian Finance Committee in 1871.

"Now, is there anything in our treaties to force them to take our opium?—Yes, it is put in the tariff of articles of import.

"Then they are bound to allow the free import of opium?—That was the condition introduced into the treaty which Lord Elgin made.

"But we do not enforce the purchase?—Not the purchase; but they cannot prohibit the import of opium; it is amongst the admitted articles on the tariff.

"Then, notwithstanding the Chinese Government are sensible of the demoralisation of their people caused by the import of opium, they cannot prevent our sending it there; we force them by treaty to take it from us?—That is so in effect.

"We have forced the Government to enter into a treaty to allow their subjects to take it?—Yes, precisely.

"Is it any wonder that the Chinese Government complain of our conduct in that respect?—No, I do not think it is any wonder.

"What should we say if these Chinese imposed the like restrictions upon us?—I think that our answer to them for putting it into the treaty is: 'You cannot prevent it being smuggled, and the lesser evil is to admit it as a legitimate article of trade.'

"But is it not for them to judge of that, and not for us?—No doubt, if two nations are negotiating together on equal terms, each should have a voice.

"But suppose the Chinese Government were to say, 'We decline to admit opium; we will not renew the treaty except on the condition of excluding opium altogether?—I think they could only do that on the same principle as that on which Prince Gortchakoff declared that Russia would not submit to the continued utilisation of the Black Sea,—they must be prepared to fight for it.

"As I understand you, you say that the Chinese have made a treaty from which it is not possible for them to escape?—It is not possible for them to escape from it, except by a declaration that they will not submit to what they conceive to be injurious terms.

"The only way that they can escape from it is by a war?—A war or a declaration that they are ready to go to war rather than submit any longer."

Then Sir Thomas Wade, said: "Nothing that has been gained, it must be remembered, was received from the free will of the Chinese; more, the concessions made to us have been, from first to last, extorted against the conscience of the nation—in defiance, that is to say, of the moral convictions of its educated men, not merely of the office-holders, whom we call mandarins, and who are numerically but a small proportion of the educated class, but of the millions who are saturated with a knowledge of the history and philosophy of their country." That was written by Sir Thomas Wade in a memorandum by him dated 1868 and contained in a Blue Book presented to Parliament in 1871. Once more, here are the words of Lord Elgin himself in a despatch.

2405. What is the date?—I have not the date, but it is in a Blue Book of 1871: "The concessions obtained in the treaty from the Chinese Government are not in themselves extravagant, but in the eyes of the Chinese Government they amount to a revolution. They have been extorted, therefore, from its fears."

2406. That concludes the statement you wish to make with reference to the wars in China?—Yes.

2407. Turning to the paragraph in your memorial in which you urge that the opium traffic brings misery to countless myriads in China. Have you anything to say in support of that view?—First we have the evidence of Protestant missionaries, of whom seventeen appeared before the Commission in London. I include Dr. Lookhart, who in that respect mainly concurred with our witnesses as to the evil effects on China. You had also the Secretaries of two important Missionary Societies, who personally had no experience in China, but who represented two large bodies of Missionaries, those of the Church Missionary Society and the China Inland Mission. To which I may add that all the English missionary societies labouring in China and one or two Scotch societies joined in our deputation to Lord Kimberley a year ago in support of our views. There was also a practically unanimous missionary petition presented to the House of Commons in 1863, and there have been on two or three occasions unanimous resolutions by Missionary Conferences in China representing the whole Protestant Missionary body. So that you have before the Commission the unanimous testimony of the whole Protestant Missionary body, including the medical missionaries labouring in China. Something was said about Roman Catholic missionaries. The Bishop and Vicars-Apostolic of Western China met in 1880, and there was some difference among them as to whether the use of opium in any form was to be absolutely prohibitory to reception into the Roman Catholic Church by baptism. The answer with which I have been favoured by Cardinal Vaughan of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith bears date last year. Referring to previous papal decrees on the subject it lays down the absolute rule that, with the exception of such indulgence as may be necessary for those who need medical treatment, the use of opium in any form is to be considered absolutely prohibited to Roman Catholics in China, its growth, and any share whatever in the traffic. So that the Roman Catholic Church, owing to the representations of its missionaries in China, is just as clear on the subject as the Protestant missionaries are. Then we have some British merchants in China, Mr. Donald Mathieson, who appeared before the Commission in London, and Mr. Hanbury, who was with us at the deputation to Lord Kimberley, and who has traded many years in China. He has always refused to have anything to do with the opium trade. In his business at Shanghai he has gone so far as to give strict orders that no portion of his large property is to be let to opium merchants. Then we have a considerable number of British officials connected with China. I have already referred to Sir George Staunton; I have also quotations from Mr. Montgomery Martin; Mr. Lay (who used a very strong expression, speaking of it as "ham-stringing the nation"); Mr. Majoribanks, Sir John Pope Hennessy, Governor of Hong-

M. J. G.
Alexander,
LL.B.
20 Nov 1893

Mr. J. G.
Alexander,
LL.B.
Nov. 1893.

long (who spoke in the strongest words of the way in which the Chinese authorities had constantly remonstrated with him against the trade, not so much on physical grounds as on account of the moral effects of opium-taking), Sir Rutherford Alcock, and Sir Thomas Wade himself. As to the Chinese, Mr. Hanbury, at the deputation to Lord Kimberley, said: "Produce to me ten or even five Chinamen who will say that opium-smoking is innocuous." So far as I know, no Chinaman has ever come forward publicly to declare that he defends the trade. We have seen that some of them were in favour of legalisation as being a better thing than smuggling; but so far as I know, no Chinaman has ever said that the trade did not do a great evil in this country. There are a great many statements of Chinese statesmen and others to be referred to on that head. The counter-evidence is only that of some merchants, some travellers, and some officials. With regard to officials, I will ask the Commission to allow me to quote some important words pronounced by Mr. Gladstone in his speech in the recent debate: "I do not think that in this matter we ought to be guided exclusively, perhaps even principally, by those who may consider themselves experts. It is a very sad thing to say, but unquestionably it happens not infrequently in human affairs, that those who ought, from their situation, to know the most and best, yet from prejudices and prepossessions know the least and the worst. Eminent it was the case in the great question of the West Indian slavery, when this House and the country for a long time were discouraged and abashed by the assurance that those who were in favour of that great and radical change were in favour of it, only because they did not understand the Negro character. There may be something of that element in this case. I certainly, for my part, do not propose to abide finally and decisively by official opinion. Independent opinion—independent, but responsible, is what the House wants, in my opinion, in order to enable it to proceed safely in the career upon which I admit, that it has definitively entered." May I add that that seems to me to be a very strong case, and bearing a remarkable analogy to the present case. I believe that the West Indian officials were unanimous in the view that the institution of slavery was desirable. I, therefore, think that we ought not to be too much discouraged by finding that there is a general widespread view among Indian officials at the present time that the system of opium traffic

to which they have been accustomed is not "morally indefensible."

2408. Referring to the evidence that you have with regard to public opinion at home, is there anything you wish to bring before us in support of your statement that the resolutions you propose are received with almost absolute unanimity at hundreds of meetings; and have you anything to say with reference to the number and influential position of those who sign the numerous petitions that are presented to Parliament?—I have taken a considerable share in the public meetings that have been held on this question since I became Secretary, rather more than four years ago,—latterly not so much as during the first year or two. One thing that has struck me very much is the way in which at these meetings different classes of opinion have been represented. One of the most important meetings that I attended after becoming Secretary was a breakfast meeting held at Leeds. The remark was made to me afterwards by a gentleman long acquainted with Leeds that he did not believe that on any other subject such a meeting could have been gathered. We had present representatives of all the different classes of thought into which English opinion is divided. Religiously, we had Church of England people and Nonconformists, High Church and Low Church; politically we had Tories and Radicals; and altogether it was a meeting that I was told was probably in Leeds unprecedented. What I have said of that meeting applies generally and to a very large degree to a great many other meetings that we have held throughout the country. With regard to the question of unanimity, where that unanimity has been broken, it has, I think, always been only by those directly connected with India and with the services in India. We have always been accustomed to give the fullest opportunity to gentlemen who wished to oppose the views we put forward. They have, no doubt, sometimes been listened to with impatience by the audience opposed to them. But at all events they have been fully and fairly heard on many occasions, and they never succeeded in turning any votes. The largest minority that I am aware of anywhere was a minority of 8, all directly connected with Indian official life. Petitions to Parliament have been very much to the same effect. According to the latest return I have, up to the 10th July last, 2,470 petitions were presented during the session, including 329 officially signed, the total signatures being 205,563.

Adjourned till to-morrow, Tuesday, at 10-30.

At the Council Chamber, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

NINTH DAY.

Tuesday, 21st November 1893.

PRESENT:

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B. (CHAIRMAN, PRESIDING).

SIR JAMES B. LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
THE HON'BLE SIR LACHHMESWAR SINGH BAHADUR,
MAHARAJA OF DARBHANGA, K.C.I.E.
SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D.
MR. R. G. O. MOWBRAY, M.P.

MR. A. U. FANSHAW.
" ARTHUR PEASE.
" HARIDAS VEHARIDAS DESAI.
" H. J. WILSON, M.P.

MR. J. PRESCOTT HEWETT, C.I.E., Secretary.

Mr. J. G.
Alexander,
LL.B.

21 Nov. 1893.

MR. JOSEPH G. ALEXANDER, LL.B., recalled and further examined.

2409. (Chairman.) We had arrived yesterday at the close of your examination-in-chief on the second paragraph of your last general memorial to Lord Kimberley. After your examination the subject was discussed by the members of the Commission, and it was decided that it was not necessary to take any detailed evidence with reference to matters so long since passed as those to which your statements chiefly referred. We therefore do not propose to cross-examine you upon the history of our wars and conflicts with China. In the third paragraph of your memorial presented to Lord Kimberley you express the desire that the area under poppy cultivation in the Behar and Benares Agency should

at once be restricted, and you urge in support of that prayer that declarations in that sense had been made in Parliament by Sir James Fergusson and the late Right Hon'ble W. H. Smith?—I think it is hardly correct to say that it is our prayer that they should be restricted. This paragraph refers to the measures that were actually taken or that we understood to have been taken by the late Government. The credit given in this paragraph to the late Government for what it had been done must be modified in view of Sir David Barbour's statement the other day that the Indian Government has not yet adopted any new policy in the sense we had understood. But with regard to

that I have further to call attention to an express statement by Mr. George Curzon which we thought justified us in making that statement. It was on the 25th February 1892, in reply to a question from Sir Joseph Pease which was founded upon those statements of Sir James Fergusson and Mr. Smith a year before, and which was, in fact, an enquiry as to how far the policy then stated had been carried out. Mr. Curzon made this reply:—"In reply to the Honourable Baronet I have to state that . . . the figures for 1891-92 have not yet been received, but "in order to restrict the area of cultivation the Government "of India reduced the number of chests for sale in the year from 57,000 to 54,000."

2410. When did Mr. Curzon make that statement?—On the 25th February 1892. We took that as an express declaration that the Government of India were acting upon the policy that had been announced in the House of Commons in 1891, as Mr. Curzon expressly said that it was in order to restrict the area of cultivation.

2411. Do you desire to express yourself as satisfied with the declarations that have been made by the representatives of the Government so far as they went?—We considered those declarations to mark a progress decidedly from our point of view.

2412. Do you now desire to say that the indications that have been given in Sir David Harboun's evidence have been received by you with a certain amount of regret?—Regret and surprise, because we had been given to understand that the Government of India was carrying out the views expressed by Sir James Fergusson and Mr. Smith.

2413. Have you anything further to say with reference to this question of acreage under poppy cultivation?—Perhaps this will be the best place for me to say that, from our point of view, a gradual diminution of this kind cannot really be satisfactory; it does not meet our main objection, which is that the trade is altogether an immoral one; and if it is an immoral trade obviously it ought to be stopped at once, and no question of gradual diminution can arise. But there is another point of view, apart from what I may call the moral point, from which we may look at the question—that is the point of view of practical philanthropy—the practical wish to put a stop to the consumption of opium in the East, and especially in China. I do not venture here to speak as representing all the members of our society; I do not know whether they would all follow me;—but for myself I should be willing somewhat to lay aside the urgency of the high moral point of view, namely, that the trade is immoral and should therefore at once and altogether be suppressed, if I could feel sure that by another course we should more speedily arrive at the real practical philanthropic object that we have in the stoppage of the consumption of opium in China. I think Sir George Staunton in the debate in 1840 made a declaration that this trade could never be stopped except by a consensus of the Chinese and British Governments; and, holding that he was right in that view, I should be satisfied to waive something of our claim that the trade must be immediately and absolutely suppressed, if it were necessary to do so, in order to obtain, from the Chinese Government, some concurrent action which would promise a more effectual ending of this great evil. My objection to gradual diminution on the lines laid down by the Government in 1891, and which we supposed the Indian Government had been adopting, is that practically it makes no difference to China. So long as there is no agreement with the Chinese Government that it will reciprocate those measures, the practical effect simply is that perhaps 3,000 chests extra are produced in China instead of in India. I believe that the Indian opium is more injurious and deleterious than native grown opium, being much stronger. From that point of view there perhaps may be some improvement; but otherwise, as long as the British Government has no agreement with the Chinese Government that it will carry out the same policy in China, a gradual diminution does nothing whatever to put an end to the great evil that we deplore and against which we are combating.

2414. Have you any reason to suppose that the Chinese Government is at the present time anxious to come to an agreement with the Government of India for the total prohibition of the use of opium? Has it not been represented to those who have recently been negotiating on the part of the British Government, that the Chinese Government are of opinion that if they attempted to prohibit importation, the demand could be met by a local supply, and that, having that in view, they thought it more politic to check the consumption of opium by taxation? It was impossible to entertain at present a policy of total prohibition. Was not that represented by Sir Thomas Wade in

his evidence in London, and is not that view confirmed by the course of negotiation in which the Marquess Tseng was engaged first with Lord Granville and afterwards with Lord Salisbury for modifications of the Chefoo Convention?—I think that in the letter which the Marquess Tseng addressed to our Secretary, Mr. Turner, after the conclusion of the last treaty, he says that China will certainly be prepared to enter upon the consideration of further measures for the suppression of the traffic.

2415. Can you cite a passage in support of that view?—I will do so. In 1869 the Chinese Government did make a proposal of that kind.

2416. Perhaps you will bring us down to a more recent date?—I will do so directly. The Tsung-Li-Yamen, or Foreign Board, of China addressed to the British Government, through Sir Rutherford Alcock, a memorial which is included in the papers which I presented yesterday under the title of "Chinese Statesmen on the Opium Traffic." "The writers hope that His Excellency will memorialize his "Government to give orders in India and elsewhere to "substitute the cultivation of cereals or cotton. Were both "nations to rigorously prohibit the growth of the poppy "both the traffic in and the consumption of opium might "at last be put an end to." Shortly before the signing of the Additional Article of 1858, a special mission was again sent from China to Calcutta, to propose to the Indian Government a scheme for the gradual suppression of the poppy cultivation in both countries.

2417. Do you say that the commission was officially sent on the part of the Chinese Government?—On the part of the Chinese Government. Of that mission, so far as I am aware, no official account has ever been published. Information has reached me through private sources that there was such a mission. I believe that a gentleman employed in the Chinese Customs' service came to Calcutta in order to ascertain whether it would not be possible to come to some such arrangement with the Indian Government.

2418. For total prohibition?—For gradual suppression in both countries concurrently, over a term of five or ten years.

2419. What year was that?—I do not know the exact year. As far as I know it has never been published. Perhaps the Commission will be able to get information in regard to it which is not at present before the public. I presume the Calcutta Government will have some record of the proceedings.

2420. (Mr. Pease.) Is there any evidence that he was authorised by the Chinese Government?—I understood he came with the approval of the Chinese Government.

2421. (Chairman.) Was he a properly accredited representative of the Chinese Government?—I am not sure how far he was officially accredited. He must have received some introduction. I believe he was a gentleman in the service of the Imperial Maritime Customs of China.

2422. You have no direct knowledge?—No, it has simply reached me unofficially. Then I have here a quotation from a letter of Marquess Tseng written in 1886 to which I referred just now. In that letter addressed to our Secretary he said:—"This treaty I admit does not accomplish the desired "result, but it would prove nevertheless the first important "step towards checking the use and abuse of opium. The "British Government as well as my own will enjoy greater "facilities in future for re-opening negotiation on the "opium question with a view of agreeing to measures that "would reduce each year the quantity of importation and "consumption. The British Government may in the "meantime see its way clear to place restrictions upon the "present cultivation, in which case my Government would "surely lose no time in following the example and put an "effectual check upon the growth of opium in China." Since then the only evidence that I think I can bring before the Commission is derived from the interviews which His Excellency Li Hung Chang, the Great Chinese Viceroy, has accorded to some of our friends: to Mr. Dyer of Bombay in 1890, and more recently to the Revd. William Glover of Bristol, and Mr. Morris, a deputation from the Baptist Missionary Society, who were visiting China. In those interviews Li Hung Chang expressed the great desire of the Chinese Government to put down the trade. Li Hung Chang expressed himself in the strongest terms as to the impossibility of the Chinese Government taking any practical step, except by some agreement with the British Government, which would aim at the suppression of the import from India.

2423. Was Li Hung Chang on the occasions to which you are referring expressing his own individual views, or was he putting forward the opinion of his Government?—I think he was speaking his own individual views, but the

Mr. J. G.
Alexander,
LL.B.
21 Nov. 1893

Mr. J. G. Alexander,
LL.B.
21 Nov. 1898.

Commission has already had some evidence on that question. I think the Revd. J. S. Adams put before the Commission his very strong view that the statesmen of China are almost universally anxious to put down the entire trade. I have had similar very strong opinions from Dr. Dudgeon, of Peking, who was Private Secretary to the Marquess Tseng, and who knows a great deal of many of the higher officials in Peking; and from other sources I have derived that impression. I may remind the Commission, too, that Sir Thomas Wade in his evidence said that many Chinese statesmen—he would not undertake to say whether or not the majority—are strongly opposed to the opium traffic. In particular Tso Tung Tang, whose position and influence as I understand are only second to those of Li Hung Chang himself, is known as a strong and determined opponent of the opium traffic.

Sir Thomas Wade placed before us in London a report of certain conferences on the Opium Question, which had taken place between himself and the Ministers of the Tsung-Li-Yamen in 1881-82. He called our attention to a declaration made by the Yamen that, while desiring to see the abuse of opium repressed in China, the Yamen held the view that the habit was now so widely spread in China that any reform must be the result of a general moral improvement among the people; that they recognise that the growth of opium in China had become so extensive that it would be impossible by merely putting an end to the trade in India to put an end to the supply of opium; and that for the moment there were many questions of greater urgency than the decisive step of absolutely prohibiting the importation of opium. I believe that was the effect of the conversations to which Sir Thomas Wade called our attention in London. I should say with regard to that conversation referred to by Sir Thomas Wade that we only have his account of it, resting on his own private memoranda. We know how when a man has strong views he is apt to take others as agreeing with them perhaps more than they really do; and no official or public statement of that kind has ever been made by Chinese statesmen.

2424. That concludes what you have to say on that subject?—Yes.

2425. In the concluding part of the third paragraph of your memorial you refer to the abolition of what are described as licensed smoking dens throughout India. Have you anything more to say upon that subject?—On that point we rejoice in the action of the Government of India as a very decided step in the right direction. All that we have to say upon that is that it seems to us that the measure requires supplementing by further measures in the same direction. That has been suggested in a correspondence presented to Parliament this year at the instance of Mr. Cairnes—a correspondence arising out of a confidential circular issued by the Board of Revenue of the North-West Provinces and Oudh. In his despatch to the Government of India closing that correspondence Lord Kimberley says, under date the 16th of March 1893:—"The question arises whether the law ought not to be strengthened, so as to enable your officers to take legal steps for suppressing private opium saloons; otherwise, if unlicensed saloons for opium-smoking can be established without hindrance, the object which was thought to be attained by prohibiting opium-smoking on the premises of licensed opium vendors may be practically defeated. I shall be glad to learn the views of your Government on this point." I am not aware whether the Indian Government has replied to that enquiry of Lord Kimberley. We strongly hold the view expressed by Lord Kimberley that it is desirable to prevent private and unlicensed opium dens or opium clubs being established so as to provide facilities within the law for this practice of opium-smoking, which the Indian Government has by its action and its minute recognized as being undoubtedly a very great evil.

2426. You refer to the removal of the Minimum Guarantee Clause from the agreement made with those who hold opium licenses in Bombay. Have you anything to say on that?—I can only say that we also rejoice in that as a step in the right direction. I think I need not further comment upon it.

I may be allowed to add one point. In going through India with Mr. Wilson I have had my attention called to the fact that this measure of the suppression of opium dens has not been fully carried out. We visited three opium dens on the premises of licensed opium vendors, where we saw in three of them chandu-smoking and in one madak-smoking going on just as if no order had been issued by the Government of India. I think it desirable to call the attention of the Commission to the fact that, although

clauses have been put into the licenses in every province prohibiting the sale of opium for smoking on the premises, those clauses have not been fully carried out, as I have seen with my own eyes.

2427. (Mr. Fanshawe.) Were those public shops?—Yes.

2428. Licensed public shops?—We were told that they were licensed. Our gharry driver was a Mahomedan; and we were told that he would be able to take us to the places. He took us, and we found them open, with no concealment attempted at all.

2429. Where were they?—In the town of Gya, in Behar. We were told that there were some others also in the same town. We visited three.

2430. (Sir James Lyall.) In the third paragraph of your memorial you speak of "the extremely objectionable 'minimum guarantee' clause contained in the opium licenses used in the Presidency of Bombay." Do you not think that that is a very strong term to use?—It seems to me that it was extremely objectionable in its natural operation. I am aware of the object which was intended in the insertion of that clause, that is, to prevent smuggling; but it seems to me that the necessary operation of such a clause would be that there would be great pressure put upon the licensee to extend his sales so as not to incur the risk of a fine.

2431. I think you are aware that before that system was invented there was most extensive smuggling. The licensed vendors in Bombay, though they paid heavily for their licenses and sold a good deal of opium, yet took hardly any of the high-priced Government opium for their shop and relied entirely upon the smuggling trade?—I have been so informed.

2432. So that there were strong reasons for it?—I do not impute bad motives to the Government in adopting that clause, nevertheless I think that the clause as adopted was extremely objectionable, as the memorial says, and I am glad that it has been done away with.

2433. A man could only have one shop, he could not establish branch shops; the license only allowed him to establish a certain shop and sell to anybody who came?—Except with the permission of the Government official.

2434. But that permission was not given as a rule, he had only one shop?—Yes.

2435. Would it then make a great difference in the amount he sold whether he had to pay the guaranteed amount or not?—The ordinary motives of self-interest would make a man sell as much as he could. You may strengthen those motives by telling him that he is under a fine if he does not sell a certain quantity.

2436. Under that strong motive how would he increase the sale?—I have heard of such a practice since I have been in India as a man actually sending round to his customers, if they did not turn up at the accustomed period in the evening, to ask them why they did not come, in that way trying to induce a man who was probably only too ready to be induced and perhaps making some struggle to free himself. That is not my invention, it is what I have been told as having actually taken place. That is one way that I can suggest.

2437. (Mr. Fanshawe.) With regard to Gya, I understand that your statement depends on information given you by a gharry driver. Did you notice if there was a licensed board up at the shop?—The information was not given by the gharry driver, but it was given me by the Baptist Pastor of the place. He referred to our driver as being a man who would know where the shops were. It was he who made the statement to us that the shops were Government licensed shops.

2438. Was any licensed board up in front of the shop?—I did not observe any board.

2439. (Mr. Mowbray.) You are quite aware that similar difficulties have arisen in England with regard to clubs and public houses?—Yes.

2440. You are aware that there was a Committee of the House of Commons sitting on that subject last year?—I did not remember that; I take it from you, and I have no doubt it is so.

2441. And so far as I know Government have not taken any steps to put down these clubs in England?—I do not think they have, but I think the Temperance party, if I may speak as a humble member of that party, is very desirous indeed and is endeavouring to put pressure upon the Government to introduce a measure dealing with clubs.

2442. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Upon that point about the bogus clubs in England I suppose you are also aware that the members of the licensed trade are equally anxious to get them put down?—I believe it is so.

2443. With reference to Gya you use the expression "Tonga driver," perhaps you took that in a general sense for any carriage?—I was thinking it was a gharry. I have only been in India three and a half weeks, and I am not familiar with these technical terms.

2444. I think you did not say that the driver gave you the information, but that he knew where the shops were?—Yes.

2445. (*Chairman.*) Returning to your General Memorial, there appears to be nothing in paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 to which you desire particularly to call attention. In your 4th paragraph you say that you accept those measures of reform which have already been adopted as steps in the right direction, but in your view those measures fall short of carrying out the resolution which the House of Commons had approved. You then proceed to make a reference to the observations of Mr. Gladstone to the Electors of Midlothian, and you hold that those observations imply a sympathy with the cause which you have taken up. You then refer to the specific measures which you would recommend for adoption with a view to the repression of the opium trade. You also refer to the Bengal opium monopoly, to the Malwa transit duty system, and to the excise system. Then in your 7th paragraph you proceed to deal somewhat more in detail with the Bengal opium monopoly. You recommend that there should be an immediate reduction in the area of poppy cultivation with a view to limiting the production of opium to that which medical use requires; and you complain that opium is not prepared in India for medical use, but solely for sensual indulgence. Have you anything further to say upon that subject?—I should like to point out under this paragraph the great distinction between opium prepared for medical use and opium prepared for smoking or opium eating, which is what we mean by sensual indulgence—the habits of opium smoking and opium eating. I believe it to be a fact that the British Pharmacopoeia does not admit of the use of Indian opium in the preparation of medicines in England. Its quality is not good enough for medical purposes. I am not an expert on those questions, but I may refer to Flückiger and Hanbury's Pharmacographia, in which the various ingredients are discussed, and it is shown that Indian opium, though very potent for intoxicating purposes, does not contain a sufficient proportion of those ingredients which are especially useful for medical purposes. In this paragraph we point out that a specially prepared article is issued from the Government Agencies to the Medical Department in India. I believe that is the Patna garden opium. I think that Dr. Watt's article on opium specifies that. No doubt a good deal of opium prepared for the Excise Department, and prepared, as I should say, for intoxicating use, is in fact used by doctors in India for medical purposes. And Dr. Maxwell, who gave evidence with regard to China, told me that, when practising in Formosa, having run out of medical opium, he had used the Indian smoking opium.

2446. (*Sir William Roberts.*) I think he said Indian crude opium?—That is what I mean, crude opium intended to be prepared for smoking purposes.

2447. He added that it answered just as well?—I did not remember that. I suppose he must have used it in some different proportions.

2448. The differences are really very slight?—Flückiger and Hanbury, I think, speak of the difference as being considerable.

2449. The analyses can be had; the differences are very slight?—I may point out that Dr. Flückiger has suggested that the Indian Government would do well to pay attention to the demand for good opium for medical use, that it might very well prepare opium with a view of competing with the Turkey drug which at present has a monopoly for medical use in Great Britain and Europe generally. I have various authorities that I can refer to on the question of its being prepared for what I call sensual indulgence. That largely rests upon a statement made by Julius Jeffrey, F.R.S., formerly Staff Surgeon of Calcutta, and Staff Surgeon at Fatehgarh, published in 1863 in an appendix to a book on the British Army in India:—"My own acquaintance with the subject dates from the year 1831, when, in passing by water the chief opium magazine of the East India Company at Patna, I paid a visit to a friend who had charge of the scientific department of it. After he had led me through story after story and gallery after gallery of the factory, with opium balls right

and left tiered in shelves to the ceiling, upon my expressing amazement at an exhibition of opium enough to supply the medical wants of the world for years, he replied, nearly in these words: 'I see you are very innocent; these stores of opium have no such benevolent destination. It is all going to debauch the Chinese, and my duty is to maintain its smack as attractive to them as possible. Come to my laboratory.' There I saw broken balls of opium procured, I understood, from China, by the Bengal Government, as approved musters (samples) for imitation, by the cultivators." Mr. Jeffrey adds: "Upon looking around for information, I heard that the natives, where they ventured an opinion, the Mahomedans especially, were equally scandalized at the engagement of the Company in such a traffic."

2450. What year was that?—The visit was in 1831.

2451. I presume you are aware that very little was then known about opium smoking?—Not very much in 1831. It was about 1840 that the first pamphlets came out attacking the opium trade, or shortly before 1841. In 1830 there was very little information on the subject, though Bishop Thoburn referred to the fact that it was condemned in very strong terms in the impeachment of Warren Hastings more than 100 years ago. And the East India Company's despatch, I think of 1817, sanctioning the establishment of the excise system of selling opium in India, spoke in the strongest terms of condemnation of the habit. The Directors said that were it possible in compassion to mankind they would gladly stop the traffic altogether.

2452. (*Chairman.*) These remarks bear upon the subject generally, not upon the Bengal opium monopoly. Have you anything to say with regard to the special question of the Bengal opium monopoly?—I think I have nothing further to add.

2453. Do you draw any distinction in point of moral responsibility between the working of a system such as the Bengal opium monopoly and the position taken by the Government in other parts of India where it is not a manufacturer or producer, and interposes only to levy export duties and to enforce the payment of licenses. Do you draw any distinction between the two positions? I believe that has been done in some pamphlets issued by your Association?—I was intending to deal with that under paragraph 13, but I may as well take it here. I may say that the opinions expressed in that pamphlet dealing with Sir William Muir's minute are not the opinions held by our Society now; at least our conclusions are not the same.

2454. When was that pamphlet published?—Very early in the history of the Society.

2455. What year about?—1875.

2456. You were not connected with the society at that time?—I was not.

2457. Was Sir Joseph Pease connected with it?—Yes; but he was not President then. Lord Shaftesbury was President until his death. There was originally some difference of view, as I explained in London. In starting the Society it was committed to no very definite policy. That came out in a meeting at the Mansion House held in 1881, when three different speakers suggested three different lines. One was for total prohibition with the exception of medical use (of course whenever we use the term "suppression" or "prohibition" of the traffic we mean "except for medical use"). Another speaker advocated a policy of gradual suppression.

2458. Who was the second speaker?—I am not quite sure now; I almost think it was Lord Shaftesbury himself, but I am not sure. A third speaker, who I think was Sir Robert Fowler, our late Treasurer, advocated that the change of policy should be on the lines of Sir William Muir's minute. On that occasion Cardinal Manning was another of the speakers. He came after the speaker who advocated the Bombay system, and he quoted the old story about the king who wished that all his nobles had but one neck so that he might strike them all off at a blow, and he applied that to the opium traffic. He very strongly objected to the suggestion that the opium traffic should be handed over to private capitalists, because he pointed out that if that were the case, you would at once have a number of vested interests, like those that we have in England in connection with the liquor traffic. He would rather have the one neck of the Government of India to deal with. He thought that the question of compensation, if it came at all, might have to be a question of what England should pay the people of India in order to help them out of their difficulty. I do not know whether he put that into his speech,—perhaps that is rather my own suggestion. At all

Mr. J. G.
Alexander,
LL.B.
21 Nov. 1893.

Mr. J. G.
Alexander,
LL.B.
21 Nov. 1898.

vents he would rather have the one neck of the Government of India to deal with than have the vested rights of a number of private capitalists. Since that time that view has been completely accepted by our Society, and in the Statement of Facts and Principles which I put in, and which was adopted by us at the beginning of 1898, the suppression of the Bengal monopoly was for the first time, I think, distinctly laid down as the programme of the Society, and it is embodied in paragraph 13 of the memorial to Lord Kimberley.

2459. (Sir James Lyall.) Suppression of the cultivation; not merely of the monopoly, but of the cultivation?—Not merely of the monopoly, but of the cultivation.

2460. (Chairman.) You put that forward now as the view held unanimously by the members of your Society?—Unanimously by the active members of our Society.

2461. What interpretation do you put upon the passage in Sir Joseph Pease's speech last session which I quoted in question to Sir David Barbour?—I think Sir Joseph Pease only meant to say what we have said in paragraph 13, that is, that the Calcutta sales are the most prominent and the most obviously indefensible part of the system from our point of view; that the Malwa system has more analogy to the drink traffic repressed by taxation with which we are familiar in our own country; and that the fact that the Government holds this position under the monopoly brings out in a more glaring light the evils of the system.

2462. You have nothing further to say on the Bengal monopoly? You have stated that yet object to the system?—I had better mention here what I had intended to say under paragraph 13. It is sometimes said that there are no precedents for the prohibition of a trade in this way by a Government. I venture to put before the Commission two precedents, both relating to the liquor traffic: One is under the North Sea Convention for the protection of sailors in the North Sea against the liquor traffic that used to be carried on by what were called "coopers."

2463. You would not draw any parallel between the North Sea liquor traffic and the opium traffic of India in point of magnitude?—No, not in point of magnitude certainly. I refer to it simply as answering the objection that has been raised against our proposal that it is altogether unprecedented. That is a precedent, I think, for the absolute prohibition of a traffic of similar character. The second, which was referred to by Mr. Pease in his examination in London of one of the witnesses, is that of the Brussels Anti-Slavery Convention, under which a large zone of Central Africa is absolutely protected from the liquor traffic. The provision is that where vested rights have not yet been acquired, that is to say, where the liquor traffic has not yet been carried on in Africa, it is to be totally prohibited. This Convention also provides by taxation for the limitation of the traffic, its restriction by taxation in those districts where it already existed before the Convention.

2464. In the case of Africa, I apprehend there is no difference of opinion among professional experts as to the effect of indulgence in liquor by the African tribes;—they are unanimous that it is a bad thing?—That is so; and I think there is practical unanimity in regard to the effects of opium in China.

2465. With regard to the Malwa system, you deal with that in the 8th paragraph, and you say that, with a view to preventing the cultivation of opium beyond what is required for medicinal use, it is desirable that there should be a mutual prohibition enforced alike in British India and in the Malwa States, and you say that if such an arrangement were made, the objection which has been urged on the part of the Government of India to the proposals on the ground of smuggling would be to a large extent removed. Have you anything to say in development of these views?—I would simply more clearly bring out our view that the Bengal trade ought first to be stopped. The Government of India ought first, according to our view, to cease itself from deriving a revenue from carrying on this trade. Having stopped the Bengal system, and having given up its own revenue, it would then be in a position to go to the Chiefs of the Native States and say: "We on moral grounds have abandoned this trade, feeling that it is an indefensible trade, and we ask you to follow our example."

2466. How long would you concede to the Government of India for the purpose of dealing with the case in Bengal?—I would say that it should be done as quickly as possible, and would say: Stop the trade immediately and convert the stocks you have in hand to medicinal use at once.

2467. You recognise the financial difficulty?—Yes, I do, but I am unable to put a financial difficulty on the same line with a moral objection. I think England should give help in regard to the financial difficulty certainly.

2468. You think that the Imperial Exchequer should come to the rescue?—Yes, that I propose to do with later on. I should like to add another point on the 8th paragraph: I think that pressure upon the Native States would be justifiable, should it become necessary, on the ground that in the past we have forced the trade upon the Chinese; that if the Chinese Government had succeeded in its effort in 1840 to put down the trade, the Native States would have lost the whole of their trade. It was the force of the British arms that established the trade, and has kept the trade open ever since, and on that ground we should be entitled to exercise pressure upon the Native States if necessary, though I would only advocate that in the last resort, making use of our power as surrounding the Native territories. I have a note about the smuggling of opium. That difficulty would of course be met, as far as regards the States of Central India which produce opium, by an arrangement of the kind that I have suggested with the Native States. Some little difficulty might no doubt arise as regards smuggling over the North-West Frontier, and perhaps Bhopal, but I do not think that it is so formidable as is often stated. Sir Charles Aitchison in his memorandum in 1880, with regard to opium in Burma, says—"As regards smuggling, I do not believe that, even with our open seaboard of 1,000 miles, and our long and unguarded frontier with Upper Burma, the Shan States, and Siam, there would be a very great increase in illicit traffic, either from Bengal or from China, if the importation of opium were altogether forbidden and the possession of opium were made illegal. Already the price of opium is artificially forced up to a maximum, presenting the very strongest temptation to the smuggler, while the fact that possession of the drug is not unlawful increases the difficulty of detection. The pecuniary temptation cannot become very much greater than it is if opium were altogether forbidden; the drug wherever found would be contraband without question, and we should have the sympathies of the people with us in the suppression of smuggling. One fact is worth a bushel of argument; we have succeeded in almost stamping out ganja, although the plant from which it is made grows wild in Burma. The difficulties we have in any case to contend with in preventing smuggling are so great that an addition to them would not be a very appreciable burden. Anyhow, smuggling, even on a considerable scale, would never lead to the universal consumption of the drug; and the evasion of the revenue is not to be compared to the gradual demoralization of the people."

2469. (Sir James Lyall.) With reference to the Bengal opium monopoly, I understand that your Society admits that the Bengal monopoly system is preferable to the Malwa or export duty system as the more powerful engine for restricting and regulating internal consumption; and the preference is not based simply upon the fact that it is easier to attack, but it is also admitted that, if the prohibition of cultivation is not to be enforced, the Bengal monopoly system is the most powerful engine possible for restricting and regulating the internal consumption?—I do not think we have ever admitted that. We recognise that there will be a risk in changing the system—that if we really changed the system, we might find ourselves worse off. My own private opinion is that we should not find ourselves worse off, in all probability.

2470. Not worse off in what way?—I mean there might be a greater consumption—it might possibly lead to a greater trade.

2471. If you free the trade?—And simply placed it under a system of excise, similar to that which we have at home in regard to the manufacture of beer.

2472. You do not think that your Society admitted that, but you yourself are inclined to think so?—I beg your pardon, I am inclined to think otherwise.

2473. What, that the free trade system is better for internal consumption than the Bengal system?—I do not suppose that anybody contemplated free trade.

2474. Free growth and excise and export duty?—Excise and export duty, a system such as that sketched out by Sir William Muir, which is one of licensing the growth.

2475. Do you think that would be better for regulating and restricting internal consumption than the Bengal monopoly system?—Yes. My personal opinion is that probably there would be less growth and less trade altogether under such a system than under the present system.

2476. I am speaking of internal consumption?—I have not formed an opinion about that. I recognise that there are risks, and that we might find ourselves worse off. The Society has recognised those risks, and does not wish to make the experiment.

2477. Are you aware that poppy cultivation once extended throughout India in all parts where the soil and the climate were suitable, though, except in certain favourable tracts, it was sown mainly or entirely for local consumption, not for the export trade; and are you aware that the operation of the Bengal opium monopoly and the policy of the Government of India in connection with it since its first establishment, more than a hundred years ago, have had the effect of putting an end to poppy cultivation in much the greater part of British India and in the greater part of the territory held by the Native States—are you aware of that?—I could not say that I was aware of it as regards the Native States. As regards British India I am aware that poppy cultivation existed here and there over a large part of it until the measures at the end of the last century were taken which we have referred to in paragraph 11.

2478. In Mysore and Hyderabad, by agreement with the Government, poppy cultivation was prohibited. There are two instances; and all the Native States under the control of Bombay are also other instances?—I cannot say I was aware of it. I have no doubt you are correct.

2479. Then but for the monopoly and the policy in connection with it, would not the cultivation of the poppy and the consumption and export of opium have been in all probability much greater than they are under the present system?—It is quite possible. I cannot form a definite opinion as to what would have been.

2480. I ask the question because in the anti-opium literature these facts are altogether ignored, and it might be thought that we had introduced the cultivation of the poppy and entirely created the export trade—I think we have frequently used the fact that the Government of India prohibits and put down the opium growth in many parts of India as an argument why it should and could do the same in the remainder of India. We have used that as an argument in paragraph 11, and we refer to it in our publications.

2481. In paragraph 7 you speak of limiting the production of opium to that which medical use requires. That means, does it not, that it must only be supplied on medical advice?—That is our view.

2482. But the mass of natives of India prefer their own system of medicine to ours; they may admit the superiority of our surgery, but they prefer their own system of medicine. Our doctors on the contrary say that their ideas of medicine are all wrong. Is not that a difficulty in laying down a rule that opium should only be supplied on medical advice of some kind?—I should not have thought so. I include in medical advice Native as well as European doctors, advice according to the native system as well as according to the European.

2483. You are aware that the medical system of the village doctors is of a most primitive kind possible?—I was aware of that.

2484. That people administer medicine for themselves, a man advising for his own family or for his neighbour?—We attempt to deal with that in England, where people also medicate themselves to a great extent, by directing that no medicine of a poisonous character shall be sold except by druggists.

2485. Do you think from what you know or what you have heard of India that the native practitioners, the Hakims and Vaidis, can be trusted with the power of prescribing opium and saying whether it shall be used for medical purposes or not, there being great inducements for them to misuse their power owing to the large demand for opium as a stimulant?—My answer is that you must work with such tools as you have. Although it may be true that the medical profession in India (using the word in the large sense of all who practise medicine) is not in a very satisfactory state, and that there would be some temptations of the kind you have suggested, yet it is far better that a general restriction should be applied than that the sale should be perfectly public and open, and every man allowed to get poisonous drugs exactly as he pleases.

2486. You know that opium is a stimulant, as alcohol is; would it not be very difficult to draw a line between the use of such a thing for medical requirements and its use for other purposes? I mean this. If you asked most people who took opium moderately why they took it at all, they would nearly all answer that they took it because they thought it did them good; how can you possibly draw a line and say that in this case it is for medical use and in that case it is not?—I cannot admit the suggestion that most people in India who use opium, even as you say moderately, would say that it was doing them good. It may be so, and my limited knowledge of India does not entitle

me to say that it is not, but I cannot be taken to admit that it is. I have heard a good deal in India to the contrary; that those who take opium admit that it does not do them good, even where they take it in comparatively small doses.

2487. (Sir William Roberts.) Do you not recognize the analogy between the use of brandy in our country, partly as an intoxicant and largely as a domestic remedy, and the use of opium? Is not the parallel pretty even?—No, I should have thought not.

2488. Why not?—There is this broad distinction at all events, that opium has been recognized by medical science as a poison, and that at home we do attempt to protect our people from its indiscriminate use in that way. We have not yet given that protection at home against alcohol, and if it were to be extended to India it would be something beyond what we have at home.

2489. Is not that begging the question that India and home are identical in regard to opium?—It is assuming that opium, being a poison in England, is also a poison in India. We certainly do assume that.

2490. (Sir James Lyall.) Are you aware that the English system which you recommend to be introduced is not sufficient for preventing any person who wants to get opium for excessive indulgence?—We have admitted in our 9th paragraph that the provisions of the present law as regards opium are too lax. I may explain briefly what the provisions are in the Pharmacy Act. The Act divides poisons into two categories—violent poisons, amongst which strychnine and arsenic are included, and milder poisons, amongst which opium and all the preparations of opium are included. With regard to the more violent poisons the provisions are exceedingly strict; they can only be sold by certified druggists, who must make entries and have a knowledge of the person to whom they are selling. With regard to opium, and other milder drugs, the provisions are only that it must be sold by a registered druggist, and that it must be labelled "poison." There is a considerable amount of medical opinion at home for taking opium out of the milder category and putting it in the stricter.

2491. You are aware that under the present system in the fens and other parts of England where opium is freely taken as it is in India the druggists have it prepared on market days on their counters?—Yes.

2492. People come in and take the opium without question?—I am aware that that is so, and that medical men and other observers in the districts speak of it as a very great evil and greatly deplore that such a state of things exists.

2493. Some do and some do not; some medical men justify the system?—I think I have seen one opinion of that kind, but I have heard a good many to the contrary.

2494. Has your Society ever thought out any system for India by which opium would be available for medical use and yet not available as a stimulant?—We have taken the view that that was a question upon which we at home could not work out the details, that we could only lay down principles and leave the Indian Government, which knows India and has its officials to consult, to ascertain the best way of applying those principles.

2495. In paragraph 8 you say—"As regards Malwa "opium we would point out that the present wide extension of "poppy cultivation in the Native States is due to the policy "of the British Government itself." Then you go on to quote as an authority the statement made by Mr. St. George Tucker. Has your society made any further enquiry to test the correctness of Mr. Tucker's statement? Does it still adhere to the statement as true in fact that the present wide extension of poppy cultivation is due to the policy of the British Government itself?—I do not think the society can be said to have made any further enquiry. I have received from yourself information with which you were good enough to furnish me with on the voyage out, which I admit tends to show that Mr. Tucker somewhat inaccurately represented the state of the case. We naturally took his statement as being that of a very great authority; and we were not aware of any facts which would displace the statement.

2496. You have not seen the memorandum as to the arrangement with the Native States which the Government of India has prepared?—No; I only received it yesterday, and I have not been able to look through it.

2497. Have you looked at the enjunct in Sir Charles Atchison's work?—I looked up his book and I was unsuccessful in finding any trace of the opium question. Perhaps there was a foot-note somewhere.

Mr. J. G.
Alexander,
LL.B.

21 Nov. 1893

Mr. J. G. Alexander,
LL.B.
21 Nov. 1893.

2498. There is a copy of the Treaty made in 1820 with Holkar and a similar treaty was made with nine other States. In his philanthropic zeal Mr. Tucker mistook the facts and misrepresented them. You will find the treaty given there?—I did so, but I did not read it in such a way as to contradict Mr. Tucker's statement. I think Sir Charles Aitchison's object was to show that the new arrangement was better than the old; and that it seems to me, from every point of view, undoubtedly so.

2499. You mean better than that made by treaty?—Yes.

2500. Better for the Native States. They objected strongly to the old arrangement; and so did the natives. The object of the treaties was to bring poppy cultivation into control and reduce it for the benefit of the Bengal opium?—It led to a system of espionage which was unendurable. We mention, in paragraph 8, that the old treaties were repealed.

2501. Mr. Tucker states that we contracted burdensome treaties with the Rajput States to introduce and to extend the cultivation of the poppy. There he was entirely wrong, as any reference to the authorities will show.—I am glad to know that it is so. I take it from you.

2502. When you say: "at the present time the Native States engage so to manage their opium cultivation and production as to safeguard the British revenue; and in exchange for this service they receive either money compensation or other concessions." Did you imagine that the Native States there referred to were the same Native States—the Rajput Native States or Rajputana or Central India?—Yes.

2503. As a matter of fact they are not the same Native States?—We have given a reference to the passage. It is not our statement, but the statement of the Government of India in the Report on the Moral and Material Progress of India, 1887-88.

2504. Those States are Bombay Native States?—Yes.

2505. The Native States under the Bombay Government; it may be that other Native States are included like Hyderabad and Mysore; but in all cases when money compensation or other concessions are given they are given with a restrictive object?—All I can say is that that did not appear to us to be the meaning of the paragraph. If you tell me it is so, I will accept it on your statement. In my examination-in-chief, I have endeavoured to put the case as regards the Malwa opium on quite different and broader grounds.

2506. Would it not have been better to enquire of some person in authority before making a statement of that sort in a letter like this?—I think we were surely justified in taking these statements from two such high authorities and putting them down in their plain and obvious meaning. Of course we labour under great difficulties in England. Not nearly all the papers of the Government of India, its reports and despatches, are published in England.

2507. You piece the two things together—Mr. Tucker's statement of 1829, and something that is said in the Moral and Material Progress in 1887—sixty years after. Surely you might have enquired of some person in authority?—Those two statements seemed to justify the statement we made.

2508. (Mr. Fanshawe.) Your Society has recommended that opium should only be purchasable in chemists' shops?—It has never made that recommendation so far as I know.

2509. The recommendation is in a pamphlet addressed by the President of your Society to Lord Cross. A similar recommendation was made by some medical men at home, and is quoted with approval in that pamphlet. I was under the belief, therefore, that it had been distinctly stated by your Society.—It has not been made by the Society; it certainly has not come before me as an official publication.

2510. Does not this letter from the President, dated March 1892, which is now before me represent the Society?—The Society is not committed to every statement in that letter certainly.

2511. Does it not represent the views of the Society?—Will you read the words?

2512. At page 23 the President says: "With regard to No. 2, dealing with old established habits, I would submit for your Lordship's consideration that in substituting the chemist's shop for the opium market, etc.,—putting that forward as a recommendation of the Society. Then he says at page 25:—"I believe your Lordship is already aware that upwards of 5,000 medical men, some of them knowing India thoroughly, have signed the following declaration:" one of the paragraphs being "That the

"drug opium ought in India as in England to be classed "and sold as a poison and be purchasable from chemists "only." I should like to ask what your Society contemplates in speaking of the chemists' shops as applied to a large part of India?—Our Society has not made that proposal. Our proposals will be found in paragraph 9 carefully worded.

2513. What proposals?—"We would urge upon your Lordship to request the Indian Government without delay to "prepare and adopt such regulations under the Indian Opium "and Excise Acts as may be found best suited to adapt to the "requirements of British India the fundamental principles "that the sale of poisonous drugs is to be restricted to medicinal and scientific use, and that discretionary powers for "such sale should be entrusted only to responsible and carefully selected persons, who possess adequate knowledge of "the deleterious properties of these drugs, who can readily be "called to account for any improper use of the discretion "conferred upon them, and whose remuneration in no degree "depends on the amount of their sales."

2514. Then I may take it that your answer is that you have not thought out for yourselves the means by which the opium could be supplied, even for medical purposes, throughout the country?—I did not say we had not thought it out, but that we had left it to the Indian Government to apply the principles laid down in the way that the circumstances of India might require—the principles which underlie our home legislation.

2515. You do not see the difficulties?—I have no doubt there are difficulties, but I do not know what Governments and statesmen are for if it is not to deal with difficulties and overcome them.

2516. With regard to the limitation to medical use only, I will ask you to take the case of the Central Provinces, where Dr. Rice told us that many persons living in malarial conditions, the causes being constant and the effects constant, take opium in very moderate doses. Would you cut off that whole class of Indian society from the possibility of obtaining opium?—I spent some days in the Central Provinces, and I was informed that a measure of this kind would be generally welcomed.

2517. How would you arrange to provide those men with that kind of dose, so small that it was described as almost a medicinal use, or do you intend that they should be cut off from the possibility of obtaining it?—I think it is quite necessary as part of the policy of prohibition. I have been everywhere told in India that those moderate doses almost invariably lead to greater doses—that those who begin go on to more.

2518. Are you aware that in many parts of India very great changes in temperature take place, especially during the cold seasons, and that generally malarial conditions prevail?—Yes.

2519. If it were shown that the use of opium is a comfort in the way of enabling men to withstand cold, ill-clad men as most of them are—would you still propose that they should be entirely deprived?—I apprehend that if the Commission is satisfied on that point, it will not report in favour of prohibition.

2520. But your wish is to confine the use to medical purposes?—Of course, our Society has a conviction that it is not necessary. But even if it were established that there are some districts in India where there is a moderate use which is perhaps not injurious but even slightly beneficial, we might still think that the evils produced by opium are so great that any deprivation to small classes of that kind would be greatly overbalanced by the benefit to the people of India as a whole from the prohibitive policy.

2521. But if it could be shown that they are not small classes but to some extent large classes?—It must be simply a question of a balance of considerations.

2522. (Sir James Lyall.) You said you would be prepared to cut off those classes of moderate consumers from the use of opium, but in answer to my question you said you would entrust the discretion of prescribing opium for medical use to all the Vaides and Hakims, native medical practitioners in India. Would not these medical practitioners prescribe opium in those cases?—That seems to me a very hypothetical question. Perhaps I made rather too large an admission when I assumed that medical advice would include all such practitioners. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the classes of which you speak. It may be that some of them are what we call quacks, whom the law would not recognize as entitled to give medical advice.

2523. (Mr. Mowbray.) Did I understand you to say that your Society contemplated in the last resort compulsion in the

base of these Native States, if the cultivation of the poppy in British India were abandoned?—Yes, I think so. These Native States are entirely dependent for their export trade upon the permission of the British Government that the drug should pass through its States, and if the Government had stopped its own trade purely on moral grounds, I think it would, in the last resort, be justified in refusing that permission to the Native States.

2524. I suppose your Society contemplated the alternative method of compensation?—I do not think I can say officially that the Society has done so. No doubt that might come into operation. I do not think the Society would have any objection of principle, if it can be shown that there is a real hardship in cutting off some of the revenue from the Native States, to their receiving compensation.

2525. I should have thought that before contemplating compulsion you would have contemplated the necessity of compensation?—We have been unable to ascertain exactly how far the Native States derive any substantial revenue from this system, and until one has the facts as to the profits derived, from the Native States, it seems premature to go into the question of compensation. I hope the Commission will obtain full evidence on that point.

2526. With regard to the financial statement put forward by your Society with regard to the Indian Government, and the readiness of the English people to provide money in substitution of the opium revenue, that item has not been taken into consideration?—It has not.

(Mr. Wilson.) You have referred to the Bombay system. I think it is unfortunate that the Commission has not had some official witnesses to describe to us exactly what the existing system is in different parts of India.

(Chairman.) You will have them.

2527. (Mr. Wilson.) It is like putting the cart before the horse. I am therefore obliged to ask you to tell the Commission what you understand to be the Bombay system.—I cannot do better than by reading paragraph 6, sub-section 2 of the memorial; "The Malwa transit duty system, under which, by arrangement of the Indian Government, opium grown and prepared in some of the Native States of Central India, pays to the Government of India, on its passage to Bombay for export, a heavy transit duty, equal to nearly two-thirds of the present wholesale price at Bombay; the revenue obtained from it by the Native Princes being only a small percentage of that received by the Government of India."

2528. With reference to the use of opium by certain persons or classes, have you ever contemplated the possibility of a system of registration such as already prevails in some parts of Burma?—It has recently been introduced in Lower Burma, and it is a suggestion that we have considered, but on which we have not finally pronounced an opinion that possibly some system of that kind might be devised, or become necessary, to meet the case of habitual consumers, so that you might allow them to continue to obtain the drug in doses to which they are accustomed, whilst stopping the spread of the habit by making it impossible for fresh individuals to obtain the drug in the same way.

2529. Has the possibility of any system of local option been at all considered?—I do not think I can say that our Society has considered that. The Anglo-Indian Temperance Society, of which Mr. Cairne is Honorary Secretary, and which on this opium question in India works concurrently with our own, has considered it, and I believe it has pronounced in favour of local option as applied to opium as well as hemp drugs. But our Society has never officially pronounced an opinion on the question of local option.

2530. May we take it that the Society has never considered it a part of its duty to work out an elaborate system adapted to every part of India and to the varying circumstances, but that you would be quite prepared dispassionately to consider any proposals that might be made for meeting the various difficulties?—I am sure the Society would gladly consider any proposal of that kind which might be made by the Commission after obtaining fuller evidence than it has been possible for us to obtain in England.

2531. You consider that the elaborate details of any system ought to be worked out by the responsible Government and not by a voluntary Society?—That is my view.

2532. (Mr. Pease.) Is it not a fact that at one time the duty from Native States was Rs. 700 per chest?—Yes.

2533. And that duty was reduced to encourage the Native States to increase the quantity of opium produced?—I think that would be overstating the case. It was reduced because, as I understand, it was found that the duty of

Rs. 700 was likely to kill out the trade. It was only at Rs. 700 for a short time; it was then reduced to Rs. 650, because Government despatches said they found that Rs. 700 was more than the trade would bear. Two or three years ago there was a petition of the Bombay merchants, and the duty was reduced to Rs. 600, because the merchants stated that it was no longer a remunerative trade.

2534. (Chairman.) We will now proceed to put questions to you with reference to the ninth paragraph, in which you deal with the excise system. You there express a belief that "there is evidence that grave dissatisfaction is felt in India at the facilities offered by the existing system for the sale of these drugs." You cite the practice at home under our latest legislation, and you propose that the fundamental and underlying principles which have been accepted in England should be extended to British India. I think in cross-examination you have already made a very full statement upon that subject, and perhaps you have little more to say with reference to the excise system in India.—There are just two points at the commencement that I have not yet dealt with. One is as regards other narcotic drugs. I should like to explain to you how we were led to take up this question in India. Our Society was formed for the purpose of putting a stop to the opium trade between India and China, and if you refer to Mr. Storrs Turner's Prize Essay, which I handed to the members of the Commission, and put in evidence, you will see that he speaks with satisfaction with regard to the measures adopted by the Indian Government to protect its own subjects against the evils of opium. In a note subsequently written he refers to facts which had just come under his observation with regard to Burma, as showing that that satisfaction could not be extended to Burma, though he thought it applied to India generally. It is only within the last four or five years that our attention has been called to a number of statements which seemed to us to deserve consideration and enquiry,—that in several parts of India the use of opium was greatly extending, and that great evils were arising from it. It was on that ground that we for the first time took up the question as regards India in our memorial to Lord Cross, which is printed in the Blue Book "Consumption of Opium in India." In that memorial we included other narcotic drugs, owing to the evils arising from the sale of hemp drugs. That branch of the question has since been dealt with by the Society I just now referred to,—the Anglo-Indian Temperance Society, of which Mr. Cairne is Honorary Secretary, so that it has passed out of our hands. With regard to India, I have stated that we have had various evidences from India that there is a desire on the part of at least a very considerable section of the Indian people that protection such as is given to our own people at home by our Pharmacy Act should be extended to India. We have had during the last two winters visits from India. Miss Soonderbai Powar has addressed a large number of meetings, and has represented a very strong feeling amongst the zemans on the part of the women in her part of India desiring suppression. You will, I hope, hear her evidence at Bombay or Poona.

Then Mr. Raju Naidu came from Madras, representing a similar feeling there. I have a brief list of the public meetings before me. A great representative public meeting was held at Bombay in April 1891, on the eve of Sir Joseph Pense's motion, presided over by the Bishop of Bombay. It was an enthusiastic gathering, and adopted a memorial in support of his motion, the result of which was telegraphed to him in time for him to read it to the House of Commons. A few days after, a great public meeting was held at Dacca, which I also heard was a most enthusiastic meeting, where all classes of native opinion and the opinions of influential native gentlemen were represented. Then there were several other meetings. At Madras, Bombay, and Poona great public meetings were held, which were attended by the leading Native gentlemen of the place. There was a remarkable petition from 227 opium drunkards at Bombay, begging that the dens might be closed, and that they might be protected from the habit.

2535. (Sir William Roberts.) Was the object of these meetings with reference to opium-smoking or with reference to opium-eating?—I do not know that the distinction was clearly made: it may have been in some cases, but I think not generally. I think one may say generally that at all these meetings, and in the petitions from India, that opium-smoking has been put to the front as being the most serious form of the vice, but that opium-eating has also been included in the condemnation and in the prayer for protection. Then there were two memorials—one signed by 20,000 persons in India; and another later on (this was in January 1892) with 22,000 signatures; and there was a great Tamil petition in March 1892 with 40,000 signatures. Some of these, I am afraid, do not appear in the Parliamentary

Mr. J. G.
Alexander,
L.L.B.

21 Nov. 1892

Mr. J. G. Alexander,
LL.B.
21 Nov. 1893.

Records, simply because the signatures have been in Tamil, or some other language, and I understand the practice in the Petitions Office in the House of Commons is that they simply pass over petitions which they are unable to read, because they are not written in English. There have also been public meetings at Jubbulpore, Agra, Sholapore, and at Igatpuri and Thana, both near Bombay. Then there was another meeting at Madras, and one or two other meetings in different parts of Bombay. Besides those there have been a considerable number of meetings connected with Missionary Conferences, meetings of the Missionaries and the Native Christians, which have unanimously adopted resolutions. Some were large meetings, and others were meetings of particular bodies.

2536. Were those resolutions which were passed resolutions directed against the use of opium or against the public houses, or divans or dens in which opium is used?—I think against the sale of opium; that was always the objective of the petitions.

2537. (Chairman.) Have you anything further to say upon paragraph 9?—I think there is one more point. I should like to refer to the closing words of the paragraph: "whose remuneration in no degree depends on the amount of their sales." In that item I admit that we go beyond the principles which are in force under the Pharmacy Act in England, but then the conditions of India and England are very different. No one would suppose that chemists in England would be likely to be tempted to betray their trust by reason of the profit they would make on the sale of the poisons. Public opinion is too strong, and that is, after all, the real guarantee of our laws in England. A chemist who carelessly sold a large dose of opium with the result that fatal consequences ensued, would be brought before a Coroner's inquest and would be gravely reprimanded.

2538. (Sir James Lyall.) Fatal consequences do not occur every day?—No, but a case of that kind would bring a druggist in England under the grave censure of public opinion. That, I think, is the real sanction of the law at home. But in India it seems to me to be a very important principle to lay down that those who sell should not be remunerated in proportion to the amount of their sales. I look upon it as the essential vice of the licensing system in force in India, with regard to opium, to hemp drugs, and to alcohol, that it so strongly gives to the licensee a direct interest in his increasing his sales. The Indian farming system is based upon the old system familiar to readers of the New Testament as that of the Publicans in the Roman Empire. The tax-gatherers gathered the taxes very much on their own account, and were responsible to the Government for paying in a certain quota. Something of that kind is still the principle of the farming out of licenses in India. It seems to me that that principle is radically objectionable, and that, whatever means are adopted for the better repression of the use of opium and these other dangerous articles, we should altogether steer clear of that wrong principle.

2539. What wrong principle?—The principle of farming out the licenses.

2540. (Sir William Roberts.) I should like to ask you whether that does not exclude the condemnation of the Gothenburg system which is in favour in some quarters in England?—On the contrary, I understand that the Gothenburg system is based upon that very principle; that under the Gothenburg system in Norway and Sweden the licensees have no interest in promoting the sale of spirituous liquors, and that is exactly what the supporters of that system urge as being the basis of its success.

2541. I suppose you are aware that the municipalities get the profits of the business?—Yes, but not the vendors. That is the point; that the vendor has no interest in extending the sales.

2542. (Sir James Lyall.) You object very strongly to the farming system, that is, the system of giving the shop in which to sell opium, or anything else, to the man who bids highest for it?—Yes.

2543. The other system is to make over the opium at a very high price to the man who pays a mere licensing fee for it. Say, you make over the crude opium to a licensed vendor, and you charge, perhaps, Rs. 20 a seer, a very high price; you make it over to the licensed vendor, who only pays, perhaps, a fixed fee for it, and he has to sell it. You are aware what the great objection to that system, as compared with the other system of giving him opium at a low price and making him pay a high fee for his license is?—That was not the alternative I had in my mind, or the alternative I should suggest.

2544. Are you aware of the reason why it is done in India?—I suppose it is the same reason which I think you have already stated for the minimum guarantee clause.

2545. That is, if you depend upon giving Government opium to a man at a high price, it becomes at once his interest not to take the Government opium, but, wherever possible, to take smuggled opium in preference. The evil of that is not only that the Government loses revenue by selling less of its opium, but you must remember that we have to rely generally in India to a large extent for checking smuggling upon the self-interest of the contractor. The contractor being a monopolist for a certain town or a certain tract of country, it is to his interest to stop smuggling and inform against smuggling as much as possible, if he is dealing with Government opium; but if he himself is himself dealing with illicit opium, or smuggled opium, he cannot afford to inform against other people, for the people of the country would soon know that he is doing it; and if he informs against the smugglers, they will inform against him. That is the difficulty. It is easy, of course, for people in England to find fault with a system, but the officials out here know the natives and know the country and know the position of things. They have for generations and generations been working up these things, and they know the balance of good and evil of the different methods, and that has led them to decide upon what they think best. May I ask what is the system you propose?—I think you are putting to me, if I may say so, two vicious systems—two systems which I should characterise as both intrinsically bad—and asking me which of the two I prefer.

2546. Give me your reasons why you think one of those systems is better than the other.—Those reasons may be as far valid, but you spoke of the experience of Government officials. May I venture to say that I think one of the reasons why Government officials are apt to go wrong is that it is so difficult for them to go far enough back to root principles. You discuss two methods which have been applied, to both of which the same objection of principle applies: that you are giving an interest in some form or another to the vendor.

2547. How would you avoid giving an interest to the vendor?—I should say by selling entirely for Government profit.

2548. That is, you would give the man a salary and pay him in a shop, and say, "you must sell this opium and account to Government for the whole profit." Is that it?—I think so.

2549. (Chairman.) You utterly dislike the sale of opium under any system?—Yes.

2550. But if any other system had been adopted you probably would have attacked it?—Probably; any system that does not aim at restricting opium to medical use.

2551. (Sir James Lyall.) At present you are putting forward an objection to an existing system and a preference for another system which you describe to be practically this: that you give a man opium, put him in a shop, or whatever you choose to call it, and tell him to sell on behalf of the Government, and account for the Government money.

(Chairman.) I think the witness would not like to make himself responsible for recommending such a course. He wishes to recommend nothing but prohibition.

2552. (Sir James Lyall.) He was taking exception to the farming system. You would not recommend that system? Do you think it workable?—No, I was going to say that I have been told by the natives of India that there are already Government officials, Government dispensaries, and other places of that kind, established about India, amply sufficient to supply the demand for opium for medical purposes, and that nothing would be easier than to make use of those existing facilities for this purpose. That is what I have been informed, both before I came to India, and since I have been in India.

2553. You mentioned in your evidence a Miss Soodenbai Powar. Can you tell me if she is a Christian or a Hindu?—A Christian.

2554. Educated by missionaries?—Yes, her parents were Christians; she was born to a Christian family.

2555. I do not know whether you would take her evidence seriously as a matter of importance; do you put any serious weight upon her evidence?—Before she took part in any meetings I had informed myself about her. The best qualified person I know, a missionary, who had resided for many years in Bombay, and whose judgment I could thoroughly rely upon, told me that I might certainly accept her evidence as genuine.

2556. Genuine no doubt, but is she not a young girl?—Certainly not. You will see her for yourself.

2557. (Chairman.) Is she coming before us as a witness?—Yes, at Bombay or at Poona.

2558. We now pass from India to Burma. In your tenth paragraph you urge that there should be no further delay in sanctioning throughout Burma the measures which have been so carefully elaborated by the Chief Commissioner, Sir Alexander Mackenzie. Have you anything to say upon the case of Burma in addition to what is contained in your general memorial?—I think I may very briefly say that there are just two points which we have further to urge with regard to Burma. In Lower Burma there has been established a Register for opium consumers, and as regards the natives of Burmese race no additions are to be made in future to that Register. That provision does not apply to the Chinese and other non-Burmese inhabitants of Burma. We advocate the extension of that rule to the Chinese and non-Burmese. Then, secondly, that Register is not in force in Upper Burma, and the Finance Report for Upper Burma two or three years ago stated that the nominal prohibition that exists of sale to Burmans is absolutely inoperative, because the Burmans can always obtain as much of the drug as they require under cover of the sale to non-Burmese. We therefore urge that the Register already in force in Lower Burma should be extended to Upper Burma as well. Those are the two points we are now urging with regard to Burma.

2559. Is that all you wish to say as regards Burma?—Perhaps I ought to add a reference to our last memorial to Lord Kimberley. I do not know how the matter stands now. For all I know the subject may have been finally dealt with; but I should like to put in our memorial which was based on a telegram which appeared in the *Times* to the effect that the Chinese and non-Burmese were not to be registered at all. That was not part of the original rules as drafted by the Burma Government; and we very strongly objected to that. The *Times* telegram said: "This alteration will materially increase the difficulties of the policy of suppression, which are already almost insuperable." We memorialised Lord Kimberley in the hope that the modification which the *Times* telegram stated to have been introduced by the Government of India, should not be insisted upon. I do not quite know what the present position of the matter is. No doubt the Commission will have before it distinct evidence as to the rules which have been finally approved and passed.

2560. Now we come to the Punjab. In paragraph 11 you urge that the Punjab system of licensing the cultivation of the poppy should be at once put an end to, and you further urge in support of that recommendation that "the prohibition of poppy culture has been already enforced by the Indian Government in 1799 as regards Lower Bengal and Orissa, as well as throughout Southern India, about 1860 in Assam, and at other dates elsewhere." You further say, "we are assured by competent witnesses that the Sikh people would generally welcome the adoption by Government of measures which would enable them to rid themselves of a habit which they recognise to be a debasing and injurious one." Have you anything to put before us in support of that prayer, and those references to the opinion and feeling of the Sikh people?—I have nothing special to say on that, in view of the fact that the Commission will no doubt visit the Punjab and enquire for itself the opinion of the Sikh people. The Commission will get very much better information there than we were able to obtain in London.

2561. That is no doubt the case. The Punjab question will be much better examined when on the spot than here. Now we turn to the 12th paragraph. In that paragraph you refer to the possible financial objections to the policy of prohibition which you recommend, and you state as a matter of opinion that the people of England would be ready to make up any deficiency which might arise from the prohibition of the export trade in opium. At the same time you urge that much can be done to meet the loss from the opium revenue by greater economy and by the development of Indian resources, and you are also of opinion that if there were loss from the abolition of the cultivation of the poppy, there would be a gain to the people of India from the cultivation of other productions and the general development of the soil. It is obvious what your views are; but have you anything to say upon that?—I do not think I need occupy the time of the Commission on this paragraph, because my views are so fully embodied in the little pamphlet I have already laid before the Commission entitled "Substitutes for the Opium Revenue."

(Chairman.) We have carefully read it, and we recognise the ability with which the pamphlet has been prepared.

Mr. J. G. Alexander,
LL.B.

2562. (Mr. Mowbray.) You state here that you believe the people of England will be ready to make up the deficiencies. Would you mind telling us exactly what Lord Kimberley said to the deputation in reply to that paragraph?—I was anxious to speak upon that point.

21 Nov. 1898.

2563. I think it is important that there should be no doubt about it?—After quoting that passage of our memorial, Lord Kimberley says: "That you regard as a very important declaration; but I am bound to say that I have not the slightest reason to suppose that there will be any disposition on the part of the Treasury to place a heavy burden upon the tax-payers of this country for the purpose indicated. I do not think that there is any warrant for that. I am speaking as the Minister responsible for India now; and I do not think that such a proposition to the Treasury, no matter what the Government in power, would be likely to meet with a favourable response. The sum will be very large, not only to compensate the Indian Treasury, but also to compensate those who produce the opium, and also the native princes, who derive considerable sums from the growth of opium." I do not know whether I had better go on further.

2564. That is all I want. I also notice that the only one of your Vice-Presidents who is in the House of Commons, who signs this memorial to Lord Kimberley, distinctly declines to pledge himself to that particular paragraph of the memorial.—That is so. Sir Mark Stewart frankly said he could not agree with that statement. I should like to give my reasons in support of that statement.

2565. Can you tell us upon what that particular paragraph in the memorial was based?—First of all let me speak as regards our own Society. We have made this a part of our programme definitely ever since the first 1890. I put before the Commission the "Statement of Facts and Principles" adopted at the beginning of that year. I was at that time a member of the Executive Committee, and I took part in the Conference at which that Statement was drawn up. We had a debate upon this particular point. The late Mr. Chesson very strongly urged that it was right and reasonable towards India that we should express ourselves distinctly on the question. I remember that I supported him, and that the paragraph to that effect was carried. I have mentioned in the preface to "Substitutes for the Opium Revenue" that the same view was even more solemnly reaffirmed in 1891, shortly after the debate in Parliament, at our annual meeting. A Conference of members and friends of the Society was held, and in the evening a public meeting was held which confirmed the decisions of that Conference. I think I might read that resolution:—

"This Conference of members and supporters of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade hereby declares that, in advocating the abolition of the Indian opium trade as a measure of national morality, it is strongly opposed to the imposition on the people of India of any oppressive taxation. Whilst urging upon the Government of India its obligation to effect such retrenchment of needless expenditure and to carry out such measures for the development of Indian resources as may enable it to govern India efficiently without imposing any permanent or long-continued burden on the tax-payers of the United Kingdom, this meeting is in favour of such temporary pecuniary assistance being given by this country to the Indian Government as may be found requisite to enable India to bear the loss of the opium revenue, without adding to the burdens at present resting upon the people of that country."

I may mention in passing that the phrase "temporary pecuniary assistance" was commented upon by Mr. Gladstone in the late debate as being somewhat ambiguous. Our meaning was very clear. Certainly we have always attached to it the meaning of a grant and not a loan. Mr. Gladstone seemed to think that it might be a temporary loan to be repaid.

2566. (Sir James Lyall.) You mean a temporary grant?—What I mean is developed later on in "Substitutes for the Opium Revenue": a grant spreading over a period of years; but a grant, not a loan. Mr. Gladstone threw out a suggestion that the words in Sir Joseph Pease's resolution might mean a loan to be repaid.

2567. (Chairman.) He contemplated the contingency that that loan might not be repaid. That supplied a leading argument for his speech?—Yes; I only wished to clear that up.

Mr. J. G. Alexander,
LL.B.
21 Nov. 1893.

2568. (*Sir James Lyall.*) In any case a grant would be temporary. The loss would be permanent, and the grant would be temporary, would it not?—Yes. We take the view that India ought to be able to pay for its own government without reliance upon an immoral trade, and that therefore it is only a question of a few years to adjust the needs of the Government of India to the exigencies of morality.

2569. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) I am sure you will understand that I do not doubt for a moment that the Anti-Opium Society had expressed that wish. But I wish to illustrate that it had not been endorsed by the responsible Minister.—I quite understand your object. I should further like to say that that part of our programme has very frequently been put before the public in England. I have already spoken of enthusiastic public meetings which we have held, during the last three or four years especially. Almost always when I have taken part in those meetings I have made this one of the special points,—that India could not reasonably be expected to bear the loss of giving up the China trade. I may say that over and over again I have been pleased to find that that sentiment was most cordially taken up by the meeting; that England, which two generations ago paid twenty millions sterling for the emancipation of the slaves, should not hesitate to come to the help of India, and make some grant for the purpose of putting an end to this immoral trade without undue pressure on the tax-payers of India. I should like to narrate what occurred at one particular meeting, at which I was not present, but of which I read the reports and had them supplemented by those who were present. At that meeting this point was especially raised. It was a meeting held at Norwich. One of the members for Norwich, Mr. Colman, has for many years been a staunch supporter of our Society. The other member, Mr. Hoare (who had been asked to take part in the meeting), wrote a letter to the Chairman in which he drew attention to this phase of the question, expressing a doubt whether the British people would be willing to have an addition to the income-tax or in some other way to bear the additional taxation in order to get rid of the trade. The point was taken up in speeches by two of Mr. Hoare's strongest supporters, I believe, two clergymen of the Church of England, who expressed themselves in very strong terms upon it. It was put into the resolution of the meeting, and, I was told, was most enthusiastically adopted. In face of this letter from Mr. Hoare, the meeting expressed its conviction that the British people would not hesitate to incur such a sacrifice in order to put down the opium traffic with China. I give that as one particular instance of a great many meetings at which the same point has been raised.

2570. (*Mr. Wilson.*) You have given us cases of these meetings which, of course, would usually be attended by those who were more or less predisposed to favour anti-opium views. Have you any means whatever of suggesting anything to us, as to how it would be received by the general bulk of the voters and tax-payers, or of any tendency in English public opinion that would lead you to believe that it would be so accepted?—I do not know that I can say anything beyond this,—that these meetings are by no means exclusively composed of those who already have an interest in the opium question. During the last two years we have had the presence at our meetings of these deputations from India. The winter before last we had a Chinese gentleman from Australia. The presence of these people has attracted a very large number of persons who were not previously informed on the question, but who came to listen to what was said, and they have been very enthusiastic in supporting us. I do not think our meetings have been by any means confined to those who are interested in the anti-opium question.

2571. Would the general tendency of English people with reference to the moral and social questions lead you to take a hopeful view of what the average voters and tax-payers would say upon this question?—Certainly. Of course, very great power now rests with the working classes; and I think it has been especially amongst the working classes that we have received response to that sentiment. It is the richer people, who can afford it better, who have been more inclined to demur to the idea of increased taxation.

2572. (*Sir James Lyall.*) You say at the end of the paragraph that "the stoppage of the trade in opium with China would probably give a powerful stimulus to the export of other Indian produce to that country." I want to ask whether you do not think it is the case, that if China took other exports in the place of opium, it would, as Mr. David McLaren, ex-President of the Chamber of Commerce in Edinburgh, seems to hope, rather take them from England than from India?—I think it would benefit both countries

in that way. I think that probably the Indian trade with China would be increased, and the British trade with China would be still more increased.

2573. At the end of the paragraph you refer to the loss of India by exchange, and you say you think that the stoppage of the trade in opium with China would be likely to diminish that loss. Do you still adhere to that opinion?—Yes.

2574. Can you explain on what ground?—On the ground that the opium trade with China causes a very abnormal state of things, viz., that the balance of trade between India and China is very largely adjusted by means of actual specie payments. At page 25 of "*Substitutes for the Opium Revenue*" will be seen the figures showing the net importation of silver,—putting aside gold. The net imports of silver from China (Hong-Kong and Treaty Ports) to India, after deducting exports to China from India, amount to an average of over one and-a-half millions a year. In 1890-91, the net imports amounted to Rs. 8,545,518 from China to India in silver in order to adjust the trade. With regard to that, Mr. Hanbury obtained specific information from a banker in London, engaged in the Eastern trade, that that heavy drain in that year very materially and manifestly affected the value of the rupee, sending it down considerably. In that year there had to be such a large import of silver from China and from the Straits in order to pay for Indian opium that the Indian Government, I think, lost by the depreciation of the rupee from that cause at least half its real net gain from opium.

2575. You know that India annually owes a balance to England?—Yes.

2576. And she meets that balance in a large part by transferring the debt which China owes to her for opium?—Yes.

2577. That being the case, how could the stoppage of that trade improve the difficulty of exchange between England and India, which is the difficulty we are talking about?—We minimize this drain of silver. The drain of silver would have to be very much greater than in fact it is on the average if it were not for that circumstance.

2578. We are talking of loss to India by exchange. How can the loss of a method by which India settles part of her debt to England get rid of the difficulty of the loss by exchange?—It may be that there would be some counteracting influence of the kind in connection with the balance of exchange, but I do not think that that sets aside or counterbalances the natural depression of the exchange which must result from this great inflow of silver from China to India.

(*Sir James Lyall.*) I am not an expert like Sir David Harbour; but I agree with him in not being able to understand your argument.

2579. (*Chairman.*) In so far as the balance of trade between India and China fails to be adjusted by bills of exchange, and is adjusted by exportation of silver from China to India, to that extent you say there is an influence tending to depreciate the value of silver in India?—Yes; and I would point out further in reference to what Sir James Lyall put to me, that if the poppy were not grown, there would be a greater cultivation of cereals and other products. You must not assume that the whole value of the opium crop would disappear. There would be some considerable value to be put in its place by some substituted crop. That is a question I have not gone into; but I think I ought to say one word with regard to the estimate of the total value to India of the poppy crop which was put before the Commission by Sir John Strachey, and which is embodied in Mr. Batten's paper in the Society of Arts Journal. I think it was suggested to Sir John Strachey by Mr. Pease at the time that that is palpably and obviously a grossly exaggerated statement, because it proceeds on the assumption that if there were no poppy crop the land would be absolutely unproductive.

2580. (*Mr. Pease.*) And the labour?—And the labour?

2581. (*Chairman.*) We will not detain you upon this point. You would, of course, admit that if the export of opium to China from India ceased, and India failed to create another export trade with China of equal value, that India's position as regards the rate of exchange would be prejudicially affected?—I suppose it would to some extent.

2582. Now we turn to the last point with which I think you wish to deal, viz., the monthly auction sales of opium at Calcutta. In your 13th paragraph you cite some eminent names of Indian Administrators, who have expressed their objection to the system of the monthly auction sale. You refer to Lord Lawrence, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Herbert

Edwardes, Sir Donald Macleod, and Sir William Muir. At the same time, you fairly admit that these eminent men, while expressing their objection to the monthly auction sales at Calcutta, were favourable to the substitution of a system in Bengal, similar to that which exists in Bombay Your Association, as you have repeatedly told us, condemns both systems alike; but you seem, in reviewing these opinions to which you refer, to recognize that there is some ground for saying that the system which obtains in Bengal, the actual auction sales in Calcutta, does more particularly and strikingly identify the Indian Government, with what you describe as an immoral traffic; and you urge that the total cessation of the sales, which are now taking place in Calcutta, could not fail to have the happiest results. Is there anything you would like to say in development of the views put forward in the paragraph to which I have referred?—I should like to read to the Commission the statement of Sir Herbert Edwardes on that point as putting very strongly and clearly our moral objections to the trade and summing up the whole case. I am now quoting from *The Friend of China*, June 1856:—

"In the Memorials of Sir Herbert Edwardes, just published, there is given a paper, written by him after the great Mutiny of 1857, in which he points out what he believes to have been the national sins that drew down that national chastisement. After naming our withholding the Bible from the natives, and other failures in Christian principle, he writes:—Ninthly, I would name the connection of the Indian Government with the opium trade. This connection is fenced round with arguments nominally drawn from political economy, such as that the monopoly causes increase of price to the vicious consumer, and obtains the largest returns with the smallest outlay of capital. But no theories can get rid of the following serious facts: that India grows opium for China; that opium is ruining the Chinese people; that wherever grown in India, Government is an interested party in it; that in Bengal it is actually grown for Government and for no one else; that Government advances immense sums of money yearly to enable the cultivators to grow it, and maintains a large staff of officials to collect the produce; that Government sells it to those who import it into China; that the vice of opium-smoking is so fatal to the vital and moral powers of individuals, and therefore to the prosperity of a nation, and has spread such heart-rending misery in China, that the Chinese laws forbid its importation; that English merchants nevertheless force and smuggle it into China," (this was written before the legalization) "and are not prevented from so doing by the Government of England, which has formally engaged by treaty to prevent it;" (I think, perhaps, there has been somewhat overstated the case) "that all this was known to the Indian Government while growing opium or organizing its cultivation, and selling it to merchants who cannot legally get rid of it; that the very Chinese people, saddened with their own vice and misery, and inability to force us by arms to observe their laws and our own treaties, curse us openly for bringing this destroying poison to their shores; and lastly, that exactly in proportion as opium-ruin spreads in China, so the opium-revenue of the Indian Government is increased. An honest, manly conscience cannot get over these facts. It will not be misled by a phrase chipped off from the only sound political economy; the common benefit of the human race, no matter in what country scattered. It will fasten instinctively on the truth that with the Indian Government this is a question of revenue; and in presence of the calamities of 1857, it will conclude that revenue such as this does not come to much good in the end. It will remember all the plausible excuses that were made for Negro slavery, and it will urge the nation which abolished man-selling in the West Indies to abolish man-selling in the East, let the cost be what it will." Taking that as a true description of the trade, and of our objections to it, I think it will be clearly seen that a proposal merely to put that trade into private hands, and to derive a revenue from it, whilst still continuing it by means of an excise or license duty instead of by means of monopoly, is a wholly inadequate remedy, and does not meet the true moral objections to the trade.

2583. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Can you tell me who Sir Herbert Edwardes is, and what he knows about it?—He was a distinguished Indian soldier and administrator, I believe. I am afraid my knowledge of his career is not very great.

2584. (*Chairman.*) What is the date of this?—At the time of the Mutiny. He died some years afterwards. What I have read was written shortly after the Mutiny.

2585. (*Sir James Lyall.*) With reference to your quotation from Sir Herbert Edwardes' writing about national sins, are you aware that at that time Sir Herbert Edwardes was

inclined to be, what most people would think, a bit of a fanatic: that he included in national sins our toleration of the old endowments of Hindu temples and Mahomedan mosques: he wanted to sweep them all away?—I am aware that moral reformers, who are in advance of their age, are generally considered fanatics.

2586. (*Chairman.*) The concluding paragraph of your memorial deals with China. You have had the opportunity of giving us your views with regard to China, and I take it that you have not much to say upon this paragraph. I understand, however, that you wish to call particular attention to the observations which you quote of Dr. Griffith John of the London Missionary Society?—Perhaps I had better read those observations. I will read the latter part of our quotation from Dr. John, who is very well known in the missionary world, as one of the most experienced and able of all the missionaries labouring in China. He says:— "But have the Chinese the ability to put down vice? As long as the Indian trade in opium exists, the hands of the Chinese Government are tied and paralyzed. They can simply do nothing, but allow things to go on from bad to worse. Their best efforts, however sincere and energetic, would prove abortive. If the Indian trade in the drug were abandoned, the Chinese would, I firmly believe, make an honest effort to stop the native growth, and the attempt would eventuate at once in a diminution of the evil. It might eventuate ultimately in its complete suppression." I think in expressing those views in a careful, guarded form, Dr. John agrees with some of the most weighty evidence given before the Commission in London by other experienced Chinese missionaries. Mr. Hudson Taylor, I remember, especially, spoke to the same effect—that he did not feel able absolutely to prophesy what the Chinese Government would do, but that he was clear that as long as the import from India goes on under sanction of the Treaty of 1858, so long the Chinese Government is helpless to deal with what it certainly recognizes as being a great national evil. Dr. Griffith John concludes with these words:—"But whether the Chinese Government can put down the native growth or not, our path as a Christian nation is plain enough. It is for us to wash our hands clean of the iniquity. The trade is immoral, and a foul blot on England's escutcheon. It is a disgrace to ourselves as a people, and unworthy of the place which we hold among the nations of the earth." I do not wish myself to speak too confidently of what will happen in China and of how soon, or how quickly, or how effectually the Chinese Government may be able to put down this vice, which has obtained so great a hold of its people. The position of our Society is this, that however that may be, it is not for us to wait for the Chinese Government, hampered and fettered as it is, to take action, but that we ourselves should recognize that the trade is an immoral one, and that we should begin by wiping our hands of it. Then we should be free to exercise all the right diplomatic pressure that we could, to help China to free herself from that evil. In connection with that, I may say that I have been longer a member of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society than of the Anti-Opium Society; and it seems to me that there is a very clear precedent for British action, of that kind in the part we took with regard to the slave trade. When we had abolished the slave trade ourselves, we proceeded to use all our influence diplomatically with the other nations of Europe, in order to get the trade put down in other nations as well. I hope we shall do the same with regard to the opium trade. Having washed our own hands of it, we can then rightly and properly help China to deal with this great evil, which has grown up in her midst, and for the growth of which we nationally have so grave and serious a responsibility.

2586. (*Sir James Lyall.*) Have you considered the fact that the monopoly and the trade and revenue derived from it, is all Indian, and that the Indian people are primarily interested in it, and that the sentiments to which you appeal are English; I mean that the object of putting the English name right in the eyes of the Chinese, and facilitating the conversion of the Chinese to Christianity is an English object—have you considered that?—Yes, I have. I think I cannot answer that better than in the words of Sir Edward Fry. Sir Edward Fry wrote three Essays on the opium question which appeared originally in the *Contemporary Review*, 1876-7-8. The first and, perhaps, the second were written when he was Mr. Fry, Q.C., and the last one or two after he had been made a Judge. He deals with that argument thus:—"An argument against interfering with the opium revenue, somewhat to the following effect, is often urged or suggested: 'It is very well,' it is said, 'for you to assume this high moral tone about the opium revenue; the revenue is not yours, but belongs to India, and with it England has nothing to do. To abolish the traffic is to throw some nine millions, (the

Mr. J. G. Alexander,
L.L.B.
21 Nov. 1898.

Mr. J. G. Alexander, L.L.B.
21 Nov. 1898.

" amount was then much greater than it is now) more of annual taxation on the already over-taxed population of India, and that for a scruple of some weak-minded philanthropists in England. Pray, pay for your own philanthropy, and do not make another country pay for it."

" Let us consider this objection a little; and let us note, in the first place, that it may be taken to concede the justness of the objection to the revenue; it only objects to the person of the objector." Here is the answer—" India is, as it were, a minor, under the guardianship of England, and England is a trustee for India in the administration of Indian affairs. But, in taking upon ourselves that burden and that duty, we have incurred no obligation to do for India what we might not lawfully do for ourselves. If, in the course of our trusteeship we have sold a poison wickedly for the gain of a minor, are we bound to continue so to do? Have we lost the right of repentance because our sin entres to some one else's benefit? India cannot change the policy, for she is in tutelage; England cannot change the policy, for she is a trustee; therefore the sin must go on for ever. Is that sound reasoning?"

2588. (Sir William Roberts.) May I ask if your Society takes the same attitude with regard to alcohol as it does with regard to opium?—A good many members of our Society are active prohibitionists, but the Society as a whole consists of men who unite on this opium question, although they differ upon all sorts of other questions in politics, in

religion, and in regard to the temperance question. But I think all would be in favour in some degree of prohibition, though I doubt whether all the members of our Society would support the policy of the United Kingdom Alliance. I really do not know about that.

(Chairman.) That I believe concludes your evidence. We have to thank you for the clear manner in which you have put us in possession of the views of the Association which you represent, and we recognise the efforts that you have personally made in the cause which has commended itself to you. Naturally, it has been your duty, entertaining the views that you hold, to say many things which are not accepted, at any rate by some members of this Commission, but I am sure that we shall all feel that what you have put before us has been put before us with the utmost sincerity of purpose, and 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.

(Witness.) There is one point that we did not deal with in our memorial and which has really come under my notice since I came to India. I do not know whether it would be desirable that I should make it in any way part of my evidence. It is with regard to the system under which the poppy is grown in the Behar district.

(Chairman.) I think it would be appropriate to deal with that when we get to that district.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 10-30.

At the Council Chamber, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

TENTH DAY.

Wednesday, 22nd November 1893.

PRESENT:

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B. (CHAIRMAN, PRESIDING).

SIR JAMES B. LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
THE HON'BLE SIR LACHHMSWAR SINGH BAHADUR,
MAHARAJA OF DARBHANGA, K.C.I.E.
SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D.
MR. R. G. C. MOWBRAY, M.P.

MR. A. U. FANSHAWE.
" A. ARTHUR PEASE.
" HARIDAS VARHADIDAS DESAI.
" H. J. WILSON, M.P.

MR. J. PRESCOTT HEWITT, C.I.E., Secretary.

The Reverend W. B. PHILLIPS called in and examined.

Rev. W. B. Phillips.
22 Nov. 1893.

2589. (Chairman.) Will you explain to us the position which you fill and state the length of time you have passed in India, and generally explain to us what have been your experiences bearing on the question which is before this Commission?—I am a Missionary of the London Missionary Society. I have had experiences among Hindus and Mahomedans of all grades and castes. I have been in Bengal for eighteen years. Of these fifteen years were spent in the District of Murshidabad, which was formerly the head-quarters of the Mahomedan Government of Bengal, and three years I have spent in Calcutta. For fifteen years I was continually mixing with all classes of Hindus and Mahomedans, and for about twelve of those years I was itinerating during ten months of each year among their towns and villages. At these times I was conversing freely with them in their own language, in their shops and houses, and gathering them in crowds for preaching and discussion. During the same fifteen years I was President of a Society worked by a Committee composed of Hindus, Mahomedans, and Christians, and whose sole object was to promote abstinence from intoxicating drugs and drinks. If I may be allowed I should like to hand in at this stage a certain memorial and an account of the Society of which I was President for fifteen years.

2590. In order that it may be placed upon the notes, it would be well if you would read what you consider the more important passages in the memorial, and make any observations upon those passages which you think are necessary for the elucidation of the subject.—The Society to

which I refer still continues its work. Its head-quarters are at Berhampore, the civil station of Murshidabad. I have visited opium dens where both chandu and gooli (madak) were smoked. I was associated for fifteen years with the Rev. S. J. Hill, who was for thirty-seven years a Missionary in Murshidabad, and who knew the habits and history of the people most intimately. We often conversed about the opium habits of the people.

2591. Would you tell us what you observed among the classes of the population of India among whom you laboured with reference to the habit of opium-eating and smoking, with reference to the degree in which that habit is prevalent among the various classes of the population, men, women, and children, and the age at which the habit is acquired—if you know anything about that; and tell us generally what are your experiences with reference to the opium habit and its results?—Opium-eating is very prevalent among large numbers of the Mahomedans. In the city of Murshidabad it is almost universal among them; probably as many as 90 per cent. take it. Many Hindus and others also eat opium. The Rev. S. J. Hill told me of one Hindu who used to boast to him of being the first of his class in Berhampore to begin eating opium. He also boasted of having persuaded three hundred to follow his example. I have not heard of the drinking of opium in the Murshidabad District. With regard to your question as to the different ages, I do not think I have anything to say about that.

2592. Can you tell us something as to the motives which you think induced people to form the habit of smoking opium. Also, can you tell us anything as to the power people have of relinquishing the habit when once they have contracted it? Can you tell us anything with regard to what has been described to us by some witnesses as being a general tendency to increase the dose, and what you consider to be the usual results of the habit, whether viewed physically, mentally, or morally?—Before doing that I should like to say another word about a further use of opium,—opium-smoking.

2593. We shall be glad to hear anything you have to say about the opium habit.—Opium-smoking is carried on to a considerable extent. It is carried on in both its forms. The one is called chandu-smoking, and the other gooli-smoking. Chandu is not so largely smoked as gooli. Chandu is pure liquefied opium. It is smoked through a brass tube, about 15 inches long. At three inches from one end is a door-handle-like knob, with a wee hole in the centre. Over this hole, by means of a skewer, a pile of chandu is worked up. This is then applied to a jet of light, and the smoker draws hard till it is consumed. Gooli is, I believe, in some parts called "madat;" but in Murshidabad I never heard that term. Gooli means pill or ball, and arises from the form in which the preparation is used. I have watched both the process of preparation and the smoking. Guava leaves are fried black, and liquid opium is heated. The two are then mixed, forming a mass, light in weight and almost black in colour. Bits are broken off and rolled into piles for smoking. From this comes the term "gooli." Usually along with the smoking a kind of meaty sweetmeat is used, and is said to aid intoxication. Chandu is probably smoked mostly in the opium dens, but gooli is largely smoked at home as well as in the dens. When I stood watching the sale of this preparation, many came to buy for carrying away home. There it is smoked either singly or in groups. As to what are the motives which induce people to form the habit, I may say that probably the majority begin the habit from association with opium-eaters and smokers, and without any deliberate intention. Some are led to it from using it medicinally for rheumatism, lumbago, dysentery or choleraic pains. One very prevalent, and, I fear, the most common reason for using opium is as an aphrodisiac. In the present morally low condition of this country the use of aphrodisiacs is very extensive. Both men and women among the Mahomedans use opium for this purpose. It is quite common for people to recommend opium for this purpose. It is especially recommended for those who have reached the age of forty, or who have married wives much younger than themselves. And as no Hindu widower can get a new wife above ten or twelve years old, the proportion of elderly men with young wives is very considerable. Prostitutes and the frequenters of their houses almost invariably use opium as an aphrodisiac. Then, as to whether the habit is easily relinquished at once or gradually. Its relinquish the opium habit seems extremely difficult. In my intercourse with the people this point has impressed me very deeply. I have not yet found any exception among them in the firm and openly expressed conviction that "no opium consumer can ever give up the habit." The way the people spoke on this subject led me to make much use of the illustration in preaching amongst them. I was always sure that my audience would admit it as an axiomatic truth. I tried the same illustration again only a few days ago upon a Calcutta audience with the same invariable, most marked, and emphatic assent. As a further proof of it the following incident came before my notice in a striking way just the day after the event. A man had brought himself and family to become a prey upon his relatives through this opium habit. Being refused money to buy the drug and preferring death to the misery of the craving, he hanged himself. In another case a man who had owned property adjoining our mission house, after bringing his family to degradation and death, spent the last months of his miserable life haunting opium dens and scraping the leavings from opium pipes. From what I have heard on this head it seems indisputable that opium gains a terribly powerful hold of its victims. As to the general tendency to increase the dose, I think there is a general tendency to increase the dose. It needs a larger quantity to give equal effect. One result of this is that not infrequently opium-eaters take just a little too much and lose their lives. This danger was first brought to my notice forcibly some years ago. A member of the Nawab of Murshidabad's household, a Kussian, had a wife and two children attending our Hindustani service in Berhampore. He was an opium-eater. He took an overdose and died, and his wife and family became a burden for years upon the European community. Since then I have often heard of such cases. One or two such cases are reported almost

monthly in our Calcutta papers. There was at least one case reported in September and two in October. And for one case thus reported we may be sure that there are many unreported throughout Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. Then as to the results of the habit, physically, mentally and morally. Scientific evidence on the physical and moral results of opium-eating and smoking will be given by medical men. I shall speak only as an unscientific observer, for years in close contact with the people, deeply interested in their welfare. Physical effects: (1) one of the most noticeable is the extreme emaciation that results from opium consumption. It renders many of them peculiarly miserable objects to look upon.

2594. In the case of those who smoke opium, you are referring to those who smoke it in excess?—Certainly to those who smoke it in excess. Also another exception should be made which is very clearly and forcibly illustrated in the district in which I have worked. There is the Jain community, a wealthy community in the cities of Aziungung and Jeangung. They are a wealthy community. They are a vegetarian community. They partake generally of milk and ghee and sweetmeats. That seems to counteract the emaciating effect generally. In the city of Murshidabad the emaciating effect is very marked because such a large percentage of the people are opium victims. Emaciation can, however, be warded off for a long time by the wealthy through the large use of milk, ghee, and a liberal diet generally. (2) A second physical effect is indolence. Without knowing it I once employed an opium-smoking Hindu carpenter on the Mission boat. He was a young man and understood his work very well, but somehow the work made scarcely any progress, and at last I dismissed him in disgust. Afterwards I saw him in a gooli den, and the whole thing was explained. Another man of a respectable class and good education I watched and conversed with for years. Year by year he grew thinner and more indolent. I often urged him to leave off opium but to no purpose. He would agree with all diatribes against it, but smiled incredulously at the idea of giving it up. He used to ask me why our Government did not give up tempting the people to become opium consumers. In a city like Murshidabad, where the population is largely Mahomedan and where such a proportion as nearly 90 per cent. use opium, the emaciation and indolence produced by the habit are very marked. Hundreds of times as I have preached among the crowds of that city, I have felt most painfully what miserable specimens of humanity they were. In no other city or village has the superficial aspect of society struck me so painfully. And it is in such a city that the genuine effects of using opium can be best discovered. Some years ago I found that as a consequence of the indolence and expense attending the habit, nearly all the property of the city was drifting from Mahomedans into Hindu hands. There are other physical effects of a serious nature arising from the extensive use of opium as an aphrodisiac. But upon these I need not enlarge. It is only too well known how grave are the physical consequences of giving such a natural stimulant to sexual appetites. Mental effects: lethargy of intellect as an ultimate consequence seems to be the principal mental evil arising from the use of opium. In time it dulls the natural activity of the brain and produces a drab and listless state of mind. Only once have I heard it spoken of in connection with a case of hopeless insanity in a young man; but then it was associated with ganja smoking and other vices, so that it would be hard to say what share opium had in the result. Moral effects: (1) these probably arise as indirect results from certain direct effects upon physique, mind and purse. Indolence, strong craving and heavy expense are well established facts connected with the use of opium. These necessarily tempt all but the wealthy to get money by any and every means. Non-payment of debts, lying, cheating and stealing are merely the natural outcome of the immense strength of these temptations. Nearly three years ago I sold a cow to an opium-eater, and up to the present it does not seem to have occurred to him that there is any need to pay. The same individual undertook to collect rents. I believe he did so, but the landlord has not seen any of them. It is also very commonly understood by the people, particularly in times of flood, that they must be always on the watch against those who take opium, because they are peculiarly liable to take brass lots and clothes, and anything else they can pick up. (2) But the most serious moral as well as physical aspect of this question is the one directly connected with the use of opium as an aphrodisiac. Anything which stimulates the lustful passions of men and women must have a most disastrous moral effect both upon themselves and society. The natural strength of these passions lies at the root of some of the greatest moral evils of the world. The large use of anything therefore that increases

Rev. W. B.
Phillips.
22 Nov. 1893.

2594. *Edw. W. B. Phillips.* that natural strength must always be regarded as one of the gravest dangers and curses of society.

2595. *Nov. 1898.* Have you anything to tell us with regard to the medical use of opium as a protection against fever or as a protection against the debilitating influences of malaria?—On this point, of course, my evidence is of a popular and necessarily not very important kind. I may say that I have never heard opium spoken of in our district as being used as a protective against fever. I do not believe that it is any protective against fever. That is my personal belief. Murshidabad is supposed to be a malarious district, but I never heard the people speak of opium as a protection against malarious fever. They speak of quinine: that is the great thing that is used, but not opium.

2596. Do you think that opium enables the working people to get through a greater amount of bodily toil?—The opium-user will say that he cannot do without it: but there is no general belief in its necessity or value to enable people to do their work. It is a capital thing to make them go to sleep.

2597. Have you anything to say to us as to your impression with regard to the view which is generally taken by the native community with reference to the opium habit as being immoral, or in any sense disgraceful?—Opium-smoking is almost universally regarded as a disgraceful habit, but opium-eating does not seem to arouse such general censure. The opium-eater does not make himself such an object of public knowledge, nor indulge his habit in such filthy dens. The whole surroundings of smokers in gooli and chandni are extremely disgusting; and the appearance of many of them is wretched in the last degree.

2598. Turning to the action of the Government in relation to opium, have you any observations to offer, with reference to the licensing system? Do you consider that the existing system tends to the spread of the habit, and do you wish to offer any criticisms upon the attitude of the Government in relation to the licensing system?—I believe that the existing system of licensing is inherently and hopelessly vicious, and tends decidedly to spread the habit of opium consumption. The sale of licenses by auction puts the highest possible pressure upon purchasers to push the sale. In some cases such pushing is their only chance for making a profit, seeing that competition at auction has driven them to the very verge of gain and close to the abyss of loss. It is a self-acting system for giving Government the biggest returns with the least trouble. It is the very system adopted by the Romans with their taxes when they cared not a jot what happened to the people in the provinces, so long as their own coffers were filled easily. It exercises a steady pressure, acting all along the line, to promote increased consumption. No temporary check, through some sudden new move, stops that steady onward progress towards larger consumption. This system and its effects greatly weaken the force of all Government assurances as to benevolent intentions. High officials sometimes feel hurt because the public do not accept their statements as to the Government intentions to restrict the sale of opium and other things. Without in any way reflecting upon the honesty of Government officers, I would yet wish to put in a word for the public. Take my own case. I have lived for 18 years in this country, and watched the steady increase of excise revenue; and have all along taken an active interest in trying to check the growing influence of drugs and drinks among the people. I have watched the higher price given at auction sales for licenses, and reflected much upon the inevitable tendency of the system to let loose upon society a growing number of growingly greedy shopkeepers. As a result of these 18 years' reflection and experience, I have reached the conclusion that under all the circumstances Government cannot reasonably expect the public to accept such assurances of benevolent intention.

2599. Do you see any analogy between the granting of licenses for the sale of opium by the Government of India and the granting of licenses for the sale of liquor by the Government at home?—The Government at home is distinguished greatly from the Government of India by its relation to the traffic in opium. The Government at home is not responsible for the production of alcohol in the way that the Government of India is responsible for the production of opium: I hold that the Government of England, in dealing with the licensing of alcohol, is also at present in a very guilty position with regard to the welfare of its subjects: but I do not care to distinguish very seriously between the positions of the two Governments.

2600. You think both, from the point of view that you take, deserve condemnation?—Yes, I do.

2601. Do you think it desirable to prohibit the sale of opium in this country, except for medical purposes, and do you think that the public opinion of the people of India would favour the adoption of a measure which would restrain or prohibit the sale of opium, excepting for medical purposes?—I do think it is most desirable that the sale of opium should be prohibited in India, except for medical purposes. As to whether public opinion would favour the adoption of this measure, I may say that a certain class of superficial patriots, whose loud claim to represent public sentiment I strongly challenge, is just now echoing the alarmist cry about revenue and losing sight almost entirely of the moral aspects of this question. Another faction is composed of opium victims. But leaving out these two classes, I believe that the sound good sense of the people at large would heartily support Government in limiting the sale of opium to medical uses; and the best elements of Indian society would gratefully welcome such action on the part of Government.

2602. Can you offer any suggestion as to the mode in which the loss of revenue to the Indian Government resulting from such a course of policy as you recommend could by any possibility be met?—I would join in supporting Dr. Thoburn's suggestion of a small tax upon tobacco. It is so extensively used, and is so comparatively harmless, that increase of consumption is not a thing to be seriously dreaded. Moreover, increase in that direction is almost impossible, the people already take about as much as they can. I have long thought of this as a source of revenue, but never till lately felt prepared to advocate the measure. The *Daily News* of this morning, in an article upon Dr. Thoburn's evidence, has this sentence:—"Of course, if the Indian revenue continues to be inadequate, there is no other resource; it may be necessary to put a tax on tobacco; but to gratuitously fling away the opium revenue, for no reason whatever that any sane man could accept, in order to put a tax on so innocent a luxury, we had almost written necessary, as tobacco, would be too monstrous." Now, the very argument which this writer puts forth as to the reason why a tax should not be put upon tobacco is one of the strongest reasons in my own mind for recommending the tax. After a great deal of reflection on this subject, I am coming more and more to this conviction, that Governments must tax innocent commodities, and that in time they will be forced to do so in England. The next move in public opinion is likely to be towards local option; and even the working classes are coming to see that local option will mean to them shutting up a large number of public houses; and shutting up these public houses will lessen the revenue from alcohol, until I believe the time is coming, when England will have in alcohol a less gigantic evil to deal with than it has at present, and when it will get the courage and nobility of character to put its foot down on that evil, and say: "We will not carry on our Government as we have done, so much on the fruits of this most dangerous thing." It is, therefore, my strong conviction that Governments should look for their revenue to innocent and necessary substances. As it is, the virtuous part of the public is compelled to live, as it were, upon the vice of the vicious. For my own part I am not willing to eat my bread and butter at the expense of families that are going down to misery and degradation through the use of alcohol or opium. I protest against it.

2603. You have expressed yourself with great strength of feeling with reference to the abuse of alcohol at home. It is the case, is it not, that at home the most earnest men in the movement for the suppression of the opium traffic in India are connected with the temperance movement at home?—I believe so.

2604. The two movements are in a sense inter-dependent?—I believe so.

2605. Is there anything further that you would like to state?—I should like to say a word upon the present sale of opium as encouraging suicide. In 1876, whilst teaching in our English school at Berhampore, a student of the Entrance Class rushed in greatly excited, asking for leave to go home as his mother had taken opium. With great difficulty that life was saved. Naturally this case shocked me very much, but I have never till recently turned attention to the great frequency of such suicides. At the early part of this year, especially, I began to remark how often suicides by opium appeared in our daily papers. I would respectfully recommend that the Commission should have returns of opium suicides for one year prepared. I believe that just one year's extracts from newspapers would show a startling result. On the 6th of September last I commenced making them, and continued this until September 23rd. During

those seventeen days there were five clear cases of suicide and three cases of death from overdoses, in which the suicidal attempt was not so clear. Of these, two were women, and three were young men under 22. Of these latter, two were students at college. It is my conviction that if any poison should be guarded strictly by Government, because of the dangers of its use for suicide, opium is pre-eminently such a poison. It is of all poisons the one which must be naturally the most attractive to a suicide. It presents death in its easiest and most delightful form to one who has reached that state of mind. I believe that its free sale does greatly encourage suicide.

"How oft the sight of means to do ill deeds
Makes ill deeds done."

2606. (Sir William Roberts.) You spoke about opium being used as an aphrodisiac; of course you know that there are other aphrodisiacs used than this?—Yes, I do know that.

2607. A great number, are there not?—I believe so.

2608. Do you think that a pious Hindu or a pious Mahomedan would consider himself as acting immorally in taking an aphrodisiac?—I doubt it.

2609. What is your impression in regard to the use of opium with reference to longevity?—I have made no remarks upon that question, and I scarcely feel in a position rightly to speak on that matter.

2610. You said that opium-smoking was regarded as degrading amongst the people that you laboured with, but not opium-eating or drinking?—Yes.

2611. Have you resided in China?—I have not.

2612. I understand that the position you take up is to bar all alcoholic liquor and opium but not tobacco?—Not tobacco.

2613. You are in favour of tobacco?—I cannot say that I am in favour of it, but it seems about as innocent a thing as there can be of that kind.

2614. Have you ever tried to explain why nations like those of Western Europe—Christian nations generally—notwithstanding their use of alcohol, are so prosperous as compared with other nations that do not use alcohol, or only a little?—I believe the great secret of the prosperity of the Western nations is the higher standard of morality generally that has resulted from the religion of Christ.

2615. Then you admit that the use of alcohol in Europe has not prevented that influence from operating in a favourable sense?—Just so.

2616. But does not that appear to you an odd paradox?—No. I think there may be so much good in a nation as to enable it to throw off even a great deal of evil without its interfering with general progress, particularly in comparison with other nations that have perhaps all the evils with very little of the correctives.

2617. It has never struck you that as a possible view that, although alcohol does an enormous amount of harm to individuals, it may nevertheless do a great deal of good to those who consume it moderately, and that the good done in that way may balance the evil that it does?—I am not able to take that view, although, if alcohol were universally moderately used, I should never be a total abstainer, but I feel that the evils are so many and so serious that it cannot be thus treated.

2618. (Mr. Pease.) You stated that the result of the opium habit was to transfer the property in Murshidabad from the Mahomedans to the Hindus. Will you explain that?—It happens in this way: the Hindus are less under the power of the opium habit, they have therefore more money. These Murshidabad people spend so much in opium and suffer so much from its degrading influences generally that they give a chance to men of wealth to buy their property, so the Hindus have practically been stepping into their shoes all round in that city.

2619. You say it is a more prevalent vice with the Mahomedans than with the Hindus?—Yes.

2620. You said you had observed for some time past an increase in the price given for licenses to sell opium. Have you any figures that you can put before us on that subject?—I have not.

(Chairman.) The Secretary says that the Commissioner of Excise can furnish official figures on the subject.

2621. (Mr. Wilson.) You told us that you had a great deal of experience in the Murshidabad district until recently?—Yes.

2622. May we take it generally that your evidence relates especially to the Murshidabad district?—Yes.

2623. And if there was other evidence from other parts of India, it might not necessarily conflict with yours?—Decidedly.

Rev. W. D. Phillips.
22 Nov. 1893.

2624. I have some vague idea of what the word "Poojah" means; I should like to hear your definition?—It is the religious worship of the Hindus.

2625. At any time?—Yes.

2626. I thought you spoke of it as relating to some particular season?—The term is applied to regular worship and also to special occasions. The special occasions are those to which I alluded in my evidence, when large crowds of people gather together and the opportunities for selling are very numerous. All the pilgrims are warned, in fact they know themselves, that they must watch against opium-eaters or smokers.

2627. You spoke of two kinds of smoking—chandu and gooli?—There is ohandu and madat. Madat, I believe, is synonymous with gooli-smoking.

2628. When you spoke as to how far opium is used medicinally, was that from the general impression that you gathered from the people themselves, or have you had a conversation with the native doctors?—I have not had much conversation with the native doctors on that point.

2629. The impression you have given us is chiefly derived from the people themselves?—From what I have seen of their habits.

2630. Lord Brassey asked you a question about the temperance movement and the anti-opium movement in England as being inter-dependant, and I understood you to say you thought that they were?—If I put it in that form it would scarcely represent my views. What I mean is that as a rule the enemies of alcohol are the enemies of opium, that probably most anti-opiumists are anti-alcoholists.

2631. But if you can imagine that the anti-opium agitation completely collapsed in England, do you think it would have any impression on the temperance movement in the sense of inter-dependance?—Not the slightest.

2632. Perhaps you are aware that some prominent members of the Anti-Opium Society are not temperance men at all?—I was not fully aware of that fact.

2633. Perhaps you are not aware that Mr. Donald Mathieson and Dr. Legge are neither of them connected with the temperance movement in any way whatever?—I was not aware of that.

2634. (Mr. Mowbray.) Can you tell me the proportion of the Mahomedan population of Murshidabad and the Hindu population?—I believe in Murshidabad they are nearly half-and-half.

2635. What is the total population?—1,250,000 I believe by the last Census; it used to be 1,353,000.

2636. I may take it then that there are about half a million Mahomedans?—About that.

2637. And you said that 90 per cent. were consumers of opium; I suppose you mean of the adult males among the Mahomedan population?—I have not made that statement; I have confined my statement to the city of Murshidabad, not to the district.

2638. Do I understand that the population of Murshidabad is upwards of a million?—Yes.

2639. And that practically half of that population is Mahomedan, and 90 per cent. of the Mahomedan population are consumers of opium?—No; Murshidabad District is distinct from Murshidabad City. Murshidabad City is the former Capital of Bengal.

2640. Then you do not mean that the population of the city is a million?—Oh dear, no.

2641. Would you tell me what it is?—What I have said as to the population applies to the district.

2642. What were you referring to when you said that 90 per cent. of the Mahomedan population were consumers of opium?—I was then referring to the city of Murshidabad.

2643. What is the population of the city?—I am not perfectly certain, but I believe it is 56,000.*

* Note.—Mr. Phillips desires to put in the following figures showing the population of the Murshidabad city in 1881:—

Hindus	22,719
Mahomedans	15,818
Others	634
TOTAL	39,281

Mr. Sita Nath Roy. 22 Nov. 1898. are as nothing in comparison with those caused by alcohol. Not a single crime can be ascribed to the use of opium. Who ever met with an opium-eater beating his wife and children, quarrelling with his neighbours and creating public disturbance? We daily meet with the sad spectacle of people dead drunk from the use of alcohol, reeling in the streets of our large cities in a disorderly and unconscious state and incapable of taking care of themselves. But who ever met with an opium-eater behaving in this fashion? At least the uproariousness and wildness caused by the use of alcohol are not visible in the case of opium. A man under the influence of opium is less harmful and less dangerous than one excited by the use of alcohol or of other native drugs.

2707. What do you say as to the disposition of the people of Bengal as to the use of opium for non-medical purposes?—As a rule there is no disposition among the people, especially the higher classes of this Presidency, to use opium for any but medical purposes. The rich and the poor alike do not hesitate to take opium when occasion arises, but they do so under medical advice. I should be wanting in candour if I were not to state here that some (though the number is very small) among the lower classes in our larger cities do take opium as a means of pleasurable excitement. There are opium dens visible here and there in our large cities where *ohndu* and *madak*, different preparations of opium, are smoked by a few who may be designated the scum of society, but this is a vice which cannot be charged against the higher classes.

2708. Will you tell us anything you wish to say with reference to the disposition of the people of the Province of Bengal to bear in whole or in part the cost of measures for the prohibition of opium?—It is superfluous to ask the people of this country whether they are disposed to bear in whole or in part the cost of prohibitive measures. Can it be supposed that while the masses of the people of this country are proverbially poor, mostly living on one meal a day, and that while they are literally groaning under numerous direct and indirect taxes, they should be disposed to pay additional taxation to recoup the heavy loss that must inevitably follow the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of opium in British India? As to the financial aspect of the question, is it reasonable to throw to the winds a magnificent revenue of about six millions in tens of rupees at present derived from an unobjectionable trade in deference to the well meaning but mistaken views of moralists and irresponsible persons, and then to ask the people of the country to recoup the deficiency by the payment of additional taxation? No one knows better than the gentleman in charge of the financial portfolio of the Government of India how difficult it is to raise money in this country from taxation, and due weight should be given to his representations. Lands in this country, besides bearing the weight of a heavy revenue payable to Government, have, in infringement of the permanent settlement, in violation of the solemn compact entered into with the landholders, of late been saddled with the payment of two different cesses, namely, road and public works cesses, while trade, commerce and the different professions have been taxed to the uttermost by the imposition of an obnoxious income-tax. Better sources of revenue are hardly available, and any attempt at fresh taxation would arouse the greatest indignation and discontent everywhere throughout the length and breadth of India. Indeed, the imposition of further burdens would be a cruel injustice. Hence, on financial grounds, it would be highly impolitic to abandon the revenue derived from opium, for which there seems no practicable substitute.

2709. Now let me ask whether in your view the growth of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited, and whether you think it would be practicable to enforce a prohibition of that kind?—There does not seem to be the slightest justification for prohibiting the growth of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in British India while other stimulants of a far more objectionable character are available, while drunkenness reigns rampant here, especially in Europe, and while the country is being deluged with the spirits manufactured here and the imported brandy, gin and rum, or noxious liquors under those names, it is absurd to talk of abolishing the manufacture and sale of such an innocuous article of commerce as opium, which certainly is not so harmful to society as alcohol. Should opium be abolished, people will have recourse to narcotic drugs and alcohol, and an unlooked for market of large dimensions for European liquors would be opened here. So long as philanthropists and moralists in England cannot persuade the British Parliament to surrender the large revenue amounting to about 28 millions of pounds

realised from the liquor traffic at home, and adopt strong legislative measures for repressing the use of intoxicating liquor, it is a mere mockery to ask the Government of this country to prohibit the manufacture and sale of opium. But what would be gained by such prohibition? China has long cultivated the poppy, and the amount of opium manufactured there is much larger than that imported from this country, and in the absence of that pure product, the Chinese would themselves supply an article far more obnoxious. While the Indian opium being very superior and considered a great luxury is confined to the well-to-do people, the home-grown opium, which is not so refined and is much cheaper, is consumed by millions of people. The only consequence of abolishing Government trade in opium would be either to throw the drug open to free trade, or to hold out an incentive to Chinese for the much larger manufacture of less pure opium in their own country. While the Chinese would go on smoking their pipes with home-grown opium, the Government of India, which can hardly make two ends meet, would for nothing be sacrificing a revenue of six millions tens of rupees at the bidding of a number of well meaning but mistaken philanthropists, who perceive not the beam in the eye of their own people. It does not seem possible to effectually prohibit the manufacture and especially the sale of opium in this country. Government may prohibit the growth of the poppy in British India, but it cannot and should not, consistently with justice and without giving rise to serious unpleasantness, prohibit the growth of the poppy in the States of the Independent Chiefs of Central India. With the abolition of the opium trade in British India, a greater stimulus would be given to the growth of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in the Native States, and opium would continue to be imported and smuggled into British territory, China and elsewhere, and it would be costly and extremely difficult, if not unpleasant and unsafe, to prevent it by a system of excise which would be intolerable. The revenue derived from opium is one of the principal sources of income in the Native States of Central India, and to ask them, without any reason, to forego it, would be asking too much of them. Nor can the payment of adequate compensation induce the Central Indian Chiefs to prohibit the manufacture of opium in their territories, for their subjects have been accustomed to the use of opium from time immemorial, and a habit so deep-rooted cannot be easily abandoned. The fact is, the prohibition of the growth of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in this country would not only throw the Government into extreme difficulty, but bring serious loss to ryots and landlords alike and to many thousands of people engaged in opium factories.

2710. Do you think that any change short of prohibition should be made in the existing arrangements for regulating and restricting the opium traffic in Bengal and raising a revenue from that source?—The present system of Government monopoly seems to work admirably, and I cannot suggest any change in it. It imposes a great restriction on the consumption of opium. With the abandonment and withdrawal of the Government monopoly, several powerful joint-stock companies would be floated for the manufacture and sale of opium, and some of the very gentlemen who are now loudest in their declamations against opium might be shareholders in such a thriving and lucrative business.

2711. Does that conclude what you wish to say in your examination-in-chief?—There is one thing more I should like to say in reference to what has fallen from Mr. Phillips as to the wretched condition of the Mahomedan population of Murshidabad. My belief with reference to the wretched condition of the population of Murshidabad is that it is more on account of the prevalence of malaria that they present such a wretched appearance. The fact that a large number of the population of Murshidabad do take opium is on account of the prevalence of malaria. I know it from my personal contact with the people living in and around Calcutta where there is a great prevalence of malaria. The people in and about Calcutta do take opium, and those who are stricken by malarial fever necessarily present a wretched spectacle. It is my belief that it is not on account of the use of opium that such a sad appearance is presented, but on account of their being stricken by malarial fevers.

2712. (Mr. Pease.) With reference to your previous answer as to joint-stock companies, I should like to ask what ground you have for such a statement?—That is my belief.

2713. That gentlemen who are at present denouncing the opium trade are so insincere that they would take part in that business?—I do not mean to say that.

2714. Then what do you mean?—I mean that although I might not take alcohol, still I might take shazes in a wine business.

2715. (Chairman.) A pure hypothesis?—A pure hypothesis.

2716. (Mr. Pease.) What special grounds have you had for forming an opinion upon the physical effects of opium?—As a merchant and zemindar I have had experience among several classes of people. Living in the mofussil and in Calcutta, daily coming into contact with a large number of people, I know a large number who consume opium without any ill effects from the use; indeed, they tell me it is very beneficial for their health.

2717. Are you personally interested in the opium business or in the employ of those who are?—I am not in any way interested directly or indirectly.

2718. Is opium largely used in the district from which you come in cases of fever instead of quinine?—In one part of the country, I mean at Dacca, there is no such thing as malarial fever, consequently the consumption of opium, as I have said, is very limited. It is in Western and Central Bengal that the consumption of opium is larger.

2719. (Mr. Wilson.) Will you tell me whether the general remarks you have made in reference to its use for medicinal purposes are based on personal knowledge or on what your friends have communicated?—Not on personal knowledge, but on what I hear from my friends as to the effect of it. I myself do not take opium.

2720. Do I understand that you are here as representing the Chamber of Commerce?—Yes.

(Chairman.) I believe it is the Native Chamber of Commerce.

2721. (Mr. Wilson.) You have not said much as to its effect on commerce, on which I expected to hear a good deal; have you anything to add on that subject?—I never dealt in opium. I have but little knowledge on that subject.

2722. Supposing the sale and cultivation to be largely restricted or abolished, in what way would it affect the Chamber of Commerce as a commercial body?—In this way: if the consumption and export of opium to China were less, in consequence of the restriction, the Government revenue from opium would be less, and in order to recoup the deficiency the Government might impose fresh burdens on the people including zemindars and merchants who would not relish it.

2723. In any other way?—The people also would not like it because in many instances they are obliged to take opium, and if it could not be had easily they would be dissatisfied.

2724. That is a matter in regard to the social life of the people; I am speaking particularly from a commercial point of view; have you anything to say except that there is a fear of additional taxation?—There are persons, especially some big Jew gentlemen, who deal in opium, and some Marwari gentlemen who deal in opium, and perhaps they would be inconvenienced if the consumption and production of opium were restricted.

2725. Are they members of your Association?—Some Marwaris are members of the Association.

2726. I think you said you regarded opium as a panacea for many diseases?—Yes.

2727. You mentioned particularly malaria?—Malaria, rheumatism, gout, bowel-complaints, and diabetes: in all these cases opium is very largely taken, and the Kabirajis prescribe it.

2728. I asked about young children?—Not necessarily children; it may be that children as well as adults are all liable to attacks of malaria.

2729. My question is, are not children especially liable to be affected by malaria?—I am not aware of it.

2730. Can you tell me whether, as a matter of fact, opium is given to children or not. You say it is useful in later life?—I do not know whether it is given to children. I come mostly in contact with grown-up people, and they tell me that they use opium as a prophylactic against malaria, that they derive great benefits from its use.

2731. I think you said that many of these people you are speaking of are extremely poor and only get one meal a day?—Large masses of the people.

2732. But although they have only that one meal a day they find money for the opium?—Not necessarily. Opium is taken by all classes of people, rich and poor alike, but perhaps those who live on one meal a day can hardly spare money for opium.

2733. In reference to the taxation, you are aware that the proposal of the Anti-Opium Association in England is that any additional cost in loss of revenue should not fall upon India?—I was not aware of it until I read it in yesterday's papers.

Mr. Sita 2
Roy.
22 Nov. 18:

2734. Now that you are aware of it, does it not somewhat modify the opinions you have expressed?—I do not know whether they will indemnify the ryots, the landholders, and the people of Central India. It might be that they will be disposed to give the millions of money which the Government of India would lose, but I do not know whether they would indemnify everybody that would lose from the suppression of the opium trade.

2735. Do you consider that the ryots would suffer much?—I believe so.

2736. You think it is a very profitable crop?—It is one of the most valuable crops.

2737. Are you aware that in several recent opium official reports reference has been made to the difficulties in getting it cultivated?—I am not aware of it.

2738. If you were to see such statements in official reports, would it modify your opinion that the ryots are very fond of the crop?—I believe the advances of money made by the Government of India are an inducement to the ryots to cultivate land for the poppy.

2739. Very likely, but do you think it is the most profitable crop they have?—One of the most profitable.

2740. You have referred to the Native States. Is it not the fact that the growth of opium is now prohibited in some of the Native States?—I am not aware of it.

2741. Are you not aware of any Native States in which it is prohibited?—I am not aware of it.

2742. Do you know anything about Mysore?—No.

2743. Are you aware that the revenue from opium has been diminishing a good deal of late years?—Yes.

2744. And that with the constant increasing growth of the poppy in China there are considerable fears that opium will further diminish?—It is diminishing, but that is no reason why it should be forcibly suppressed.

2745. If it is steadily diminishing, some means will have to be found to meet it?—It will be many years before it is completely diminished.

2746. Suppose England to be willing to make a very substantial contribution now in order to get rid of what many persons object to in this traffic, do you not think it might, if it were possible, be a good bargain for India to get English money, and not to see this revenue gradually dwindle away until it comes to nothing?—If the Government gave a guarantee that they would remit every year 6 millions of rupees, and at the same time indemnify all the ryots, landholders, and subjects of the Native States of Central India, and also allow the use of opium for medicinal purposes, I think we should not have the least objection.

2747. You have referred to the drink traffic in England and the revenue derived from it. If there were to be some material alteration made within a few years in our liquor laws in England and if we showed some anxiety to get rid of that course that would destroy the force of your argument about the opium traffic in that respect?—Still we would not like to abandon the opium traffic, because to us it seems that opium is not so harmful and dangerous as alcohol. Opium, it appears to us, is an innocuous article of commerce.

2748. That was not my question. I thought you introduced the question of the liquor trade in England and pointed out the inconsistency in that respect?—Yes.

2749. Then, if England were to make some distinct advance in reference to its own liquor laws, that would destroy that part of your argument?—What I meant was that in that case they would consistently ask the Government of India to put restrictions on the export of opium to China.

2750. (Mr. Mowbray.) You said that on certain conditions with regard to the payment by England you thought it might be possible to restrict the use of opium in India to medicinal purposes?—Yes.

2751. Have you formed any plan in your own mind as to the way in which that could be carried out?—Not at all.

2752. (Mr. Haridas Voharidas.) Did I understand you to say that you think opium does good and not harm to the people who use it in moderation?—Yes.

2753. Not for medical use only?—As far as I know, it is used mostly for medical purposes, and if it were not, still it would do no harm.

Mr. Sita Nath Roy.
22 Nov. 1893. 2754. You do not think it is a vice?—The immoderate use of it as a means of pleasurable excitement, as a means of debauchery, is condemnable, but the moderate use of it, especially as our countrymen use it for medicinal purposes, is not condemnable.

2755. (*Sir James Lyall.*) Two missionary gentlemen who have given evidence before the Commission, have suggested that a tobacco tax might be imposed to make good the reve-

nue lost by the prohibition of the cultivation of opium; what do you think would be the general idea in India of such a proposal?—There can be only one answer to it. The whole of India as a man would protest, because the lower classes and the higher classes also, especially the lower classes, cannot do without tobacco. A tax on tobacco would be highly resented by the people and produce the greatest amount of discontent and indignation; it is the last thing that Government should do.

The witness withdrew.

(*Rev. W. B. Phillips.*) As one of my statements has been traversed, I should like to say that my remarks, with reference to the appearance of the people in Murshidabad, apply to the city only, and not to the district.

Adjourned until to-morrow at 10.30.

At the Council Chamber, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

ELEVENTH DAY.

Thursday, 23rd November 1893.

PRESENT :

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B. (CHAIRMAN, PRESIDING).

SIR JAMES B. LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
" WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D.
MR. R. G. C. MOWBRAY, M.P.
" A. U. FANSHAWE.

MR. ARTHUR PHASE.
" HARIDAS VEHARIDAS DESAI.
" H. J. WILSON, M.P.

MR. J. PRESCOTT HEWETT, C.I.E., *Secretary.*

The Reverend THOMAS EVANS called in and examined.

Reed.
T. Evans.
23 Nov. 1893.

2756. (*Chairman.*) Will you state shortly the length of time you have been in this country and the nature of the work upon which you have been engaged, and generally describe the nature of your position and occupation?—I have been in India for 38 years, and I have been engaged in mission work until lately, when I retired. For the last few years I have been more specially engaged in the promotion of temperance work among the natives of India.

2757. What means have you had especially of ascertaining the social habits of the people of India regarding the use of opium?—I would say at the outset that my chief attention with regard to the Indian "Abkari" Department has been devoted not so much to the opium question as to that of strong drinks.

At the same time I have not mixed up, as a missionary, with the people of India for the last 38 years without having had numerous opportunities of discovering that the use of opium, more or less, is a prevalent vice among them, if not more so than their indulgence in alcohol. Indeed, in many cases opium finds free admission into many wealthy families where strong drink would not be tolerated.

The *Shastras* of the Hindus, as well as the Koran of the Mahomedans, strongly prohibit the use of alcohol, while, as far as I am aware, opium is not thus forbidden. I heard yesterday from a native gentleman of high caste that this drug is more or less in use among all classes of the people of India. The simple fact that opium produces such a large amount of revenue to the Government is at once a proof of its popularity. In the North-West Provinces alone no less than Rs. 8,41,270 was realised by way of opium revenue in the year 1892, while in Oudh there was the sum of Rs. 1,08,758; and in both cases there was an increase over the previous year. The revenue from opium and hemp drugs in the Punjab for 1891-92 was Rs. 8,19,595 and for 1892-93 Rs. 8,49,330. This same sort of increase is seen in nearly all other parts of India, and especially so in the Central Provinces. As to the use for which the people of India generally consume opium, while no doubt many use it medicinally, yet I am of opinion that this is not the general use for which it is taken. It is common to hear of poor mothers giving it to their children in order to put them to sleep while they are away at work, and of late years this practice has greatly

increased in the case of women who are employed at the various factories. Only the other day I was told by a reliable authority that great havoc is made among little children in such cases by overdoses of opium which at times is given them. Then if a wife is jealous of her husband it is a common practice to resort to opium to put an end to life. But from all I have been able to gather in my intercourse with the people, I find that the drug is chiefly used on account of its aphrodisiacal properties in order to force into activity the exhausted powers of nature and to stimulate and excite lust. Before I had been six months in India I was told by a brother missionary who used to distribute grain to the poor on Sundays, that it was a common thing for the beggars to ask for a bit of opium to promote sexual intercourse, and often since that time the same request has been made to myself. I have been told more than once by native doctors that the use of opium for this purpose is as common as it is sad and degrading.

2758. Can you give any special cases of opium victims that have come under your observation; and at what age do you find that the opium habit is generally formed?—As to any special cases that have come under my immediate notice and with which I have had to do, I can just now call to mind the following instances. One case is that of the "*pundit*" who taught me the Hindi language and whose name was *Paramanand*. He was a Christian convert at Agra, and during the Mutiny was killed at Muttra. This man had been for years, while yet a Hindu devotee, in the habit of eating opium. Every possible effort was made to cure him of the habit, but all was in vain. I have often seen him walking along by my side with his eyes closed, and it was with the greatest difficulty I could keep him awake while teaching me the language. He himself often said that he deeply felt the disgrace of his position, but that he could not possibly live without his daily dose of opium. Another case was that of a young Brahmin, who was a fine Sanskrit scholar. He became, I believe, a true convert to Christianity at Allahabad in the year 1870, and he often preached with me in the bazaar. I was not at first aware of his opium propensities, although I could see a strange restlessness in his eyes and some eccentric conduct. At last it all came out and his sad story was, that some years before some old woman had persuaded him to take opium as a preventive from cold.

The dose went on increasing by degrees until at last he had become a slave to the habit. I did all in my power to get him to give up the vice, but I utterly failed and was compelled at last to give him up as a hopeless case and turn him out of the mission. Another case was that of a tinman in Allahabad. This poor victim looked so emaciated and wretched that I one day asked him if he was ill. He said, "Yes, Sir, and I cannot be cured." I answered, "Why?" His pitiable reply was "I am a *kaidi* (prisoner), shut up in the prison of *opium* (opium) and cannot possibly find a way out." I pitied the poor fellow, and in order to induce him to make a strong effort to conquer the vice I offered him 5 rupees if he kept from the opium for five days, and I asked his master to watch over him. He held out for three days and then broke out saying that no amount of money could compensate for the horrible craving for the drug which made his life a burden. A common expression with opium-eaters when they cannot get the drug is to say "*sub budhna jutt*" "*jota hat*," that is, "the whole body is going to pieces." Such is the agony of the fearful opium craves that the poor victim who suffers from it will beg, borrow, or steal in order to secure a fresh supply of the drug. Such, in brief, has been my observation of opium victims, though of course the instances above given were extreme cases. At the same time it should not be forgotten that opium, like alcohol, is a crave which grows on one insidiously and like a deadly hydra folding its slimy coils round its victims by slow degrees until at last the fearful craving crushes its votaries to death. I have found that, as a rule, opium habits are formed in early life by mothers administering it to their children. Then there are other cases in which men take to the indulgence of opium and *bhang* and *ganja* and *charus*, when they resolve to lead the life of religious ascetics, as nearly all devotees in India indulge largely in stimulants, which among them is not considered a disgrace, for they are freed from the trammels of social life, as they suppose.

2759. Does that represent all you wish to say as to the difficulty which it is alleged is experienced in relinquishing the use of the drug when once the habit has been contracted?—As to the question whether opium victims ever give up the habit, while I would not say that there are no exceptions, yet I do say that as a rule they do not give it up. In proof of this I may state that during my travels through India, from the extreme north to the south, for the last four years, to promote temperance work among the natives, while I have been able in connection with the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association to organise about 130 anti-alcohol societies which include about 100,000 members, I have not been able to find a single person willing to give up the use of opium, and I have often been asked to say that members need only sign against liquor. As far as my experience goes, I do not think that five per cent. of confirmed opium-eaters, and not one in 1,000 of *chandu*-smokers, ever relinquish the evil habit till death sets them free from the terrible bondage.

2760. Are you of opinion from your experience that the opium habit tends materially to the shortening of life?—I am not prepared to make any statement on that point.

2761. What do you consider the most injurious method of taking opium; and do you think that the opium drug is a preventative against malaria or fever?—It would appear to me that opium-smoking is much more deleterious in its effects than that of eating or drinking it. The fumes of the poison seem to affect the lungs and through them the blood with greater virulence than is the case when otherwise taken. We full well know that the smoking of *chandu* (which is clarified opium) is much more injurious than that of eating or drinking the drug. This may account for the fact that the Sikhs in the Punjab and others as well, who use opium as a drink with their food, do not suffer nearly as much from its evil effects as others do who smoke it.

2762. (Sir William Roberts.) Does that apply to opium-eating and smoking in India?—In India.

2763. Not in China?—I know nothing about China.

2764. (Chairman.) What have you to say about opium being a preventative against malaria?—As to the question whether opium is a preventative from the effects of malaria or not, I am not competent to give a reliable opinion, but if it be so, it seems strange that our benevolent Government, which supplies cholera pills free of charge to people living in places where that sickness prevails, should not be equally liberal in supplying opium pills to its poor subjects residing in malarious districts. And further, if opium is such a powerful prophylactic, how is it that, while the Chinese in Burma may enjoy the boon, it is strictly forbidden by law to allow the native Burmese either to sell or to purchase it? Another strange mystery about this question is this, that, while it is supposed that opium is good to those who

live in British territory, strange to say, the subjects of Native States are forbidden to enjoy this boon by the cultivation of it in their own native country. The Government of India has made a treaty with the State of Mysore in Southern India by which the cultivation of opium in that country is strictly prohibited, and, if I am not mistaken, the same restriction is enforced upon other Native Princes in India.

2765. Have you any remarks to make as to the result of closing the licensed opium-smoking shops in India?—With regard to the closing of *chandu*-smoking dens by the order of Government, I am sorry to have to say that that order has been so far sadly neglected, and it may be that the chief reason for that is found in the issue of a confidential circular, circulated at the order of the Commissioner of Excise in the North-West Provinces in July 1892. That confidential circular I will now read:—

"Confidential. No. 1 of 1892, dated 26th July 1892.

"From T. Stoker, Esq., C.S., Commissioner of Excise, North-West Provinces and Oudh, to all Commissioners and Collectors, North-West Provinces and Oudh.

"Sir,—You are already aware that henceforth the *chandu* and *madak*-smoking is absolutely prohibited on the premises licensed for the sale of the drug. It is impossible to doubt that this prohibition will be followed by the opening in many places of unlicensed places of resort where smokers can obtain the facilities which they require, and that such places will have to be kept under observation, both for general reasons and also with a view to prevent the use of illicit opium. As the law now stands, the authorities have no power to suppress consumption on premises where opium or its preparations are not sold. There is nothing in the law to prevent any one opening a saloon for the accommodation of opium-smokers who bring their own *chandu*. He can supply pipes and lamps and service, and charge a fee for their use, and the law cannot touch him unless he is detected selling opium or its preparations, or found in possession of more than the legal quantity. On this point the opinion of the Board of Revenue is that it is not altogether advisable that such places should be suppressed. Collectors should watch such establishments carefully so as to prevent the sale thereof of illicit opium. The known conditions of *chandu* smoking render the maintenance of some common place for the consumption of the drug an almost absolute necessity. No effort should be made to suppress such places, as it is better that they should be known, and thus be liable to supervision."

I presume that any further remarks from me on this circular are unnecessary.

2766. What in your opinion, so far as your experience goes, are the results of indulgence in opium?—As to the results of indulgence in opium, little need be said, as it is a fact as well known, as it is sadly deplored, that the results are, and must be, degrading and disastrous. Physically, the body, with all its complicated functions, becomes in a large measure paralysed. Languor, listlessness, and laxity of nerve and limb set in as a natural consequence of opium poisoning. The brain is clouded over by the fumes of the deadly drug, and no doubt the moral nature is lowered in tone and character, and becomes so defiled and corrupted that the keen sense of right and wrong is in a large measure annihilated.

2767. Turning to the cultivators, are you of opinion that they are glad to have the opportunity of using their fields for sowing poppy?—As to the question whether or not cultivators object to use their fields for sowing poppy, I have reason to know that they would rather not do it. During a residence of ten years in Moughyr, a place surrounded by opium cultivation, I have often asked the people if it was their own wish to plant the poppy. The answer, as a rule, was to this effect:—"No, sahib; it is a great trouble, and expensive too, but what are we to do? it is the order of the Sircar (Government), and we are bound to obey." Besides this, it is not a fact that the Opium Department have a staff of highly-paid officials whose duty it is to visit the villages and to offer large advances of money to those who will consent to cultivate opium? It may not be too much to say that this is the bait which hooks on the cultivators to this work, and that without it the probability is, that few, if any, of them would of their own accord give up their fields for poppy cultivation. I have also been told, but I have had no proof of it (it is very difficult to find evidence), that the Putwa, the man whose duty it is to look after the land and see what it produces, often gets presents, backsheesh, from the Sircar to induce the people to cultivate opium. Of that I have no positive evidence; but it is said so. I have every desire, as a loyal subject (which all Welahtmen are) to give the

Read.
T. Evans.
28 Nov. 1898

*Revd.
T. Evans.*
3 Nov. 1893

Indian Government all possible credit for its good intentions, and I deeply sympathize with its financial pressure. At the same time one cannot forbear asking why not be consistent and say: "We need the *revenue* and therefore we cannot give up the opium trade, or the liquor, or the "hemp drug traffic." This would be straightforward. But, further, if the Government could see its way wisely to renounce all revenue derived from the vices of its subjects, knowing that that which is morally wrong cannot be politically right, then it would act a noble part that would command the approval of the Most High. Great Britain lost nothing, but gained, by the payment of 20 millions sterling for the emancipation of its slaves in the West Indies, and if our Government in the East Indies would but follow that noble example, the Great God, who commands the wealth of the Universe, could and would more than repay the loss, and cause the financial as well as the political basis of our British rule in India to be established in righteousness and to be fixed upon a rock as firm as His own eternal promises to reward all those who put their trust in Him, who is the King of Kings and Lord of all.

2768. You have stated in strong terms the objections which you entertain towards any sanction being given by the Government of India to the traffic in opium. Do you entertain similar objections to sanction being given by a Government, whether the Government of India, or the Government at home, to a traffic in strong drinks?—The English Government in England does not traffic directly in strong drinks; it is not the proprietor of the concern. In India the Government is the proprietor and the promoter of the whole concern. I think that that makes a great difference.

2769. You are aware that witnesses who have appeared before us on behalf of the Anti-Opium Association do not concur in that view: they hold an equal objection to what is known here as the Bengal monopoly system, and to the Bombay system, under which licenses and export duties are levied; but the Government is not directly concerned in the matter?—I do not think myself if the Government simply levied a prohibitive tax upon the opium, cultivated and exported, the Government would be as responsible for it as it is at present.

2770. (*Sir James Lyall.*) By prohibitive, do you mean a tax which would amount to prohibition?—Yes, in a large measure so.

2771. (*Chairman.*) If the tax were not sufficiently onerous to practically prohibit, you would regard it with the same moral objection as you entertain to the Bengal monopoly system?—If Government confines itself to taxing the article and not producing it, I think it would rid itself of its moral responsibility.

(*Chairman.*) That view which you are now expressing has been put forward very strongly by some, but there are witnesses who have appeared on behalf of the Anti-Opium Association who do not concur with your view.

2772. (*Sir James Lyall.*) You say that the order to close chandu shops has been sadly neglected?—Yes.

2773. You apprehend that this is due to the confidential circular?—Partly.

2774. What meaning do you attach to the circular? What results do you attribute to it?—The meaning I attach to it is that the chandu-smokers took encouragement when they heard of this to carry on the trade.

2775. But how do you think they heard of it, because it was an expressly confidential circular?—These confidential things very often leak out, and people who are financially concerned, very often find them out very quickly.

2776. Is not what is stated in the circular correct, that such shops cannot be suppressed by law, as the law stands at present?—They may not be able to suppress them, but I think that where it is known by Government that they are carried on, efforts should be made to suppress them.

2777. How can it be done, if there is no law?—The law was that chandu dens should be closed.

2778. The law was that none should be licensed; that no dens should be licensed in which opium could be sold.—Would you kindly allow me to read an extract from my own diary bearing on this subject.

2779. Will you answer that question first? You said that the order was that chandu shops should be closed?—Chandu-smoking shops, not chandu-selling shops; the order never included that. The people are still allowed to sell chandu, but not to meet in a special place to smoke it.

2780. But if the law does not prevent a man opening a saloon in which people can smoke chandu, as long as chandu is not sold in that shop, if that is the law, how can the Magistrate prevent the saloon being opened? The

circular states the law.—I am not at all sure in my own mind that that was the spirit of the law. If it was it was a very imperfect law. Here is an extract bearing on this subject. I quote from *Abkari*, April 1893, page 67:—
"Chandu Shop.—We now went down a most filthy, narrow lane, and there saw a shop for selling chandu. The owners are Jhangoo Khabeed and Syad Abdul Janur. There is a second chandu shop in Begum Bazar belonging to the same people. Close by the first shop is the "smoking den; they rent these places, pay Rs. 3 for the chandu shop, and Rs. 4 for the big den, about 40 feet long and 20 broad. We went there about 9 a.m., and the place had then thirty smokers inside, most of them lying down, some asleep. In the evening they told us that some fifty or sixty come, and among them one woman of a bad character. The chandu is prepared in the shop, the other side of the road, and is sold at about Rs. 50 per seer to the smokers, most of whom can only afford to get one or two annas worth per day. Some smoke as much as 4 annas worth daily. Mr. Evans:—Has not the Government issued an order to close all opium-smoking dens? How then do you keep this? Shopman:—That I don't know, and don't care. I was told when I took my license to sell chandu that I could have a smoking den if I only put it 22 feet apart from the chandu shop. I have done that, and now I can have as many smokers as I like in my den. Mr. Evans:—Who told you you could do this? Shopman:—The Excise Officer, Babu Hari Mohun. So I am quite safe as the den is 22 feet away from the selling shop; you may measure it if you like." That is all the difference that I made,—that the smoking shop was removed 22 feet away from the selling shop.

2781. When the order was passed it was well known that it would be avoided?—I am happy to be able to state that this confidential circular was condemned and cancelled and recalled by the order of the Secretary of State.

2782. I wish to know what you mean when you recommend that the Government should give up a revenue derived from the vices of its subjects: do you mean by that that poppy cultivation, liquor distilling, and hemp cultivation should be prohibited, or that they should be left alone?—It would never do to leave them alone.

2783. What do you mean, that they should be prohibited?—Yes, prohibited.

2784. Liquor-distilling, poppy cultivation, and hemp cultivation?—Yes; but I would say by all means that a sufficient quantity of opium should be grown for medicinal purposes.

2785. How could you do that?—By restricting certain portions of land for the cultivation of a certain amount of poppy. That would be a very easy thing to do.

2786. How would you distribute the small amount of opium you would allow to be produced? Would you allow it to be distributed among the people?—I would supply all the hospitals and medical stores with opium, and give it out to the certificate of a medical man.

2787. You mean medical men trained according to European methods?—Native or European. They would give a certificate that so much opium was wanted for medical purposes.

2788. Do you think these certificates could be relied upon?—I am afraid they could not always be relied on in the case of natives.

2789. Do you not think that a great many people would set up immediately as *Vaidas* and *Hakims* in order to get the power to give such certificates?—It is possible that they would; but there are difficulties in every reform.

2790. I think you would create a most valuable profession?—It would not be as bad as the present system in use.

2791. (*Mr. Fanshawe.*) I am not quite sure where your experience has been. Has it been in the North-Western Provinces?—I have lived in Agra and in Delhi, one year in Calcutta, ten years in Mowhrr, and seven years in Allahabad, chiefly in the North-West Provinces.

2792. Have you had any direct experience of the Rajputs and the Sikhs, who are stated at times to eat opium as a matter of race? Have you had any experience of the opium habit among them?—I have had no personal experience. My information is from what I have heard with regard to them.

2793. You know the country very well, and you know the practical conditions of native life: has it been your experience that there is no habit of eating opium among people living in malarious districts?—I was not quite sure what your views were upon that point?—I have no

observed such a practice myself, as far as my experience goes.

2794. Do you know the Central Provinces at all?—Very little.

2795. Dr. Rice, Surgeon-General, speaking from thirty years' experience in the Central Provinces, told us that there was a habit of eating opium in moderate doses among the people living in malarious surroundings; in fact that the habit grew out of the surroundings in which they lived. Have you had no such experience as that?—No.

2796. You stated that the habit is taken to in early life. Is that correct?—Yes.

2797. Did you mean it to be understood that the habit grows up from boyhood amongst the people who are addicted to the use of opium?—What I meant is that, as a rule, opium is administered by poor women who are mothers to their children, to quiet them, and put them asleep while they go to work. The children grow up inoculated with this opium course.

2798. You do not mean that they begin eating or drinking opium as boys? You say that they are accustomed to opium as young children: do they give it up altogether, and take to it again, as men?—Some of them may do so.

2799. Do you think they go on with it through boyhood?—Yes.

2800. I was not quite sure what you said about native opinion on the subject. Do you say that native opinion was opposed to the use of opium generally?—I did not make use of that statement.

2801. Did you make any statement about native opinion generally on the subject?—I do not think I did.

2802. What do you think about native opinion generally; you have had good opportunities for observation?—What I think about it is this: that natives who are given to opium habits, would be against giving it up, but that those who are not given to opium habits, would be very glad to have the thing abolished.

2803. Let us come to particulars. Would you say that there is any such general feeling amongst the Mahomedans as you know them in the North-West?—The Mahomedans I found are more given to opium habits than the Hindus.

2804. Would you say that there is a general feeling on their part in favour of giving opium up?—I think not.

2805. What would you say is the general feeling amongst the village and agricultural people, the cultivators, on the subject?—I think they would be in favour of abolishing it.

2806. You spoke of the use of opium as an aphrodisiac: would you say that it is used as such among the villagers and cultivators?—Not as a rule.

2807. Would you distinguish from your experience between opium consumption in towns and in the country outside the towns?—I would.

2808. Would you say that the evil effect of opium is larger in cities than it is in towns?—Much larger.

2809. What do you think native opinion to be with reference to the difference between smoking opium and eating or drinking it?—I cannot tell.

2810. You do not know whether they regard opium-smoking, as practised in India, as different from opium-eating?—I know that there is much more opium-eating and drinking in India than opium-smoking.

2811. But you do not yourself know what native opinion on the two points is?—I do not.

2812. (Mr. Mowbray.) With regard to that confidential circular to which you have referred, are you aware that it was moved for, and presented to the House of Commons?—I am not aware of it. Is it a fact, may I ask?

2813. You may take it from me that it is so. Then you are not aware either I suppose, that the subsequent correspondence with regard to that circular was laid before Parliament?—No, I am not.

2814. You have referred to some despatch from the Government of India, in rather strong language. Have you that despatch before you?—No, I have not.

(Mr. Mowbray.) I think it would be advisable that the despatch should be presented.

(Chairman.) The Secretary will obtain a copy of that despatch. Perhaps you may wish to see it inserted in the appendix?

2815. (Mr. Mowbray.) I think it would be better that we should have it, and that the story of this confidential circular should be completed. (To the witness.) With regard to your own personal experience, do I understand you to say that you have found it easier to induce people in India to

join anti-alcoholic societies than anti-opium societies?—It is very much easier.

2816. Would you draw from that the inference that there is a stronger feeling in favour of opium?—The conclusion I draw is, that it is harder to give up opium habits than drinking habits.

2817. I suppose you would be prepared to admit that that would increase any difficulty in a general prohibition of the use of opium?—Yes.

2818. Have you ever tried to form an idea of how you could prohibit the use of opium, allowing it to be used by those who have used it before?—I have no doubt it would be a very difficult work, and that it would take years to accomplish it.

2819. You referred to the case of Burma: have you any personal knowledge of Burma?—I was in Burma for three months, three years ago. That is all.

2820. I think the law in Burma has been altered since that?—That may be: but that was the law.

2821. With regard to your statement that opium-smoking is more common among the Mahomedans than among the Hindus, do you attribute that at all to the fact that alcohol drinks are forbidden to the Mahomedans by their religion?—I am sorry to say that though it is forbidden, Mahomedans in these days go in for alcohol, drinking almost as freely as the Batus of Calcutta.

2822. Do you think that if they were prohibited from taking opium, they would fall back upon alcohol?—I do not, as a rule: some might do it.

2823. I do not know whether you quite understand my question. My question was, whether, if you prevented Mahomedans getting opium, would they not take to alcohol?—It is possible that some of them might.

2824. (Sir James Lyall.) You have spoken of associations for the prevention of indulgence in alcohol; were they composed of people addicted to the use of alcohol?—In a very great measure they were addicted, but some were not. The principal members of that association are high-caste Brahmans and educated native gentlemen.

2825. Most of them addicted to alcohol?—Not most of them: we will say about one-half.

2826. (Mr. Wilson.) Who constitute the greater part of those who have joined these associations that you have been forming?—Educated Hindus, chiefly high-caste people.

2827. Some of whom have been addicted to drink?—A great number of them.

2828. Do you mean addicted in the sense of taking drink and becoming intoxicated?—Yes.

2829. And some are not addicted to drink?—Some are not.

2830. You say about half have been addicted to drink?—That is only an impression.

2831. You spoke about opium being prohibited in Native States? You referred to cultivation?—Yes.

2832. Consumption of opium is not prohibited?—Oh dear no. But it is British opium.

2833. It was only cultivation that you referred to?—Cultivation is prohibited, but consumption is not. It is a monopoly.

2834. You told us that in some place you were at, I think Monghyr, you thought that the cultivation of the poppy was not popular with the natives?—I did not find it popular.

2835. Have you had that kind of testimony on several different occasions from different persons?—While I was in Monghyr, not in any other place. I have no personal evidence. At Gya I have heard the same thing from very reliable authority.

2836. You have said that they could use their land for better crops?—Yes.

2837. Has it ever been suggested to you what crops they could cultivate in preference?—The natives have found out recently that the cultivation of sugarcane pays far better than opium. Opium cultivation, to begin with, is very uncertain. If a shower of hail should fall at a certain time of the season it is all destroyed, and the natives lose in consequence. Then it requires the best of their land. It requires manure and a great deal of labour in collecting it from day to day.

2838. The sugarcane is the chief thing that you imagine might be established?—I should think that wheat would also be more valuable to the people as a rule than

Reed.
T. Deans.
28 Nov. 1891

Head.
T. Evans.
Nov. 1893.

opium. I may add that it is not the ryots, the cultivators, who get the profit.

2839. Who gets it?—Chiefly the Government and those who are between the Government and the ryots: I mean the under native officials.

2840. Of course the Government gets this large revenue from it. You do not mean that the Government gets any other profit?—No. It purchases opium at from 4 to 5 rupees a seer, and sells it in India for from 16 to 20 rupees.

2841. You spoke of some of the minor officials getting backsheesh?—I mean the native underlings.

2842. Are you sufficiently acquainted with the matter to know who those persons are and in what way backsheesh was given, and for what purpose?—I could not say who they are personally. I only give my impression from what I hear, *viz.*, that they do get presents from the Opium Department to induce the cultivators to lay out their fields in poppy cultivation; but I have no direct proof of it.

2843. I have understood that it is a fact that these persons or some of them are paid partly by salary and partly by commission: in that case the commission would be what you call backsheesh?—It may be so.

2844. You spoke of the advances that are made to them being a bait?—Yes.

2845. And I think you had previously said that it was the order of the Sircar?—That is their impression.

2846. That the order implies compulsion?—Yes.

2847. The bait implies inducement?—Yes.

2848. Do you think it is both, or which do you think is most potent?—Both. I think money is the most important part of it—the advance.

2849. As far as its being a question of the order of the Sircar, do you imagine any ill-consequences would befall these cultivators if they declined the order?—Many.

2850. Of what nature?—The tehsildar, the native revenue collector, and the putwa who are over them, the men who are paid by the zemindars, and partly, I think, by Government, to look after the produce of the fields and see what yield they give,—these people would so annoy them that they could not exist in that place. That is to say, they could not afford to live there; they would be so annoyed.

2851. If these minor officials are paid partly by commission, you mean they have a direct pecuniary interest in inducing people to cultivate?—I mean that.

2852. And you think they have some powers of annoyance which amount to compulsion?—Of that I am sure.

2853. (Sir James Lyall.) You said the tehsildar?—Yes.

2854. The tehsildar has nothing to do with the Opium Department?—No, he has to do with the revenue of land.

2855. Is it probable that the tehsildar would take the trouble to annoy these people?—I cannot say.

2856. But you have said so?—I do not remember that I said that the tehsildar interferes directly with opium affairs. I say that he would have power if he wishes to annoy them.

2857. But he has nothing to do with the Department?—That I cannot tell.

2858. (Mr. Wilson.) Upon that point do I understand distinctly that you have yourself conversed with the cultivators in the district of Monghyr?—Yes.

2859. And that from one and another you have had this impression?—Yes.

2860. Whether you could produce individuals or not, you have in your mind a very strong belief?—The men to whom I spoke may now be dead and gone; I could not produce them as evidence.

2861. With regard to the question put to you by Sir James Lyall, whatever this tehsildar is, he would have no direct connection with the matter; but it is in the minds of the people that in some way or another they would suffer: is that it?—I wish to make this statement, that any request made by a Government official, whether it be a European or Native, comes to the ryots of India as an order. They look upon it as a "hukum" (order). It means command of the Sircar, and they are afraid to disobey it.

2862. What I want to know is, if the tehsildar has no direct connection with the opium, is it your impression that the people believe in some way or another that he can exercise some annoyance also?—He would no doubt if he wished to do so; but whether he would do so or not I cannot tell.

2863. Do you think the people think so?—Oh yes, no doubt of it.

2864. Now about the dens. You read us part of a diary. Can you give us the date of that?—Dacca, Bengal, January 13th, 1893.

2865. Do you happen to know whether that was before or after the cancellation of the circular?—I think it was before the cancellation.

2866. You are not quite certain about that?—I am not quite decided.

2867. Do you know whether the cancellation of the circular was publicly notified in that part of the country?—I cannot tell.

2868. (Sir James Lyall.) The circular did not apply to that part of the country?—It did not apply to Bengal: it was a North-West Provinces circular.

2869. (Mr. Wilson.) Do you understand why the 22 feet was specially mentioned?—I cannot tell.

2870. Is that an Indian measure or anything of that kind?—I do not know that it is; but that is the measure which the man gave me. He said, "When I got a license, I was told that the smoking den must be removed 22 feet from the selling shop."

2871. But you do not know whether the 22 feet is or is not a measure, or a multiple of any Indian measure?—I do not know; I do not think it is, as far as I know.

2872. Did I understand you to say that this place, where they were smoking, was on the other side of the street?—On the other side of the road. There was a lane and the shop was on one side of the road, and the smoking den was on the other side of the road, 22 feet off.

2873. Did you ascertain the rent in each instance?—I did, and the name of the people.

2874. Did you find that these places were let to the same man?—Yes, let to the same man.

2875. Do you know whether this den had been used for the same purpose previously?—I do not know.

2876. (Mr. Pease.) Were there any women or youths in this opium den, as well as adults?—There were no women in the den when I saw it: there were some young people. I asked them if women came there, and they said, "One bad woman comes here in the evening."

2877. You alluded to the pressure which you represented as being put upon the ryots by the Government, do the zemindars in any way interfere with the ryots as to the crop they cultivate, or put any pressure upon them as to what the crops should be?—I have no doubt they do. The land belongs to the zemindars. It is only sublet to the ryots. The zemindar is all powerful over the ryots.

2878. What would the zemindar's object be?—Perhaps he would have more profit by the cultivation of opium than he would make by other cultivations.

2879. Would you be able to make it a condition of letting the land that the poppy should be grown?—I cannot tell: I doubt that.

2880. (Sir William Roberts.) I think you said that you had been for over thirty years in India?—Yes.

2881. Mixing very freely with the population?—Yes.

2882. With which classes of society would you mostly mix?—I have mixed much more among Hindus than among Mahomedans.

2883. You have mixed equally among the better classes, the commercial classes as well as the poor and distressed?—Yes.

2884. What is your impression as to what we may call the distribution of the opium-eating habit; it is very common among Mussulmans and Hindus?—It is more common among Mussulmans than Hindus.

2885. What proportion of the adult Mussulman population do you think would eat opium?—That is a question to which I cannot give a precise answer, but I think I shall be safe in saying 25 or 30 per cent.

2886. Would it be more among the upper or the lower classes that opium-eating would be found?—I think it is more among the upper classes, because they can afford it better.

2887. It did not injure them very much so far as you saw, I suppose?—I did not see the evil effects of it upon them.

2888. You have been in the country a very long time. With regard to the prevalence of opium-smoking as

distinguished from opium-eating, what is your impression? Is opium-smoking more prevalent now than when you came into the country?—Recently opium-smoking has been put down by order of the Government, and that has diminished it somewhat; but before that, however, it was increasing.

2889. When you first came to India and mixed with the people you did not find opium-smoking so common?—No.

2890. You are clear upon that point?—Yes.

2891. You have no facts to give us?—I have not; but opium-eating and drinking is much more prevalent in India than opium-smoking.

2892. Your impression is clear with regard to the smoking habit—that is, smoking *chandu*. Do they smoke *chandu* in India?—Yes, it is simply boiled opium, with a little of the ash of the opium that has been consumed in the pipe, which is called *masi*. They boil it for hours. I have seen the whole process.

2893. They use it fresh from the caldron in which it is boiled?—Yes.

2894. They do not keep it?—No, they use it there in the den.

2895. Right off?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. H. RIVETT-CARNAC, C.I.E., F.S.A., COLONEL OF VOLUNTEERS, and A.-D.-C. to HER MAJESTY, called in and examined.

Mr.
J. H. Rivett-
Carnac,
C. I. E.;
F. S. A.;
A.-D.-C.

2896. (Chairman.) I believe you have some documents you wish to put in?—Yes, I have some papers I wish to put in under orders of the Government. They are notes on the supply of opium prepared under the orders of the Government of Bengal, and two maps—one showing the cultivation and the outturn in the Behar Agency, and the other in the Benares Agency. They have been coloured in such a way as to give the Commission an idea of the extent of the cultivation and of the outturn. Green represents the cultivation drawn to scale; red shows the outturn drawn to scale.

2897. You are a member of the Indian Civil Service, as I understand, and you have held the position of Opium Agent at Benares?—Yes, I have been for thirty-five years in the Indian Civil Service.

2898. You have held a variety of official appointments in India?—Yes.

2899. For the last eighteen years I believe you have been in charge of the Benares Opium Agency?—I have.

2900. You have had very long service and have held high positions in this country? You have had the opportunity of forming your own judgment upon the question which has been referred to the consideration of this Commission, and perhaps the most important part of our inquiry is as to the alleged demoralising effects of the opium habit: have you any observations to give us from your long experience as to the effects of the opium habits upon those who resort to its practice?—I would say that no cases of the demoralizing effects of the opium habit have come under my personal notice.

2901. Dealing with different classes, what do you say as to the cultivation of opium and the members of your factory establishment?—Opium cultivators, so far as my observation goes, do not indulge as a class; but I would say, in explanation of that, that one has not very much opportunity of ascertaining when one sees people during one's tours or at the weighments or at the opium settlements. Unless one is a medical man and can examine them no conclusion can be arrived at. One cannot tell from the look of a man whether he is an opium-consumer.

2902. (Mr. Pease.) When you use the word *indulge*, do you mean a person who consumes opium at all or a person who consumes it to excess?—I should say a large number do not use it at all. That is, as far as my knowledge and observations go. I cannot pretend to speak with any authority as to the proportion of men who do or do not use it, or to the extent of the use.

2903. (Chairman.) The factory establishment, I understand, numbers about 4,000 workmen and women: what do you say about that?—The factory establishment is generally presided over by a medical man. I have constantly made inquiries from him as to whether the men in the establishment use opium or not, and I have been invariably told that they do not as a class. Undoubtedly there are some cases, but the number of cases, as a rule, is few. No cases have been brought to my notice of men who use it to excess, or, in fact, who use it at all.

2904. Turning to large cities, what is the result of your observations?—I have reason to believe, in fact to know, that 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.

2905. (Sir James Lyall.) Do you mean excessive use?—Yes, excessive use.

2906. (Chairman.) With regard to the people with whom you have been in close personal contact—your own servants—what have you to say about them? I understand you have had experience in the management of a transport train when you were serving as Special Commissioner on the Bengal Famine Relief in 1875: what do you say is the result of your experience?—In the case of my own servants, I had, and have at the present moment, a servant who is an opium-eater: my other servants tell me so. On one occasion we happened to be in camp in the Punjab, when the Viceroy received the present Amir of Afghanistan. I was taken up there on staff of the Commander-in-Chief. We had extraordinary and exceptional weather: it poured with rain much of the time. We were very far north in a very cold climate. Both Europeans and natives, especially the latter, felt the effects of the change of weather very severely. My servant who smoked opium was with me, and he was the only man who really stood the great inconvenience and distress of the weather. That is the only case that has come under my personal observation.

2907. You were speaking of a transport train.—With regard to the transport train, I had the honour to be Special Commissioner on the Bengal Famine Relief in 1875. There were a large number of carts and mules and ponies used to carry the grain down from the North-Western Provinces to Behar. I had to see to the transport and distribution of the grain. The Commander-in-Chief gave a large number of troops—several hundred—to man the trains. There were about fifty European military officers employed in the work. During that time I constantly saw men, troops and sepoy, who, I was informed, took opium. We had occasionally very bad weather, and these men often had very trying times of it: they had to work very hard. I have no personal experience of opium and no medical knowledge; but I was informed by the officers under whom these men worked that several took opium, and that the opium helped them through their troubles.

2908. Were you making a long march?—Yes; they had often not only to make long marches, but they had to get carts that had broken down out of the mire, and re-load mules that had thrown off their packs, and so on. The weather sometimes was very bad, and it was most difficult and tiring work,—very trying work. Indeed, it was acknowledged by Government afterwards to be very trying work.

2909. During the labours of the expedition, do you consider that the men who took opium seemed to be fortified for the work they had to do?—Yes; so far as my information went, it certainly helped some of them through their troubles.

2910. We have heard a good deal from other witnesses with reference to the administration of opium to young people: have you anything to say upon that point?—My evidence upon that point, I am afraid, cannot be of any value: I do not wish to take up the time of the Commission with reference to it, but I may mention I understand that there are many affectionate and devoted Indian mothers who administer opium to their young children in small quantities, which would seem to indicate that the use of the drug is not believed to be injurious. I only mention that as being the popular view of the subject: whether it is correct or not I do not pretend to say.

2911. Do you desire to offer any observations with reference to the appointment of a Royal Commission to make inquiries into the opium question at this particular

Mr. J. H. Riessl-Carnac, C. I. E.; F. S. A.; A. D.-C.
8 Nov. 1898.

junction?—Yes; I should like to be allowed to say that I leave the service almost immediately, and in a very short time now I shall be no longer an official: I therefore should like to speak rather as an outsider than as an official.

2912. I am aware that your service in India was specially extended for a short time in order that you might have the opportunity of putting us in possession of the views of one in your exceptional position and long experience in the matters with which we have to deal. I believe I am correct in saying that I owe it to your Lordship that I am here to-day. I may explain that it is quite evident that I could have left the country and the service before the Commission arrived, and I could then have escaped perhaps a not very easy duty, but I preferred to remain here and give such information as the Commission may require.

2913. Have you anything to say with reference to the appointment of this Commission? I am quite prepared to take what you say as coming practically from a person no longer holding an official position.—Perhaps I may be allowed to state that my position has been rather exceptional for a great number of years. I have not been in the line of the regular administrative service. During the last eighteen and a half years my appointment has rather been that of a merchant managing a large firm paid by Government. I do not think anyone would accuse me of being what is called over-official in my views. I desire to say that what I put forward now I do not put forward as an official, but as one who is just about to leave India, and has absolutely no personal or official interest in the matter at all. Under these circumstances I desire to be allowed to say that as a tax-payer, and as one having a stake in the solvency and tranquility of this country, I regret the inquiry by a Commission in India at this stage, holding that no case has as yet been made out, by indisputable and exhaustive inquiry and convincing evidence in China, that the results of the trade are as injurious and demoralising as represented by the anti-opium party. The feeling of many here is that, to risk unsettling India now, and to incur expense by the presence of an influential Commission, which is popularly believed to threaten interference with the use of the drug in India, and to menace a valuable source of revenue, to which the people have been for ages accustomed, and which they regard with satisfaction, is unnecessary, unfair, and impolitic, if not, indeed, possibly dangerous. It is not unlike placing a man on his defence for murder, and involving him in all the expense and anxiety of a criminal prosecution, even before the death of the supposed victim has been substantiated by necessary evidence. I desire to say that this is the opinion which has been put before me by a large number of persons with whom I have been in communication. To a large extent I concur in those views. What has been put to me by a great many who are interested in, that it would have been right that the investigation of the Commission should first have been made in China and that a really good case ought to have been proved, before any risk was undergone of possibly disturbing the finances and the feeling of the people in India.

2914. You have explained your position to be that of a civil servant of long experience, and who is on the eve of retirement. I take it, we may infer from that that you have no personal interests in the maintenance of the present system?—Absolutely none except my pension.

2915. Supposing the present system of the Bengal monopoly were abolished, do you think it might possibly insure to your advantage?—I believe that if the anti-opium party carry the attack on the monopoly, I should for the very first time in my life, be within measurable distance of making a fortune. If they do not, retiring as I do as an Opium Agent after nearly 19 years' service, my experience is worth absolutely nothing. If, on the other hand, the anti-opium party could have persuaded, or even now can persuade, the Government to do away with the monopoly, and to put on a pass duty as in Malwa, I believe there would be many opium companies formed at once, and I have no doubt that I should be able to realize a very large sum of money as a promoter and possibly as Managing Director; and that the commercial value of my experience would be considerable, in being able to select officers from the European and Native staff to work for those companies.

2916. In a certain degree, all those employed by Government for working the monopoly would be in the same advantageous position?—That is my belief.

2917. As to the monopoly system, have you any remarks to offer which you consider a vindication of the system

which is now adopted by the Government in Bengal?—I understand that the system and the working of the monopoly are not so much assailed as its principle. Evidence as to the satisfactory working of the Department should perhaps come not from the Department itself but from the outside, and I believe that the whole body of officials and non-officials residing in the tracts to which the monopoly extends, the Government of the North-Western Provinces, the planters, merchants, and the cultivators themselves, would all bear witness to the careful, considerate and successful working of the Department. Complaints have indeed been made by the cultivators to the highest authority against the Agent personally. Several petitions were submitted to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress against me.

2918. What was the charge brought against you?—It was the only occasion on which a serious complaint was brought against me. It was not for attempting to force cultivation, but because I had, under the orders of Government, restricted the cultivation in certain districts. These petitions were addressed to Her Majesty, and were sent out here for disposal.

2919. (Mr. Pease.) Would you kindly say whose petitions they were?—They were the petitions of certain cultivators who were desirous of continuing to sow poppy, and were indignant at not being permitted to do so.

2920. (Chairman.) It is stated in some of the Parliamentary Papers, which have been placed before us, that in the view of some there is a certain compulsion exercised upon the cultivators to induce them to extend the area under the poppy. Have you anything to say upon that? I think, perhaps, what you were going to tell us as to the circumstances which led to those petitions would have a bearing upon that?—I am prepared to say unhesitatingly that official compulsion to cultivate the poppy is unheard of. I am talking of my own part of the world, the agency to which I belong; but I have no doubt that it applies equally elsewhere. The district administrative staff, by which I mean the Collectors and his subordinates, take no part in the operations of the Opium Department. I quite understand that any evidence of mine on this point may be looked upon with some suspicion after what has been said with regard to official evidence; but I have no doubt that there will be absolutely no difficulty in the Commission obtaining full independent evidence upon this head; but still I affirm that compulsion in the North-West Provinces is unheard of.

2921. When we visit the districts we shall hear more of it, no doubt. Have you any remarks to offer about the system of advances?—The cultivator is undoubtedly encouraged to sow with the assistance of advances; but this system, save that the advance bears no interest, is identical with that which has been found necessary from time immemorial in indigo and in almost every similar transaction with the Indian cultivator, or manufacturer, who has little or no capital at command. With reference to the point about there being no interest charged, I think it may be a question whether interest is charged or not. No interest appears in the books, but the Government pays a certain price, that is to say, a price they consider sufficient for the purpose, and it may be a question whether that price is not calculated so as to cover the interest. I may put it in this way. A tradesman sells you an article. He possibly does not tell you he is charging interest, but if he knows you are not likely to pay at once he will possibly put something on the price. In the same way it seems to me very possible that Government may say "We would give Rs. 8 if it was not for the interest; but we will give the cultivator Rs. a acre only and that will cover the interest."

2922. Now I turn to the objections which have been advanced to the monopoly system. It has been objected to on economical grounds and on moral grounds. First, we will take the economical objection. Will you tell us the economical arguments which are urged against the monopoly system, and give us what you think are answers to those arguments?—I realize fully that the position is open to attack on economical grounds, that the monopoly is declared to be un-English and opposed to all the principles of free trade, and that the tax is crushing in its incidence. There are also certain other economic objections to a revenue from opium, which do not directly affect the question of the monopoly, and which do not call for detailed notice here. I may mention that I am now attempting to defend the monopoly or rather the Departmental system, with which I am concerned, and which is but an outwork of the main position, and so it is unnecessary to bring in all the other economical objections which in no way affect the Departmental system. One well-known

objection, for instance, is that it is not a wise thing for Government to depend upon opium revenue at all, a tax which is levied upon people outside its boundaries. Taking briefly the economic objections to the position with which I am immediately concerned, the speculator has undoubtedly the serious grievances that what he considers a mine of wealth is closed to him; whilst the merchant complains that the severest possible export duty is imposed, thus checking the development of the trade. Many tax-payers hold that the Government does not make the most of the splendid capabilities of a prolific source of revenue, which could be largely increased without touching those resident here, and that thus the tax-payer is not so much relieved as he might be, whilst the Government foregoes a revenue which might be utilised in much-needed development, advancing the material progress of the country. The cultivator, too, supposes that if the trade were thrown open, he might obtain a much higher price for his produce than he now receives.

2923. Turning to the objection on the moral ground, do you consider that the monopoly system tends more to restriction of the trade than would a system of free trade?—In my opinion it does, and so far as I can ascertain, that view is now generally accepted by the anti-opium party. For a long time, so far as one can judge from its publications, the Society seems to have considered the monopoly the key of the position, and the attacks seemed to be directed against the outwork I have the honour to command. But so far as I can learn from what has passed lately before the Royal Commission, that attack is perhaps likely to be diverted; but still I think it would be right for me to shew what is the defence of that position.

2924. I believe it has been publicly stated by those who represent the movement which led to the appointment of the Commission, that they do not themselves distinguish from a moral point of view seriously between the Bengal monopoly and the system which prevails in Malwa. The Bengal monopoly has however been singled out for criticism in England, and if the Government of India, speaking through you, desire to make an explanation of the working of that system, and to offer any remarks in vindication, perhaps it is fair that they should be put upon record?—I should like to do so. I understood from Mr. Alexander's evidence that those who attack the monopoly had to a certain extent changed front.

2925. It is directed against the whole traffic.—I understand that some of those who oppose the monopoly on moral grounds hold the strongest objection to the direct connection of the Government with the trade, and, bad as they consider the trade under any conditions, would much prefer what is known as the Malwa system to that now obtaining in these provinces. I believe that the Society has since changed that opinion. Some, I think, still hold it. An examination of existing conditions will, it is hoped, establish the fact that the monopoly affords the most effective means of keeping the consumption in India and the foreign trade in check, and that the economic objections raised to the system are the strongest proof of the existence of well-considered restrictive measures. Sir E. Baring (Lord Cromer) pointed out that, in direct proportion as the economic objections to the monopoly might be removed, the moral objections would be intensified in degree. The Government has, during a long series of years, failed to remove these economic objections, and serious though they may be in the eyes of those interested, their maintenance protects the interests on the opposite side. The monopoly system is, in fact, a compromise between throwing open the trade to the public and prohibiting the trade altogether. If, then, the cultivation and trade in opium be not altogether prohibited, the monopoly should receive the strongest support of the anti-opium party.

(Chairman.) I understand that the monopoly system is not a system of recent introduction, that it is an inheritance from the distant past. Perhaps with the same object with which you have already given explanations as to the monopoly system, it may be desirable to place upon the notes a concise statement of the history of the question.

2926. (Sir James Lull.) You are merely giving your own evidence; you have no commission to speak for the Government of India?—Not in the least. I was ordered to come as a witness. I am giving my own opinion only.

(Chairman.) He is ordered here by the Government of India.

(Witness.) These are only my own views; they are not the views put forward by the Government.

In the note presented, under the orders of the Government of Bengal, to the Commission, it is indicated that full information regarding the history of the opium trade and of the monopoly will be found in the Dictionary of Commerce

Products of India, by Dr. Watt, and in the 1st Volume of the Report by the Bengal Opium Commission. Although it is undesirable to burden this abstract with any detailed account of this history, it appears necessary, before explaining what are considered the merits of the monopoly now existing, to invite attention to the circumstances under which the present system in this country grew up under native rule and was later admitted in a modified form into our revenue system, and thus to attempt to dispel the prejudice against the system founded on certain incorrect notions of the supposed original invention by the Government of the monopoly. It is popularly supposed that the cultivation of, and trade in, opium was introduced into India by the East India Company; that these British traders first imposed the use of the drug on the many nations of this country, then upon the Chinese, and that the opium monopoly is one of the many sins debitable to the commercial greed of the defunct East India Company. No views could be much wider from the truth than these. The cultivation of the poppy and the trade in the drug are traceable to times far anterior to our connection with this country. The Portuguese found the Arabs and Hindus trading in opium with the Chinese and Malays. The earliest British merchants, who were a hundred years after the Portuguese, found these, together with the Dutch and others, engaged in a remunerative commerce in opium with the Straits and further Asia. Under the Moguls, our predecessors in the Government, opium, like salt, was an Imperial monopoly. Although, as in the case of other valuable crops such as sugar and tobacco, a special rate was generally levied on the fields, the poppy was cultivated everywhere in Bengal without restriction, as we found it later in Assam, and as, until recently, was the case in the Punjab. Bengal opium, from the tracts to which the monopoly now extends, had a high repute, and was a valuable article of commerce. The right to manufacture and sell the drug was farmed out to the highest bidder. When the East India Company took over the administration of Bengal they took over with it the existing revenue systems of which the monopoly was one. As Dr. Watt notices, in his valuable work above alluded to, the monopoly is "a hereditary gift to the British successors of the Great Mogul Emperors." The Mogul system continued in force until 1797, when, in consequence of the flagrant irregularities of the contractors, and the serious grievances of the cultivators, the deterioration of the drug and the danger to the trade by adulteration and other causes, it was determined to abandon the contract system, and to bring the cultivation and manufacture under the direct management of a Government department on the system which has obtained ever since. The system as it at present exists is, then, no grasping invention of the greed of the East India Company, but one of those judicious adaptations of existing methods to the circumstances and interests of the country and the people, which have ever been the secret of our administrative success in India.

2927. I think that seems to complete the historical review which from one witness or another I thought it was desirable we should obtain. Turning to the practical result of the monopoly system as it affects the various interests more directly concerned, as regards the cultivator, what do you say?—As regards the cultivator the advantages claimed for the system are that he is now safeguarded from the many troubles to which experience has shown he was subjected in the past. To him is ensured fair dealing, an advance when he most requires cash, a fixed and remunerative price, and a solvent and certain purchaser for his entire crop, besides many minor advantages, all of which combine to make the cultivation undoubtedly popular. His interests are guarded by an experienced and considerate department, the members of which have no selfish interest in results, and whose sympathy can be relied on in a season of failure and distress.

I may mention I find that in the Behar Agency some few of the officials receive a commission, and are thus remunerated by results. But this is not the case in the Benares Agency.

The system is a security to the landlord for his rents to the Government for its land revenue, in the districts where the poppy is cultivated. The Government system detects and checks the adulteration of the produce, and ensures a high quality of drug and standard of manufacture, and a high price which the rich alone can afford to pay. It provides for the Government a considerable, and, on the whole, steady revenue, the pressure of which, save so far as local excise is concerned, in no way touches its Indian subjects. Taxation is relieved thereby, and the material progress of the country rendered less difficult.

2928. Sir William Muir and others have urged that in Bengal the Malwa system might, with much advantage, be

Mr.
J. H. Rivett
Carnac.
C. I. E.:
F. S. A.:
A. D. C.

23 Nov. 1893

Mr.
J. H. Nicoll.
Carnarvon,
C. I. E.;
F. S. A.;
A. D. C.

23 Nov 1898.

substituted for the monopoly system; what in your view would be the probable operation of the Malwa system if it were applied to Bengal?—The probable results would be the increase of cultivation, production, and opium consumption in India and elsewhere. The area available for food-grains would be reduced. Powerful and influential vested interests would grow up. The cultivation and trade might get entirely out of hand, and could only be checked by a crushing export duty, which the powerful trading interests that would be created might successfully oppose. The cultivator would suffer by the change. The trade would be highly speculative; the trader might not be able to afford to give a steady price, and might fail altogether in a year of difficulty. The cultivator would, in all probability, be again exposed to many of the dangers the removal of which was one of the objects of the introduction of the present system. The Government revenue would undergo certain risk and disorder, possibly great loss, whilst, at least, uncertainty would be introduced into the finances, which in the present state of the country would be most undesirable and unwise.

2929. How would you compare the system of deriving revenue from export duty with the profits obtainable by the sales which periodically take place at Calcutta where opium is sold by auction to the merchants?—In my opinion an export duty cannot be compared in efficiency with the auction sales, which automatically adjust monthly the highest possible rate of duty, and against which, as the price rises and falls, there can be no cause for uncertainty or complaint, as is now always the case when the pass duty is altered.

2930. What would be the results as to revenue?—It would be impossible to levy a duty on Bengal opium equal to that now raised by the monopoly. The present Malwa duty falls much below that which Bengal opium virtually pays. That this is the case is proved by the success of the "Malwa Excise Scheme" introduced by myself. I may mention in explanation that a table was drawn up many years ago showing the incidence of the duty. A chest of Benares opium sold a few days ago at the Board of Revenue for Rs. 1,088. By this calculation made in the Financial Department under Sir John Strachey some years ago, it appears that when a Bengal chest realizes Rs. 1,078 (that is, Rs. 15 less than our chest sold for the other day), the equivalent pass duty in Malwa is Rs. 900. At present Malwa is paying Rs. 600 a chest, so that practically the Government gets Rs. 300 less for the Malwa than for the Bengal chest.

2931. Do you see any special difficulty arising from the circumstances of Bengal in preventing smuggling?—Extensive and expensive preventive establishments would be necessary; a portion of the existing establishment would have to be pensioned; both involving expense. The standard of manufacture would probably fall; the mark and credit of the produce would be affected. China would be inundated with inferior opium, and the trade would eventually suffer. There would be a boon in speculation and great inducements to smuggling accompanied by all its well-known certain demoralising results. The change could do absolutely no good to the cause of morality. It would do certain harm to India by unsettling and reducing the revenue, and by necessitating increased taxation, which, under any circumstances, is undesirable, but especially in the furtherance of views the correctness of which is not acknowledged by the Indian tax-payers, and with which they have but little sympathy.

2932. Do you see any analogy between the system which you have been defending and what is called the Götterburg system for the supply of liquors?—Supposing that system to exist in England, it would be out of the question to believe that the advocates of temperance would, with a view to the ultimate prohibition of the trade, desire to see the system give way to one which would throw the trade into the hands of the brewers and the publicans and other influential opponents, with whom the battle would have to be fought out at a later stage, when immense vested interests had been established. It is the argument quoted by Mr. Alexander as having been brought forward by the late Cardinal Manning, that it was much better to have one neck to strike at instead of a hundred. When I prepared the notes on which my answers are based, I did not know that the Anti-Opium Society had changed front to a certain extent in respect to the monopoly.

2933. You have presented your mature views on the question, and I do not see that they are less important because there has been some difference of view on the part of the representatives of the Anti-Opium Association. We have to consider and compare the views of experienced men on the one side with the views and facts put forward by men who have strong convictions on the other side?—I only

wish to mention that my notes were prepared some time before that point came up.

2934. Have you any general remarks to make on the moral aspect of the question?—As regards the moral stigma that is supposed by some to attach to the Government and to its servants from their direct connection with the monopoly, it is to be remembered that neither the Government nor its officers, nor indeed the mass of thinking people in Europe, to say nothing of the population of India, have as yet been convinced of the correctness of the views put forward by the anti-opium party. As I have said before, we are open to conviction. If a Commission were set up in China, and produce the most convincing evidence, possible the views of many Government officers would be changed. But at present we have no such convincing evidence. We have a certain number of statements, some of which are believed to be not perfectly accurate, and some of which are said to be exaggerated, in regard to China; and we have evidence before our eyes of what is going on in India. It can hardly be expected until we have convincing evidence of the ill-effects in China that we should be inclined to give up a system which has long prevailed here, and which undoubtedly has done a certain amount of good to the country.

2935. But you would be prepared to modify your opinion in deference to any well-ascertained facts?—I do not pretend to speak for the Government; I speak for myself; but supposing the most convincing evidence were produced, I have no doubt that a great many persons here would modify their views. What I hold is that up to the present time no such convincing evidence has been produced.

2936. You opened with some remarks on what may be called the political considerations connected with the appointment of this Commission. I do not know whether in closing your evidence-in-chief, you would like to say anything further on that point.—I shall be glad to add some remarks on that subject, because I have been for some time past in the districts in which, as the Commission may be aware, there has been distinct trouble recently. I have lived for 35 years in India. I came out after the Mutiny which had been suppressed in the part of India to which I was posted. This year, for the first time since the Mutiny, there have been European troops marching about in all the districts in which I now serve. The present is an exceptional time; and commanding, as I have the honour to do, the volunteers in those districts, and being in communication with a large body of Europeans in the districts, and going about a great deal, I have had many opportunities of knowing and seeing that the state of the country is not so satisfactory as it has been for some years past. For that reason I cannot help regretting that anything should now be done which may possibly further unsettle the people. I desire to invite the attention of all who are interested in India to the political danger which may attend the anti-opium agitation. The present season is especially inopportune for any action which may cause misapprehension and anxiety throughout the country. Indian finance is just now at ebb-tide. The political barometer is not steady. Although the views and motives and the unselfish aims of those earnest and devoted men who lead the Association are understood and honoured, even by those of their countrymen who do not agree with them, still it is not to be expected that these aims will be equally apprehended and appreciated by the masses in India whose interests will be affected by any change in existing systems. The reform demanded comes before the Indian public with the strong support of various Missionary and Religious Societies, whose action is often regarded by the natives of this country with suspicion and distrust. One of the reasons advanced for the prohibition of the Indian opium trade is the obstacle offered thereby to Missionary success in China, and it is sometimes urged that in the interests of Christian progress, the Government here is bound to take action even at a great sacrifice of revenue. Admitting, for the sake of argument, that the case against opium has been conclusively made out, which few in India will accept, and supposing the above contention to be entirely correct from a Christian standpoint, it is to be remembered that the people who would suffer by the change have not as yet accepted the tenets on which this argument is founded, and are not interested in the progress of Christianity in China or elsewhere. What may possibly be regarded by the masses as a lesion in the interests of Christianity in China may also be viewed with suspicion as only the first step towards similar efforts in India, and the entire reversal of those promises and that judicious policy which have long helped to keep India quiet and contented. By the Anti-Opium party it will doubtless be held that even the suggestion of the above views is exaggerated and far-fetched, and that the position in India is clear and

well defined, and distinctly affirmed by Her Majesty's Proclamation. Of the latter point there cannot be any sort of possibility of doubt in the minds of all reasoning persons. But, for all this, the danger of misconception is not materially reduced. It is not only with the educated and the sensible that the Government here has to deal, and there remains the danger of misapprehension in the minds of the suspicious and ill-educated masses from an agitation which is admittedly based on what are declared to be the claims of Christianity. No sensible person ever supposed that the rumour that agitated India in 1857 regarding the greased cartridges had any real foundation. Still its effects are written in history. And it is hardly too much to say that the incautions action of well-intentioned enthusiasts in this delicate question, to which a distinct religious colouring has been given, and which is liable to arouse no small interest throughout the country, may, besides embarrassing the finances, have possibly the much more dangerous effect of disturbing the political balance of Her Majesty's Empire in India.

It is quite true that those who now support the Anti-Opium party might perhaps fairly say that, so to speak, the bottom has been knocked out of that part of the argument, based on the view that the people have to pay something for the change, and that there is a danger of additional taxation. So far as I understand the Anti-Opium party now, they say "Oh no, that is a mistake, England is going to pay the whole bill." If that is the case, that entirely disposes of any argument based on the possible discontent of the people from enhanced taxation. But, if I may be allowed to say so with very great respect, after all when the Anti-Opium party ask us to relinquish this argument, we may fairly say we cannot do so without a valuable consideration. And the only valuable consideration offered is apparently a sort of promissory note offered by the Secretary of the Society. Now, first of all, that promissory note does not seem to have the stamp of soundness upon it that is necessary; and further, we only have on the bill the name of the Secretary. I do not know if he has any power to represent and sign for the whole Society. As far as I can understand, the Secretary of State for India has altogether declined to put his name to the back of the bill. I read the speech of the Prime Minister, and he certainly did not seem inclined to put the name of the people of England on the back of it.

We hear of a meeting held at Norwich at which several gentlemen passed resolutions, and apparently they were inclined to put their names to the bill, but I do not think that any one in his senses would consider that the bill, as it now comes before us, is a negotiable security. I think before we give up our arguments we should like to see the money down. Before India is to be disturbed or her people alarmed with the idea of increased taxation, as undoubtedly they will be, it will be satisfactory if the Anti-Opium Association will get the Government or the people of England to put the money down. Then, if they will come before us with proof of the real horrors in China, I do not think there would be so great a difficulty in the change. It may be said that it is necessary to find out how much the sum would be. You cannot go to the people of England without some sort of idea of how much will be wanted; but, as I have said before, there would be no case to go to the people of England unless the position in China were proved, and we certainly want more conclusive evidence on that subject than we have at present before us. If the case in China is thoroughly well proved, perhaps the people of England will put down that sum of money, but after all, even if that were done, there would still remain a very great difficulty in India with those among whom the prohibition of opium, except for medical purposes, would lead to a great deal of discontent. An enormous sum, I believe, will be required to be capitalised before the Indian people will believe that they will not have to pay the bill or any part of it, and that there will be no taxation. First of all, you have to capitalise a sufficient sum to make up for the present revenue, that is, Rs. 6,000,000 or Rs. 6,000,000; then there would be the Native States. The sum would be enormous in the way of compensation. If I understand Mr. Alexander rightly, he said, as the mouthpiece of the Association, that if the Native States were not inclined to give way gracefully, compulsion should be used. Now we, who have been in India a long time, know what compulsion would mean. The sum spent in compulsion would probably very much exceed the sum that would have to be capitalised to pay for the losses of revenue in India proper. That compulsion, as a distinguished officer in Central India wrote years ago, would mean fire and sword, and it would not only mean fire and sword in that particular part of the country to which the compulsion desired by the Anti-Opiumists would be applied. If you once begin

with fire and sword in one part of India, the materials are so inflammable that you may have fire and sword extending a great deal further. That would mean an enormous increased cost in the Army. I do not think any one can form an estimate of what that cost would be.

2937. You can only give your view generally?—If persuasion does not succeed, I understand that there is to be compulsion, and compulsion to my mind means making people do something, whether they like it or not, by forcible measures, and that would mean a large increase in the European Army of occupation.

2938. So far as the Commission is concerned we are expressly charged with the duty of consulting the people of India with reference to any alterations that may be proposed in the existing system.—I want to put forward the enormous expense that would be incurred. I say that this sort of promissory note will be for an enormous sum of money, and I do not believe that England would ever put down a sufficient sum of money for the purpose. I hold that it is perfectly fair to assume that the sum required will not be paid by England, and that taxation, therefore, will be necessary in this country, and if you put taxation on the grounds recommended, you may have very considerable trouble throughout the country.

2939. You are merely discussing a pure hypothesis—given a certain policy, certain results will possibly follow?—I say distinctly that if you have heavy taxes such as were proposed the other day, a tobacco tax, an increase in the salt tax, and so on, for the reasons which have been advocated, you will have considerable trouble in the country. I believe that will be found to be the opinion of nearly every European and native who knows anything about the country.

2940. (Mr. Wilson.) Will you be good enough to begin at the beginning and tell us the exact process by which land is put in cultivation and the various steps by which opium gets into your stores?—First, the Government must permit, through an order of the Board of Revenue, cultivation in a district. It is intimated to me that I may give licenses in a certain district—that is the first process. Then intimation is given to the cultivators through the native staff that the officers who serve with me are prepared to give licenses in that tract.

2941. Is that intimation verbal or is it published?—The notice is generally sent verbally through the native staff. I may as well explain the sort of staff through which the whole arrangement is managed. There is the native subordinate zilladar who is the unit of the opium system. He is a native of those parts and having knowledge and experience of the people, and has charge of a certain number of villages which are marked out in a map, and to which he is appointed by the opium officers of the district under whom he serves. Intimation comes from me that a certain amount of opium is to be grown in the district. That decision is made by me on the orders that I receive from the Government as to the amount of opium that will be required for the next season from the Agency.

2942. That intimation is an order?—No, they take it if they like it. It is a question whether I can get the amount required.

2943. You said you gave an intimation that a certain quantity was to be cultivated?—The Government say they require a certain amount of cultivation, and they ask me to get a certain amount if I can. I then make up my mind as to the distribution. I take the different districts and I make an estimate or forecast of what can be got. I tell the officers of the districts to send up what we call a forecast of how much they will be able to get. My orders are given as to whether they are to cultivate 20,000 bigas or 10,000 bigas. Notice is given to the native staff, and at a certain time, which is notified, the officer goes into the interior of the district. The zilladars bring the cultivators in, and they make a petition to be allowed to cultivate, each man so many bigas. The officer has to decide how much he will take and what lands he will take, and when, say, 40 or 50 men come and present a petition and ask to be allowed to cultivate so much, he selects the men whom he considers good men and strikes out those whom he considers to be indifferent; that is, in cases where he gets a great deal more offered than he wants. If as many men do not come as he wants he does not strike out anybody. In every case the man has to make a petition to be allowed to cultivate opium, and then the Departmental officers grant the license, and without that license the men cannot cultivate.

2944. What is the petition?—That he wishes to cultivate so many bigas.

2945. Is it in a printed form?—No; the zilladar writes it down.

Mr.
J. H. Rivett
Cornua.
C. I. K.;
F. S. A.;
A.-D.-C.

23
Nov. 1893

Mr.
J. H. Binnett-
Carnao,
C. I. E.;
F. S. A.;
A.-D.-C.

23 Nov. 1893.

2946. Some petitions I have heard of in India have to be on stamped paper?—These are not. The officer decides whether he will accept their offers or not. He has the papers before him, and he decides whether he will take the man as a cultivator or not.

2947. Are these applications or petitions for a definite quantity of land or a general request to grow?—For a definite quantity of land.

2948. Is it a uniform definite quantity?—No. One man give a bigha and another half a bigha and another a quarter of a bigha, and so on. In our part, we have a system which has greatly added to the popularity of the Opium Department—a system of dealing direct with the cultivators. In old days the lumbaridar, who is the headman, used to come and say that he had so many men who wanted to cultivate, and he used to be told that they might have so many bighas. Now we try to get the cultivators to come in themselves to what is called the settlement.

2949. Is that better?—Yes. We deal direct with the cultivators. I consider the system is immensely preferable; people like it very much now that they understand it. In old days the payment and all arrangements used to be through the middleman; now in the agency to which I belong we try to do everything direct with the cultivator himself.

2950. (Mr. Pease.) In the paper called "Notes on the supply of opium," it is said that under the system of licenses advances are made through the headman?—We do not always deal direct with the cultivators, but we do so as much as possible and not through a middleman.

2951. (Mr. Wilson.) Will you now go on with your description of the process?—The opium officer gives a man a license to cultivate a certain quantity of land. The man asks, perhaps, to be allowed to cultivate half a bigha, but if he is not a very satisfactory cultivator, the officer only gives him permission to cultivate a quarter—when he gets his license, he gets at the same time an advance varying in amount according to his merits as a cultivator. He takes the money, goes home, and sets to work, and gets the field ready; about this time of the year they have just sown.

2952. (Mr. Pease.) Is any security given as to advance?—Yes, the lumbaridar gives security.

2953. But you have done away with the lumbaridars?—He gives security. We do not take security from individual cultivators, but from the lumbaridar who gets certain advantages; he gets a certain commission and becomes surety for his cultivators.

2954. Do you know what the commission is?—It varies; it is about Rs. 1 per maund. The man gets his field ready and in due time the opium officer comes and measures it. He sees that the man has sown as much as he has permission to sow. The measurement process takes place about the month of January or February. The poppy is ripe at the beginning of the hot weather. When the opium is collected, the cultivators bring the opium into a central place where there is a weighing shed; there the opium is weighed and the man is paid at the rate of Rs. 5 a seer. The account is worked out, and the advance he has received is deducted from the sum due to him. The opium officer at the weighing shed has not all the appliances and cannot tell exactly what is the consistence of the opium.

2955. (Mr. Wilson.) What distance of land would a central place of weighing cover? How many miles would a cultivator bring his opium?—We have during the last few years so arranged the weighing that the men do not come more than perhaps 15 or 20 miles; in old days they would come 100 miles and think nothing of it, but during the 18 years that I have been in charge, we have made many new places for weighing and settlement, and the consequence is that our settlements and weighments are more central than ever they were before. On an average men do not come more than 20 miles. When the account is made up the man is paid after the advance is deducted. The opium is then sealed up in a jar and sent down to the central factory at Ghazipur.

2956. Is it marked with his name?—Yes, when you go to Patna the whole process will be seen on the spot.

(Chairman.) Perhaps that will be the best way. We should be sorry not to go into any matters as fully as may be desired. The presence of a witness who has been so closely and personally connected with the business naturally suggests such questions, but on the other hand, if we are going to the district to make an examination *in situ* for ourselves, perhaps the detailed investigation should take place on the spot.

(Mr. Wilson.) I was speaking to a gentleman who I thought had some knowledge of this subject, and when I

asked him this question he told me that Mr. Rivett-Carnao could answer them all.

(Chairman.) Then perhaps you had better finish it.

(Witness.) The final payment is not exactly on the weight of the opium. The question of consistence comes in. Of course you are aware that in opium as in all other vegetable products there is a certain amount of moisture. The Government pay a man Rs. 5 a seer on a consistency of what we call the standard of 70. That means that if opium has the 70 per cent. of solid matter in it and 30 per cent. of moisture Rs. 5 is paid. If the opium only has 60 per cent. of solid matter and 40 of moisture only 50-70ths of Rs. 5 is paid. The opium officer, when thousands of cultivators are assembled at the weighments, has not all the appliances, and cannot tell exactly the consistency, and whether the percentage of solid matter is 60 or 65; but he makes a rough shot at it; he pays the man at a rough estimate, and sends the opium down to the Factory at Ghazipur or Patna. At these factories there are what are called steam tables on which the opium is exposed so as to ascertain the consistence. First in most delicate scales a certain amount of opium in its crude state with the moisture in it is weighed off. This is placed on the steam table, where by means of great heat all the moisture is evaporated. Having done that, the residue, a perfectly dry powder, is taken into the laboratory and re-weighed, and the residue shews what the consistency is. If there is 80 per cent. remaining it shews that there is 80 per cent. of solid matter and the opium is of 80 consistence. When the accounts are made up the man who sends in his opium with a consistency of 80 gets paid 80-70ths of Rs. 5. These accounts are made up by an elaborate staff at head-quarters, and the figures are sent back to the district officer. The cultivator returns a few months afterwards for the settlements, and then he gets what they call a chukr or the balance.

2957. In fact that is the final settlement?—Yes.

2958. Does he get his account?—Yes, the whole account is written out on his license.

2959. (Mr. Wilson.) Then he is paid his balance?—That closes the transaction, and then he begins again or not as he likes.

2960. Is there always a balance?—Generally, unless there is a bad year.

2961. If there has been a mistake, or if there is a bad year, what happens?—Then he does not get anything paid as "chukr," and the balance remains over till the next year. He need not remain a cultivator; he can give up his license if he likes. As regards the recovery of balances, this is left a good deal to the Opium Agent. If there has been a very bad year, the chances are that the balance is spread over five or six years and collected by degrees. Sometimes it is remitted altogether if there has been a very bad year, under special circumstances.

2962. Are these small balances collected from the man himself or from the lumbaridar?—They are paid by the man when he comes in the next year and deducted from his amount.

2963. I believe, according to the condition of the stores in Calcutta and according to the condition of the trade and the amount that the Government desires to sell, the area is from time to time increased or decreased?—Of course I do not know that. All I know is that they tell me to obtain so much. You should ask the Government; it is a secret looked up in their hearts. They tell me so much opium is required, and I believe it practically depends very much upon the state of the stocks in Calcutta. I have, however, no official authority for saying that; it is their secret.

2964. The Government intimates to you what it would like and you have to get it increased or decreased according to such instructions?—The Government says "we should like your agency to provide if possible so many thousand chests of opium next year." I make a rough calculation. I know how much opium there is in a chest, and I know what is the average production per bigha. I know, for instance, that if the production has been on an average 4½ seers to the bigha, it would require 15 bighas to provide one chest. I make a rough calculation, and make up my mind how to get the required number of chests. I tell each district officer to try and get so much cultivation, apportioning my total between the different districts according to circumstances.

2965. Suppose that a year has been a good one and there is less need for a large supply the following year, would that reduction be effected usually by reducing the number of cultivators or by reducing the number of bighas or the area that each man has to grow?—That would depend very much upon the district opium officer. There are a large number

of officers working in the department in the districts. General directions are issued, and each officer sends a forecast. I have to leave the details largely to them. Possibly they send reports and recommendations. They may say that the cultivation in such a part has been very unsatisfactory, and they may recommend that the cultivation be given up there altogether. Or they may say that it has been very satisfactory, and that they will cut down certain villages or certain licenses or certain persons. The details are left very much to them.

2966. Is the quality grown in different districts by different cultivators so nearly alike that the price depends solely upon the moisture in it? Is there no difference in the quality apart from that?—There is none recognised in the department. We pay the men from all the different districts the same price. Payment is entirely upon the consistency and the weightment. Quality is not taken into account.

2967. One district or one cultivator is not better than another?—A man may be better in this way, that he brings in a larger outturn. Of course, if he is caught adulterating, that is a different thing.

2968. There are no differences in Calcutta?—They are not recognised.

2969. I have no doubt you are aware that reference has been made in some official documents from time to time to the difficulty of getting the requisite quantity of land. What does that arise from?—The cultivators do not care to sow.

2970. Why?—I suppose at times the cultivators find that they can get some crop that pays them better, and possibly they often get disheartened. It is the bad class of cultivators that get disheartened after a bad season, the good class do not. The indifferent cultivator, if the season is bad, tries something else. The good cultivator does not get disheartened, but sticks to the crop.

2971. In your opinion is there anything in the nature of pressure—perhaps you will not call it compulsion—to induce men to grow the quantity required?—In my belief there is absolutely none. I should punish it severely if I found it, but I do not believe there is in the least. The position of the department in the North-West Provinces particularly is a peculiar one. It is what you may call an *imperium in imperio*. It is a department that is not subordinate to the Government of the North-West Provinces, and has nothing to do with the district officers. Having been a district officer, and having served in the administrative branch myself, I know, and I daresay every Indian officer will tell you, that a department which is independent of the Government and independent of the district staff would always be an unpopular department. And I believe that if any of the departments to which I belong were to attempt to bring pressure on the people, they would immediately go and tell the district staff, and I do not think the district staff would be very much inclined to hold us excused.

2972. Take the case of the lumbaradar who is paid by commission; is it not in human nature that he should try to get as much commission as he can?—I should think so; human nature enters a great deal into everything—as a general principle, I admit that.

2973. I suppose even among lumbaradars there may be some black sheep?—Yes, numbers.

2974. Then taking the case of a black-sheep lumbaradar, has he no means by which he can exercise persuasion amounting to compulsion?—I think it is possible, but it is very improbable. The district officers go round, and I think that probably the man would get into trouble later on; he would be complained against, and he would probably get caught and severely punished. I daresay they may do as suggested sometimes.

2975. Have you had to deal with such cases?—Never I never heard of a case of compulsion. I have had complaints made against me even to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress after the petition had gone through the different stages. People came in hundreds complaining of the stoppage of cultivation. The petitioners went before the Board of Revenue, then to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and then to the Viceroy, and then to Her Majesty. Many petitions, some of which went to Sir Henry Ponsonby, were sent back here. It was not the case of a wicked opium official making the people grow opium, but it was the wicked Agent who would not let them grow it. That actually took place, and it can be proved up to the hilt. I can show that every year hundreds of men relinquish the cultivation. There may be some lumbaradars who may force men to remain on, but I can give conclusive evidence that year by year hundreds of men give up. There is absolutely no compulsion whatever by the Department.

2976. (Sir James Lyall.) You say that the lumbaradar may in some cases force them?—For aught I know. It is quite a hypothetical case; there is a possibility of it.

2977. (Mr. Wilson.) In the fourth paragraph of your printed statement you express regret with regard to this inquiry being held, and you state that there had been no convincing evidence from China on the subject?—Yes.

2978. I suppose you know that question was settled by the House of Commons in 1891 when a Conservative Government was in power?—I think I read in the speech of the Right Honourable the Prime Minister, who stated distinctly that it had never been settled.

2979. May I give you the words of the Resolution that was carried by 160 votes to 130.—“That this House is of opinion that the system by which the opium revenue is raised is morally indefensible.”—I have not brought with me the papers, but I think I could quote from the speech of the Prime Minister the statement that the matter had never been distinctly settled by the House of Commons. If I mistake not, one speaker also laid it down distinctly that it had never been distinctly settled.

2980. I ask if you know that the amendment was carried; I did not ask about the Prime Minister, but I ask whether you know that the amendment was carried by 160 votes to 130?—I did not know the number. I had read what the Right Honourable the Prime Minister said, and I distinctly understood that it was to the effect that the matter had not been settled by the House of Commons, and I think Mr. Speaker said the same. I can put in the extract if necessary.

(The Chairman.) So far as it is in the records of Parliament we have it before us irrespective of any information which the witness may have.

2981. (Mr. Wilson.) I ask whether in giving this evidence you were aware that the House of Commons had expressed an opinion that it was morally indefensible?—I was not aware of it.

2982. Your answer is in the negative?—Yes. I understand that no motion of that sort has been carried. I say distinctly that the people of India, of whose opinion I hear a good deal sometimes, do not consider that there has been convincing evidence of the fearful effects of opium in China, that they have not heard sufficient to make them consider the desirability of giving up this source of revenue and bringing trouble on the country.

2983. When you say the people of India, whom do you mean?—I understand it to be a very strong feeling in India. I cannot speak for the people of India, but I say that amongst the large number of people whom I have met the general feeling is that they are not convinced that the state of affairs in China is so terrible, that there is sufficient reason why Government should give up the large revenue that is now raised from opium.

2984. When you speak of these people in India, you mean the Anglo-Indians?—And natives, particularly educated natives. They have constantly said to me “has it been satisfactorily proved?”

2985. You want us to understand that the persons whom you have met in India do not agree with the Resolution of the House of Commons that the thing is morally indefensible?—I was not thinking of the House of Commons then.

2986. I understand your point is that when the House of Commons states that it is morally indefensible, there are some persons in India who do not agree with them?—I thought the Commission might wish to hear the opinions of a large number of persons in India, both European and Native, to the effect that they do not consider that the case has been thoroughly proved in regard to China, and that before giving up a large revenue and possibly embroiling the country in great trouble, they would like the case to be thoroughly proved by an exhaustive inquiry in China. It was not in reference to anything connected with the House of Commons that I was speaking.

2987. (Mr. Pease.) You make some allusion to a change of front on the part of the Anti-Opium Society. It is only fair to say that in 1886 they put out a document in which they took exception to the Bengal system, and at the same time they say that they will strongly oppose the transference of the trade into private hands.—I am under some disadvantages. Until through the courtesy of Mr. Alexander, I recently received some papers, I had hardly seen any of these publications, I was always under the impression that the Anti-Opium Society treated the monopoly as the key of the position attacked; and I was rather glad to defend it.

2988. You say that there are Deputy Sub-Agents; by whom are they selected or appointed?—They come in

Mr.
J. H. Rivett
Carnac,
C.I.E.,
F.S.A.,
A.D.C.

28 Nov. 1894

Mr. J. H. Russell-Cresswell, C.I.E., F.S.A., A.D.C. originally as Assistant Deputy Opium Agents, and are promoted by degrees to be Deputy Opium Agents. They are appointed by selection and competition. The nominations for the vacancies are in the hands of the two Opium Agents and the Governments of Bengal and the North-West.

23 Nov. 1933.

2989. Do the Governments and the Opium Agents nominate?—The actual process is, that each nominates one man. The four nominees compete for one appointment, the best of the four getting the appointment.

2990. (*Sir James Lyall.*) You and Mr. Hopkins are the officers of the head opium agency in Benares and Behar. Your duties are confined to superintending and managing, granting licenses to cultivate the poppy, giving advances to the cultivators, the collection of opium from the cultivators, and its manufacture and transport to Calcutta; these are your duties, I believe?—They are.

2991. I understand that you and Mr. Hopkins were named by the Government as witnesses to give evidence as to the duties of your work and how it is managed?—That is correct.

2992. You had no instructions to defend the monopoly system or to express the views of Government on the question referred to the Parliamentary Commission?—Absolutely none. I believe we were practically told to come here and give any information that our experience may enable us to give.

2993. You pointed out the additional duty or profit that Government gets on Bengal opium as compared with Malwa opium?—I did.

2994. Is it not the case that that additional profit or duty on Bengal opium is got by appropriating to Government through the monopoly a small part of the profit which the Malwa cultivator gets, that is, the Malwa cultivator gets a little more for the opium being free trade than the Bengal cultivator does?—I should say that is correct.

2995. The rest of the profit is got by appropriating to the Government the whole of the profit which the Malwa manufacturer gets?—That is my view.

2996. (*Mr. Fanshawe.*) Mr. Evans, who gave evidence this morning, spoke of the fear of the thesildar as being a reason why cultivators could not give up poppy cultivation. In the North-West has the thesildar any power to deal with poppy cultivators?—Absolutely none. I do not mean to say that if he had a personal friend, the thesildar might not get him to do something. One cannot say that he might not have some influence. The thesildar as a native official has nothing to do with us. A complaint amongst Opium officers often has been that although the thesildar goes out and provides every sort of arrangement for other officers going through his district, he does not regard Opium officers as anybody at all, and will not put himself out of the way for them because they are not officers who are connected with him. I was at first inclined to think that it was a great mistake that we did not work through the District officers. After I joined the Agency, having served in the Central Provinces where all the administrative strings were in the hands of the District officer, it seemed to me that it would be an excellent plan to have all the opium staff put under the collector so as to bring the collector and the thesildar to help the Opium Department. I was unmercifully snubbed for the recommendation, and afterwards I saw the foolishness of my proposal and the wisdom of the rebuke that was administered to me, inasmuch as it was pointed out that the Government could not recognise the district staff as being connected with opium cultivation.

2997. If any native subordinate of your Department could put pressure on the cultivators, who would it be?—Would it be the zilladar?—I really do not know how they could put pressure.

2998. If anybody might put pressure on the villagers to cultivate poppy it would be the inspector or the man who goes round the villages?—Yes.

2999. He is the zilladar?—Yes.

3000. Has he a circle?—Yes, he has five or six villages. He is the administrative unit.

3001. Then the man who goes first through villages in that way would be the man who might put pressure to bring them in?—Yes.

3002. (*Mr. Haridas Vekaridas.*) You were in the Bombay Presidency as Cotton Commissioner and you had occasion to see and know the cultivators?—Yes; I served a long time in the Central Provinces and Behar. As a Cotton Commissioner I was brought into contact with the people.

3003. Can you give an idea of the condition of the cotton cultivators as compared with that of the poppy cultivators?—I knew 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. I saw the cotton cultivators in the days of the cotton famine.

3004. Cotton cultivators get no advances?—No.

3005. Does the poppy cultivator go to the officer to get a license or does the officer go to the cultivator?—We now send the Opium officers to certain central points. In old days the officer used to remain at head-quarters. For some years past now we have had bungalows scattered about the districts and the Opium officer goes to these points on fixed dates, and the cultivator comes to him. I do not mean to say that the zilladars do not encourage men to come in and perhaps very often bring them with them. They come to the bungalow where the officer is. The opium subordinate goes originally to the opium cultivator.

3006. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) So far as I gather, you do not deal in any way with the landowners, but directly with the cultivators or with the cultivators through their headman?—Yes.

3007. The only advantage therefore that the landowner derives from the cultivation of opium is the better security for his rent, because his tenants are more likely to be solvent?—Possibly the landowner sometimes gets a little opium for himself.

3008. From his tenants?—Yes, if he is an opium-eater. Sometimes he may tell the cultivators to bring him a little, and this is very difficult to find out.

3009. That raises the question that I was about to ask, whether you believe that there is much of that kind of what I may call smuggling?—It is difficult to say whether there is much, but it would be wrong to say that there is not some. I could give several reasons which seem to indicate that the amount cannot be very large. Undoubtedly there must be some smuggling; I should think that women keep back small quantities for their children and for medicine and a little for the cattle, but my reasons for supposing that the amount is not very large are these. Several times men have been caught buying what is called excise opium in the North-West Provinces and carrying it to Calcutta. The reason for their doing this is that the excise price of opium at Benares is much lower than at Calcutta. It suggests itself that if these smugglers have to go to the excise to buy opium, they must have considerable difficulty in getting it from the cultivators. They pay Rs. 17 a seer for excise opium, and the price we pay to the cultivators is only Rs. 5—a difference of Rs. 12. You cannot believe that they would buy excise opium at Rs. 17 if they could get opium easily in the districts at any price between Rs. 17 and Rs. 5. Then another reason for believing that the amount kept back is not very large is that opium is constantly smuggled from Nepal on our North East border. The Punjab traders have been caught over and over again carrying pony-loads of opium wrapped up in onions, tobacco, etc. which they have had to go to Nepal for. If they go to all the risk and expense and trouble of going through our districts, buying opium in Nepal and coming through our districts again, there must be some considerable trouble in buying from the cultivators. I do not say that it is not done to some extent. Another reason which makes me suppose that there is a difficulty in smuggling is that we have constantly caught men carrying pony-loads of opium pottery for long distances, 50 or 100 miles. During the opium collection season hundreds and thousands of women and children collect the opium. They scrape off the opium from each capsule and put it into a little earthenware dish. When they get home they scrape the opium out of these little dishes and place it in a larger jar. All these little earthenware dishes, even when scraped, retain a certain amount of opium. These are sometimes smashed in order to extract the opium from them. If the people go to all the trouble and expense and risk of carrying this pottery, it cannot be very easy to get much from the cultivators. Of course it would be absurd to pretend, with the millions of cultivators engaged in the trade, that they do not keep back some of the opium in small quantities—that is an admitted fact.

3010. What proportion of the staff generally was English?—When I first joined the Department nearly all the Sub-Deputies and Assistants were Europeans. Some years later the Government determined to throw the Department open to boys born and educated in this country.

generally give the nomination to a European; but a young Englishman who comes out from England has very little chance against a boy educated in this country. During the last few years we have appointed a certain number of natives, a small percentage; one in three.

3011. The subordinates who deal more directly with the cultivators are all natives?—All natives.

3012. Do you consider the commission system a good system for paying these people?—In the Agency in which I am, none of the officials are paid by commission; we have always been against it, rightly or wrongly.

3013. The prices, we understand, paid to cultivators is the same every year?—No, since I have been in the Agency it has been changed two or three times. In 1871-7 it was raised from Rs. 4-8 to Rs. 5 a seer; in 1878 it was reduced to Rs. 4-8 per seer; and in 1882 it was again raised to Rs. 5, and that is the rate at which it stands at present.

3014. Was that done at your recommendation or by the orders of the Board of Revenue?—Under the orders of the Board of Revenue and the Government of India. In a matter of that sort involving an enormous sum of money the orders that came to me through the Board of Revenue were from the Government of India.

3015. Does it depend on the price which the Government are getting at the auction sales in Calcutta, or on the difficulties which you find in getting people to cultivate the poppy?—This reason for lowering the price is a mystery. The Government say they want a certain amount sown, and if I said I could not get it at Rs. 5 they would probably

raise the rate. I think they would prefer to lower the rate rather than to raise it. There is always great trouble about raising it.

3016. (Mr. Pease.) Is it not a fact that when the opium rate was low there was a high price of cereals so that there was a difficulty in getting people to cultivate opium, and it was necessary to raise the rate so as to induce them to cultivate it?—My impression is that they raise the rate because they want more opium.

3017. I think I have read that it was on account of the high price of other produce at that time that the rate for opium was raised?—I cannot say.

(Chairman.) It depends upon two things—upon the price obtainable at the time for other descriptions of produce, and also upon the requirements of the Government with reference to their stock of opium.

3018. (Mr. Mowbray.) Do the cultivators who grow opium put all their land into the opium crop, or do they cultivate cereals on part of the land?—The cultivator only puts a small patch under opium, say a quarter or sometimes one-sixth, with which he intends to pay his rent; the rest he cultivates as a rule in grain crops to supply his family and his cattle.

3019. (Mr. Wilson.) You have explained to us that when the Government does not desire to have so much land under cultivation a certain number of persons are struck off the list, or other persons may have a portion of land reduced?—Yes.

3020. When that takes place, do they get any kind of compensation?—No.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned until to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

At the Council Chamber, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

TWELFTH DAY.

Friday, 24th November 1893.

PRESENT:

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B. (CHAIRMAN, PRESIDING).

SIR JAMES B. LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
THE HON'BLE SIR LACHEMBSWAR SINGH, BAHADUR, MAHA-
RAJA OF DARBHANGA, K.C.I.E.
SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D.
MR. R. G. C. MOWBRAY, M.P.

MR. A. U. FANSHAW.
" A. ARTHUR FRASE.
" HARIDAS VERARIDAS DESAI.
" H. J. WILSON, M.P.

MR. J. PRESCOOT HEWITT, C.I.E., Secretary.

MR. JAMES FAIRBAIRN FINLAY called in and examined.

3021. (Chairman.) Kindly state what your position is.—I am Secretary to the Government of India in the Finance Department.

3022. You attend this morning for the purpose of producing on behalf of the Government of India five papers, of which copies have already been given to the Secretary?—Yes.

3023. Will you tell us the different heads with which those papers deal?—The first is a "Statement shewing Opium Revenue and Expenditure of British India under all Heads of Accounts;" the second is a note regarding "Opium produced or consumed in India;" the third is a note regarding "Arrangements with Native States regarding Opium;" the fourth is an "Account of previous proposals for abolishing the Government monopoly, cultivation, manufacture and sale of Opium in Bengal," and the fifth is a Reprint of a Report on Opium in Western China by Mr. W. D. Spence, Her Britannic Majesty's Acting Consul, Ichang, dated 11th April 1892.

3024. The papers that you have enumerated have, as I understand, been in the hands of the Secretary for a day or two, but we cannot assume that every one of these papers has been attentively read by each member of the Commission. I understand your desire is that those papers shall be accepted by the Commission as being the evidence tendered in chief on the part of the Government of India with reference to the various matters which are there dealt with; you desire that your personal part in giving information should rather take the form of explanations which may be required of you by any member of the Commission regarding any points which are dealt with in those papers?—That is so.

I believe it will tend rather to the despatch of business if we did not detain Mr. Finlay further this morning, but that it should be understood on the part of the Commission that we should read these papers with attention, and that Mr. Finlay should attend on Tuesday

H 2

Mr.
J. H. Sivett-
Carson,
C.I.E., F.S.A.,
A.D.G.

Mr. J. F. Fin-
lay.
24 Nov. 1893.

Mr. J. F. Finlay. morning, when the Commissioners will be prepared to cross-examine him upon them.

24 Nov. 1893. (Witness.) I have been asked to produce the papers relating to the Confidential Circular issued by the

Excise Commissioner of the North-Western Provinces to which publicity was given by the "Abkari." I now hand them in.

RAM DHURLABH MAZUMDAR called in and examined.

R. D. Mazumdar. 3025. (Mr. Pease.) Will you kindly state to the Commission your position and where you reside?—I am a pleader at Nowgong, Central Assam.

3026. With what classes or races have you had experience, with regard to this opium question?—With the Assamese people generally.

3027. Over what period?—For over 18 years.

3028. What special opportunities have you had?—As pleader, I have had opportunities to meet and talk with every person of every nationality and of every creed and colour. We get domestic servants and labourers from those classes. I come in contact every day with these people.

3029. Have you had any opportunity of seeing them in their home life?—Yes.

3030. What is your experience with regard to the consumption of opium in the district about which you are able to give evidence?—A large number of people consume opium in that district.

3031. Is it more so in one class of society than in another?—Yes, among the Mekirs and Hozais smoking is prevalent.

3032. Kindly tell us what position in life these Mekirs and Hozais occupy?—They are barbarous people that live mostly on the hills.

3033. The practice is not so extensive, is it, among those of higher position?—Opium-smoking is not, but opium eating and drinking are.

3034. Can you give us any idea of the proportion of the population that indulge in the habit?—It may be 25 per cent. of the whole population.—I mean by the whole population, including foreigners.

3035. At what age do they begin to use opium usually?—From 16 to 18 years of age, when they grow up and are in a position to earn money. Some are taught in early childhood.

3036. Do they take it for the cure of disease or as an indulgence?—Some take it as a cure for disease. They are advised to take it for rheumatism, and sometimes in cases of dysentery.

3037. Can you give us any idea what is the proportion of those who take it as a cure for disease?—I cannot.

3038. Have you any information as to its being given by mothers to their children?—Yes, it is given by mothers to their children. Women form the greatest portion of the working community: they do 75 per cent. of the domestic and field work. When they leave home, they give small doses of opium to the little children in order to keep them quiet at home.

3039. Do you know anything with regard to those who have acquired the habit of taking opium, giving it up?—Yes, I have information with regard to some cases.

3040. Kindly give it to us?—I know the case of a pleader who lives next door to me. He was in the habit of smoking opium, and he gave it up all of a sudden. He says now that he is much better than he was when he was in the habit of smoking it.

3041. Are there many who give up the habit, or do they find a difficulty in giving it up?—They certainly find a difficulty in giving it up, unless they are compelled to do so; somehow they do not give it up for good.

3042. Do you find many who take it to excess?—Yes.

3043. What proportion of their income do the people you have been speaking of spend over opium?—I should say from ten to twenty per cent.

3044. Do you find there is a tendency to increase the dose?—Yes, those who are in the habit of taking opium, increase the dose.

3045. What do you think is the effect upon the people from the consumption of opium?—The people are growing weak and indolent and unfit for physical labour.

3046. Do you apply that to those who do not take it to excess?—I apply it generally to those who take opium. There is a vast difference between those who take opium and those who do not take it, even in their physical appearance.

3047. In your district is opium supposed to be a protection against fever?—I have never heard of it.

3048. Will you tell us the complaints for which it is taken?—Rheumatic pains, and sometimes in cases of dysentery.

3049. What is the medicine that is taken in the case of malarious fever?—Cinchona and quinine.

3050. So far as you know, opium is never prescribed?—Never.

3051. Do you think it is necessary for the working classes to take opium to enable them to do their work?—I do not think so.

3052. What is the public feeling with regard to the taking of opium, does it bring any discredit upon those who take it?—Yes, amongst the rising generation.

3053. Do you mean that it is a disgrace for young people to take it, or that the young people look upon it as a disgrace?—Young people who are educated look upon it as a disgrace.

3054. What do you think is the effect of the licensing system of opium in Assam?—I should think it is rather an inducement to take opium—licenses are so freely given. It is placed at every man's door. In the district of which I am speaking, there are about 200 licenses, if not more.

3055. Have you any suggestion to make as to the course the Government ought to take with regard to the licensing?—I should say that the licenses should be reduced to a smaller number—to a very small number,—so that people cannot get opium very easily.

3056. Do you think the law, as it at present stands, has been fully carried out in your locality?—I think it is carried out properly. I mean the opium law.

3057. Have you any suggestion to make with regard to the prohibition of opium smoking?—I think opium-smoking should not be allowed on the premises. If smoking were stopped altogether, it would be a very good thing.

3058. Is it your opinion that the sale of opium ought to be prohibited, except for medicinal purposes?—I think it should be, but I do not think it is practicable to stop it altogether in the present state of the country.

3059. Have you any suggestion to make with regard to a substitute for the loss of revenue which would be created by a reduction in the opium revenue?—Tobacco might be taxed; it is extensively used, and it is a luxury.

3060. Have you any suggestion to make as to how opium should be sold for medicinal purposes?—There should be certain licenses under the supervision of the police. A register ought to be kept of the people to whom they sell, as in the case of ammunition. If practicable, also, I think certificates ought to be got from the medical advisers.

3061. Have you any suggestion to make as to the persons who should be authorised to sell it?—Persons should be licensed. I do not refer to any particular class of people.

3062. Do you think there should be any supervision over those who have thus been licensed?—There should be full supervision.

3063. Are you aware whether there is any smuggling in your district?—There is no smuggling of opium in the district. I have heard of cases in other districts.

3064. Have you any other information with regard to those districts?—No, I have not much.

3065. (Mr. Wilson.) I notice you refer to something which you call "black fever"?—Yes.

3066. Is that a kind of malaria?—It is called malarial fever by medical men. It is extensively prevalent in the district, and causes deaths in every village.

3067. You also refer to mohants; who are they?—Mohants are persons who are priests or religious teachers.

3068. Among the Hindus?—Yes, among the Hindus.

3069. They avoid it?—They avoid it themselves; and they compel their disciples to avoid it.

3070. You refer to the town of Nowgong; is that a large town?—It is a small town; but it is the head-quarters of the district.

3071. You say the people smoke opium and eat it in the shops: is there more than one shop?—There is only one shop for smoking purposes, that is called the chandu shop.

3072. Is there an arrangement somewhere in that shop by which they can go and lie down and smoke chandu?—Within the same house: the vendor sells it, and they smoke it in the house. There is no separate house; it is only one hut.

3073. Is it on the same premises?—Yes, it is one hut. The same as this room is.

3074. In one building?—Yes, one building, a thatched hut.

3075. If I went there to buy some chandu, should I see some people smoking at the same time?—If you buy from the outside you would not see them; but if you go inside you will see them smoking.

3076. Many?—Yes.

3077. How many?—I cannot say; it may be twenty or twenty-five at a time. If you buy from outside the vendor will hand it to you outside, and you will go away without seeing them smoke it.

3078. You have said that smoking on the premises should be stopped. By whom should it be stopped?—By authority: I should say the Magistrate.

3079. Does not the law prohibit smoking on the premises now?—No; it is understood that they should smoke on the premises.

3080. But there may be a difference between the law and the practice. You have told us that people do smoke there. I want to know whether that is legal. Are you aware of any law prohibiting smoking on the premises?—No, I am not as far as the Opium Act of 1878 and the Chief Commissioner's Rules under the Act are concerned. As a pleader I get cases under the opium law—breach of the opium law; but I never heard of a case of breach of the opium law by smoking on the premises.

3081. You never heard of a prosecution?—No.

3082. What I want to know is, could a prosecution be instituted?—I do not think so. If it could, the police would take it in hand. They are under the very nose of the police.

3083. Are you at all acquainted with the Blue-book entitled "Opium Consumption in India"?—I have read parts of it.

3084. Have you seen a statement made and dated December 2nd, 1890?—I do not remember the date.

3085. In reference to a statement made by Mr. Caine, the Commissioner uses these words:—"In paragraph 18 of the memorial a suggestion is made that all opium dens or shops for the retail sale of opium to be consumed on the premises should be closed. Now I can positively state that there are no 'opium dens' in this province, such as have been described by Mr. Caine and other gentlemen; none of our opium-eaters in the province sit in the opium shops and consume the opium." And further on he says, "there is no room into which he is invited to enter or into which he can go and rest, if so inclined. We have not a single 'opium den,' and it is not necessary to make any change in the mode of sale." Were you aware of that?—I have read that.

3086. Do you think that is correct?—I think that it is qualified. He has admitted somewhere that there are chandu shops where people are allowed to smoke.

3087. Is that admitted in this paper?—Yes.

3088. Could you find it?—It is on page 80. "In the case of chandu shops (I have three shops for the sale of chandu and seven for the sale of madak and chandu) the drug is always consumed on the premises."

3089. I will read the whole passage.—It is on page 28, paragraph 6 of Mr. Driberg's note:—"In paragraph 18 of the memorial a suggestion is made that all opium dens or shops for the retail sale of opium to be consumed on the premises should be closed. Now I can positively state that there are no 'opium dens' in this province, such as have been described by Mr. Caine and other gentlemen; none of our opium-eaters in the province sit in the opium shops and consume the opium. All our opium-sellers carry on other business besides the sale of opium; nearly every opium-vendor in the province sells also rice, dal, cloths, and other articles. A purchaser of opium may or may not consume the opium on the premises; the generality of them carry it home. Opium is not smoked in Assam as a rule, it is swallowed in its crude state in the form of a pill, or it is diluted with water and drunk; now a man when he wants opium buys $\frac{1}{2}$ of a tola, or $\frac{1}{4}$ of a tola, or $\frac{1}{8}$ of a tola, and consumes part of it at once, and puts the remainder in a pot (debia) which he

carries with him. If you hinder him from swallowing a *E. D. Madak* pill in the shop he will do so outside of it. In fact, there is no such thing as going into a shop. The place of vend is open on the outside, the vendor sits on the chhang or platform, the purchaser standing in a narrow verandah outside makes his purchase and leaves. There is no room into which he is invited to enter or into which he can go and rest, if so inclined. After making his purchase he must go on or sit below the nearest tree. The conditions of Upper India do not apply to this province. We have not a single 'opium den,' and it is not necessary to make any change in the mode of sale. We wish to restrict people to making small purchases of the drug. This will not result from debarring them from consuming the opium in the shop verandah, or outside it. If you compel a man not to take opium near a shop he will be careful to have a larger supply always at home, and this will always be worse for him and worse for all the inmates of the house." That is the whole paragraph. Now we understand that. The passage, however, to the witness refers me is on page 30; from Mr. H. Luttmann-Johnson, Commissioner of the Assam Valley Districts, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam. There he says at paragraph 2.—"With regard to the specific proposal made by the Society that our licenses for the retail sale of opium should not include consumption on the premises, I have the honour to say that consumption on the premises is not common in my division. In the case of opium shops proper, of which I have 880, I may say that the drug is never consumed on the premises. In the case of chandu shops (I have three shops for sale of chandu and seven for sale of madak and chandu) the drug is always consumed on the premises. In the case of madak shops, of which I have ten, besides these seven licensed to sell both madak and chandu, it is often consumed on the premises. My annual Excise Reports give full particulars of the number of the shops and the opium taken on their account from the treasury each year. In 1889-90, 13 maunds 16 seers were sold from the treasury for madak and chandu shops, out of a total of 1,398 maunds. I would not mind closing these shops; such a measure would make no difference to the habits of the people. The few people who use them, chiefly foreigners, would make some other arrangements." That is what Mr. H. Luttmann-Johnson, the Commissioner of the Assam Valley Districts, said on the 30th December 1890. What I quoted was from Mr. J. J. S. Driberg, Commissioner of Excise, Assam, on 2nd December 1890. It appears from that that the Commissioner of Excise, writing to the Chief Commissioner of Assam in December 1890, stated that there were no opium dens in the province.

(Witness.) That is not quite correct.

(Mr. Willson.) A few days later, on the 30th of the same month, Mr. Luttmann-Johnson, Commissioner of the Assam Valley Districts, wrote to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, that there were a number of opium dens. That is really what appears from these extracts.

3090. *(Mr. Pease.)* You are aware that there was a Resolution of the Government of India, in the Finance and Commerce Department, dated 25th September 1891, commencing—"The evils connected with the smoking of opium and its preparations on the premises of licensed shops have for many years attracted the attention of the Government of India and the Local Governments; and endeavours have been made to prevent or minimise the evils," in which it is stated that "the Government of India now directs that, when the term for which any existing licenses are in force expires, in any licenses which may be renewed a clause should be inserted prohibiting the consumption of opium on the premises in any form?—I am not aware of any Circular being issued in Assam.

3091. That is a Resolution. Therefore if licenses have been issued in accordance with that Resolution, the owner of the license to which you are referring is breaking the law by allowing smoking to take place on his premises?—At the time of the sale he is never told that he is not allowed to let people smoke on his premises. The notice is issued as before.

3092. Is it not stated in his license?—I have not seen a license particularly; but the conditions of license are published: they are the same old conditions.

3093. Do you say that this condition is not inserted in the license?—I have not seen it.

(Mr. Pease.) Could we have a copy of the license?

(Secretary.) The Licenses for Assam have not yet been presented.

E. D. Madak
24 Nov. 18

R. D. Massey,
dar.
24 Nov. 1893.

8094. (Mr. Wilson.) I want to be clear about this matter. These passages I have read show, do they not, that the Excise Commissioner speaking of the whole province said that there were none, that he knew of none, and Mr. Luttman-Johnson speaking of one portion of the province said that there were a great many? Is that right?—Mr. Luttman-Johnson is right.

8095. I am referring to that time?—They were as they are at present.

8096. That is another question. You yourself say now that they continue at the present time—at least one that you know of?—Yes.

8097. In the town of Nowgong?—Yes.

8098. Do you know of any others?—I am not aware of any other shops.

8099. With reference to the advisability of prohibiting the sale of opium except for medical purposes, you have said that it was desirable, but that in the present state of affairs it was impracticable. Was that your answer?—Yes.

8100. What do you mean by the present state of affairs?—People who have already taken to the use of opium would suffer very much if they were not allowed any.

8101. With regard to the question as to whether public opinion would prefer the adoption of this measure I understood you to say that public opinion would be indifferent. I do not quite understand you. You say that it is not practicable, and yet that public opinion would be indifferent?—The whole population would not think of it at all. Only those who consume opium would raise a cry.

8102. Then with reference to smuggling, if there is any smuggling in Assam, where do you think the smuggled opium comes from?—I have said there is no smuggling; at least I am not aware of any smuggling in the district.

8103. What do you refer to—Calcutta or the North-West Provinces?—I have heard opium is sold very cheap in Calcutta by public auction; but in Assam it is sold at Rs. 37 per seer. A man who gets a chest for Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 1,200 would be a gainer by taking it into Assam and selling it retail.

8104. Do you consider that the district of which you are speaking—the district which you know best—is a very malarious district?—Yes, it is malarious at present.

8105. (Mr. Moubray.) When was it exactly that you saw these shops and the people smoking on the premises?—Some time in August last.

8106. This year?—Yes.

8107. What did you say with regard to the price of opium in Assam, in answer to Mr. Wilson, I did not quite catch it?—In Assam opium is sold by the Government Treasury for Rs. 37 per seer.

8108. That is not the price at which it would be bought by the people of Assam?—That is for Assam licensed vendors.

8109. That is the price at which the licensed vendors buy it from Government?—Yes.

8110. I want to know what is the price at which they sell it?—Rs. 45 to Rs. 50.

8111. Has the price increased lately?—Yes.

8112. Could you tell me how much?—Rs. 5 per seer, it has increased this year.

8113. Are you speaking of the price to the consumer?—The price to the consumer, by retail vendors.

8114. You have told us that the licenses are given too freely. I suppose you are aware that the number of licenses in Assam has been very much reduced during the last ten years?—I should think it would be not very much; from 208 to 197 or 198 in the district in which I am.

8115. Are you aware that according to the figures furnished to us by the Government of India, the number of shops for the retail sale of opium has been reduced between 1883 and 1892, from 1,318 to 866?—I cannot give the exact number for the whole province.

8116. Are you aware that the number of shops for the retail of madak and chandu in the same time has been reduced from 37 to 16?—I cannot say. There is only one shop in the town in which I live.

8117. Assuming these papers which have been put in by the Government of India to be correct, does that not show a considerable reduction in the number of licenses during the last ten years?—That shows a reduction, but there is still room for further reduction.

8118. I think you have told us that there would be no general feeling against prohibition: do I understand your remarks to apply to opium-smoking only, or to opium-

eating?—Opium-smoking and opium-eating. The majority of the population would not think about it: they would not mind being deprived of it.

8119. They would not mind being deprived of opium-smoking or opium-eating, that is your opinion?—Yes.

8120. (Mr. Fawkes.) May I ask you if you have had an experience of the district life, or is your experience usually limited to Nowgong? Have you been in the habit of moving about among the people in the villages?—Not much.

8121. What is your length of standing as a pleader?—Thirteen years in that district.

8122. Your experience is mainly limited to Nowgong itself, and not to the district?—Nowgong itself.

8123. The people to whom you were referring were Assamese people: have you had any opportunity of knowing what their views would be on this subject of opium-eating?—Yes; I have talked to several Assamese people.

8124. Speaking generally of the district, the Assamese people, I understand, would be the cultivators of that district?—There is very little difference between the town and the suburbs, and the interior. People residing in the towns are as much cultivators as the others.

8125. In Nowgong is that so?—Yes; it is something like a village.

8126. Have you had any special means of ascertaining the views of those people who consume opium?—They would be against it.

8127. I think you said that quinine was ordinarily used as a preventive against fever. Do you mean to say that these Assamese people to whom you refer would get quinine?—Yes. If they went to the dispensary they would get it free of cost.

8128. Perhaps you are not aware that the Post Office has lent its agency to the Local Government for the sale of Government quinine in all post offices. Are you aware of that?—I am not aware of the post offices selling quinine in Assam.

8129. Even with the agency of the Post Office being available for the sale of Government quinine, do you think that the quinine can generally be brought to the doors of the people so that they can easily obtain it?—Yes; even vaccinators take quinine to their doors.

8130. Do you think there is any tendency or likelihood of the people largely taking to quinine? Have you any experience to justify you saying that?—I cannot speak positively on that point.

8131. You said that there was no law against opium-smoking on the premises: is that so?—I think so.

8132. Do you mean that there has been no executive order of the Government against it?—I have not seen any.

8133. You said there was no law; do you mean that there was no executive order of the Government?—I mean that in the Opium Act there is no provision for it.

8134. Has there been any executive order from the Government on the subject as far as you know?—I am not aware of any orders.

8135. What is ordinarily smoked in Assam? Is it madak and chandu?—Yes.

8136. And nothing else?—They smoke tobacco.

8137. Of course I mean with regard to opium. Madak and chandu is what is smoked?—Yes.

8138. Are you aware of what the number of shops in Assam is for the purpose of selling madak and chandu?—I do not know. There is only one shop in Nowgong.

8139. The figures of the Government show that there are sixteen in the whole Province?—That may be so.

8140. This particular shop in Nowgong where you saw consumption on the premises, was it a madak shop?—A madak and chandu shop.

8141. As distinguished from an opium shop?—Opium is also sold on the same premises.

8142. (Sir James Lyall.) Do you know the name of the master of the chandu vendor's shop?—His name is Kola, He is a Mahomedan.

8143. Are you sure that the smoking was going on in that shop, or was it in a detached place?—There is no detached place. There is only one hut, and that is a chandu shop. I have seen people inside there, and some people told me they were smoking, and I knew them to be smokers of chandu.

8144. You saw them smoking?—I did not actually see them smoking: I knew they were smokers.

3145. (*Chairman.*) You were told that they were smoking?—Yes, I know people who smoke. They go to that place at a stated hour. Some people go at 3 o'clock: that is their time, and then you cannot keep them on duty.

3146. (*Sir James Lyall.*) If they were smokers they would go to that shop, whether they smoked or not, to get chandu?—They might go to the shop for chandu; but some people spend their time there, though there is no necessity for their spending their time there. There is an arrangement for them there. They have got chutni and other eatables there. Lately there was a case (No. A 207 decided on the 23rd August 1893 by Major P. E. Henderson) in which all these things were stolen from that shop. I was pleader for one of the defendants. There were two persons in the dock. One was convicted; he confessed he had stolen all these things. On inquiry I found all these things; there was some madak and chandu, and there was some chutni. People immediately after smoking must have something sweet or something sour in order to take the taste away.

3147. You mentioned that the mohunts and their devout disciples do not smoke opium?—No; they do not.

3148. Are they also prohibited from drinking alcohol?—Drinking alcohol is generally prohibited among the Hindu people of Assam.

3149. What class of people drink arak in Assam?—Hillmen; the whole people drink, they make their own drinks.

3150. Do you think that if opium-eating were stopped, there would be a danger of these people drinking arak?—It is religiously prohibited among the Assamese; they would not take alcohol.

3151. You say that religious teachers prohibit opium too; still people take opium?—Yes, that is so.

3152. Perhaps you are aware, that, before the British Government annexed Assam, opium cultivation was free in that country?—Yes, it was.

3153. I suppose opium then must have been extraordinarily cheap, as compared with the present time?—Every man cultivated his own opium. There was very little necessity for buying it.

3154. Have you also heard that when the British Government prohibited the cultivation of opium, there were riots?—There was a row at one place, but it was not on account of opium alone. The income-tax was introduced at that time, and both these things combined, irritated the ryots. A certain officer, a Lieutenant and Assistant Commissioner in the district, went among the ryots. He did not use proper discretion, and he was killed on the spot. There was no attempt to loot the treasury, and no attempt was made upon the life of the Deputy Commissioner who was chief officer in the district. That was some time in 1861.

3155. What district was that?—The Nowgong district, about 9 miles from the place where I live.

3156. (*Mr. Pease.*) How long was the prohibition before the riots?—About a year a little more than a year.

3157. (*Mr. Wilson.*) What did you say about the tax?—It was income-tax.

3158. Was that a new tax?—It was a new tax.

3159. Had it never been in force there before?—I do not think so.

3160. (*Sir James Lyall.*) An income-tax would not affect the cultivators, would it?—Everybody was taxed. The present income-tax does not affect those who derive their income from the land, but the former Act provided that every sort of income must be taxed.

3161. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) I suppose if the opium revenue were abolished, it might be necessary to put on another tax in Assam; is that so?—Sqmshow or other, it must be made up.

3162. (*The Maharaja of Darbhanga.*) You have said that the people in Assam generally spend from 10 to 20 per cent. of their income on opium; what class do you refer to?—The lower classes.

3163. You did not refer to the higher classes?—The Assamese are mostly cultivators. There are no zemindars in Assam, except in the district of Goalpara.

3164. How about the tradespeople?—The tradespeople are foreigners; they are Marwaris in general, most of them do not take opium.

3165. (*Sir William Roberts.*) What race are the people of Nowgong, are they Hindustani, or alike to the Chinese in blood?—Some of them are like to the Chinese. They are called Ahoms. Most of them are small aboriginal tribes living on the sides of the hills.

3166. You have said that opium-smoking prevails more among certain classes than in others, and that among the Hindus it may be between 30 and 40 per cent. Does that mean adult males?—Yes.

3167. That is to say that nearly half the adult males use opium?—They use opium in some shape or other.

3168. Do they use it mostly in the way of eating, or drinking, or of smoking?—Among the Hindu population, mostly in the way of eating or drinking.

3169. And among the Mekirs more than 75 per cent. of the adult males?—Both males and females.

3170. This applies, I presume, to the population of Nowgong and not the country parts about the town?—This is all the population of the hills.

3171. The town population?—A little distance away from the town.

3172. In the Suburbs?—Yes.

3173. I think you said in answer to Mr. Fanshawe, that your experience was confined to the Towns and Suburbs mostly?—I mean those people who come from the hills.

3174. Are these people healthy?—They are healthy.

3175. People who eat or drink opium, you think, are not affected in their health?—They do not get any particular disease, but they grow weak.

3176. Would you consider that the population of Nowgong, the adult males, are a weakly and unhealthy set of people?—I should consider them weakly.

3177. Do you know whether opium is used as a popular domestic remedy in Assam?—It is used in cases of rheumatism and dysentery, as I have already stated.

3178. You have not heard of opium being used for the purpose of relieving people affected with malarial complaints of any sort?—No, I am not aware of any cases in which opium was prescribed for malarial fever.

The witness withdrew.

HON'BLE D. E. LYALL, C.S.I., called in and examined.

3179. (*Chairman.*) Will you state what is your position in the service of the Government of India?—I am now Member of the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces.

3180. How long have you served in India?—I have served in this country for over thirty-two years.

3181. In what districts have you been employed and in what capacities?—The most of my service as a young man was in East Bengal, in the districts of Backergunge, Tipperah, Faridpur, and Dacca. In this last district I served nearly sixteen years as Assistant Magistrate, Sub-Divisional Officer, Joint Magistrate, Collector, and Officiating Commissioner.

3182. In these capacities what opportunities had you of forming a judgment as to the facts of the use of opium: did you see anything of the Chinese population?—When Sub-Divisional Officer of the Munshiganj Sub-division, Munshiganj, which was then largely frequented by Chinese junks, was under me. I also as Collector kept

excise administration in my own hands. Subsequently, after my return from furlough, I was Inspector-General of Police for about three years, and Collector of the 24-Fergana and Officiating Commissioner of the Presidency Division for about two years. I was then for nearly seven years Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, and after my return from second furlough, I was appointed Commissioner of the Palna Division, whence I was transferred to the Board of Revenue, where I have been in charge of, among others, the Excise and Opium Departments. I have thus knowledge, more or less, of the whole province, but chiefly of East Bengal.

3183. Will you tell us what is the opinion that you have formed from this extensive experience of the effect of opium upon those who consume it?—My experience is that opium is far the least hurtful of the three principal sources of excise revenue in Bengal, viz., opium, ganja, and alcohol. As regards its effects on the natives of the country, I hold the moderate use of opium to be beneficial in a malarious country like Bengal, and cases of immoderate

Hon. D. E.
Lyall,
C.S.I.

R. D. Macrum-
dar.
24 Nov. 1893.

Hon. D. R.
Lyll, C.S.I.
21 Nov. 1898.

use are very few and far between. Nor does even immoderate use of opium cause such bad effects as the immoderate use of alcohol. I can assert that I know no case in all my long residence in India, in which I can say that I believe the death of any native has been due to immoderate habitual use of opium, while I know very many cases in which death has been due to the excessive use of alcohol. A native who takes to alcohol, more particularly in its European forms, almost invariably takes to it in excess. This is not the case with opium, among Bengalis at least. It is said to be different with Burmese; but from what I saw of them in Chittagong, especially in the Cox's Bazar sub-division, I was not able to come to the conclusion that in this respect Burmese differed from Bengalis. When I was Sub-divisional Officer of Munshiganj, and later on Collector of Dacca, many Chinese junks used to come to Narainganj, and I studied the effect of opium on the Chinese sailors. Some of these took opium in very large quantities and used to lie in a state of stupefaction, but next day these men were fit for their work, and did just as much as the abstainers and moderate smokers. This greatly impressed me, as I had come out with the usual ideas one gains in England that opium ruins a man body and soul, and I was so fully convinced that opium did these men no harm, that, when I was Collector of Dacca, I proposed that they should be allowed to buy a seer each man to take with them for the homeward voyage, and this was sanctioned. I think DeQuincey is largely responsible for the general acceptance of the view that opium is so very harmful, and possibly when it is taken in the form of laudanum, it is more deleterious, and creates a greater craving than when taken, as it usually is here, in pills.

3184. What do you say to the effect of opium with regard to its leading to crime?—Opium never leads to crime of any kind, so far as my experience goes. It does not make a man quarrelsome or violent, but calms and soothes him, and in this respect its effects differ entirely from those of alcohol and ganja.

3185. What do you say about the effect of opium from a medical point of view?—I consider the use of opium in Bengal is to a very large extent medical. It is used to keep off fever, and is the only excise article which a good Mahomedan can use for this purpose. It is therefore largely used in the malarious districts of the Burdwan Division, in Orissa, in Chittagong, Murshidabad, Rangpur, and Malda, and also in Calcutta and the districts round it. The consumption in Calcutta is very large, partly owing to the number of Chinamen here, partly owing 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. This is generally done under medical advice, and no stigma attaches itself to the consumer's character. I may mention, as showing that connexion with the Opium Department is not held as involving any moral stain on those serving in it, that the son of Babu Keshab Chandra Sen, the great Brahmo Reformer, and brother of the Maharani of Kuch Bihar, and the son of Mahamahopadhyaya Mohesh Chandra Nyaratna, C.I.E., Principal of the Sanskrit College, and an orthodox Hindu, are both in the Opium Department. There are also two Mahomedan gentlemen of good family in the Department.

3186. Would you express a belief from your experience which has been so great in Eastern Bengal, that the consumption of opium as a means of sensual enjoyment is comparatively limited?—I think it is very limited. I consider that the number of cases in which it is used for sensual enjoyment compared with the total consumption is very limited indeed. Ordinarily I should say that the consumption in Bengal is in no way immoral.

3187. Do you believe it is possible that opium may be taken in limited quantities as an indulgence in the sense in which a glass of wine may be taken as an indulgence without moral harm?—Such are my views.

3188. What have you to say with regard to the proposals which have been urged for our consideration to the effect that the growth of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be absolutely prohibited except for medical purposes? Take the argument that rests upon the objections to the trade with China?—It used to be urged that we forced opium on the Chinese. I think that argument is pretty well exploded. I noticed when Mr. Alexander gave his evidence on the point, he chiefly referred to the ancient history of the matter. Now, Indian opium is simply used in China as the higher class Havana cheroots are used in England, or as Indian tea is used along with China tea. In the first case the Mandarins of North China and Peking use the more expensive Indian

opium, just as a rich man at home smokes an expensive cigar, and in the latter it is used to bring up the quality of the indigenous opium, but its use in this respect is steadily declining, owing to the improvement in the home-grown drug; and I am informed by men who know China that whereas formerly 75 per cent. of Indian opium was ordinarily required to mellow the indigenous drug, 25 per cent. now suffices to produce an equal article.

3189. Have you anything further you would like to say with reference to your view of the moral aspect of the question?—The medical evidence will deal with the matter much better than I can. It will put before the Commission that the Indian drug is a milder and less harmful drug than the Persian, containing as it does less morphia and more narcotine. I confess I fail to see any immorality in such a trade, and the opponents of the present system seem to be on the horns of a dilemma. If opium is bad, then surely it is better to have it under Government control and to restrict the production, as is now done; while if it is good, then why this outcry against it? Even if, for the sake of argument, it be allowed to be possible to forbid the growth of opium together, such prohibition would be a gross political error, or even danger; I wish to emphasize the word "danger." I consider it to be an absolute danger, but it is impossible to allow it to be grown for medical purposes and for no other.

3190. Do you think that absolute prohibition of the growth and use of opium in India would lead to smuggling and to evasion of the law?—I believe that both total prohibition and prohibition for anything but medical purposes would lead to smuggling, and it would also be impossible to draw the line between its use for medical purposes and for pleasure only. In place of opium shops we should have the retail of opium by hakims and kabirajs and *panasaris*, and supervision would be more difficult than at present. Total restriction would mean smuggling from Native States and increased use of alcohol and ganja, both, as I have already stated, more hurtful than opium. I refer the Commission to the opinion of Sir Ashley Eden who said that the cost of the preventive service would be absolutely prohibitive.

3191. What have you to say to us as to the political effect of the policy of prohibition?—I hold that in a political point of view total prohibition would be so dangerous, and would alienate so large a body of Her Majesty's subjects in India, as to be impossible. No good Mahomedan can take spirituous or fermented liquors, while he may take opium. If opium is prohibited, the opium-consuming Mahomedan will be driven either to spirits, to take which is contrary to their religion, or to ganja, which is physically more injurious. The dissatisfaction would be enormous, and I am not prepared to say that, fanned as it would be by professional agitators, it would not amount to disaffection and require the presence of more British troops in India. It would, in fact, arouse much the same feelings as any real attempt to "rob a man of his beer" would do in England. There is also another danger not confined to any class, and that is, the total inability of the native mind to grasp the fact of the possibility of the present agitation being without some motive. They cannot conceive that any body of intelligent human beings can go in for a crusade against what they have always held to be a harmless article out of which a large revenue is realized without their being called on to pay it, and not have some motive in the background, and in this case the motive is supposed to be the spread and increase of the sale of imported European liquors. This same idea was started when the discussion took place at Lord Mayo's time, and is referred to in Sir E. Baring's (Lord Cromer's) note, and it was mentioned to me the other day by an intelligent native gentleman.

3192. What do you think would be the disposition of the people of India with reference to the restriction as regards the use of opium for non-medical purposes?—I think the people of India would object to restriction. My experience, as I have stated, is chiefly in East Bengal; but I have seen a good deal of Sikhs, Gurkhas, and other opium-consumers, particularly Gurkhas. In the Lushai Hills Expedition opium was regularly served out to the opium-consumers, and the men who consumed it did the same work as their comrades, and bore the hardships as well, if not better. One great advantage of opium as compared with alcohol in campaigns is its small bulk and consequent easy carriage. Thinking natives of India say with truth, what right has England, which raises so large a revenue from spirits, wine, and beer, to come and try and stop our comparatively innocent equivalent? and any legislation in this direction would be viewed with great disfavour.

3193. In considering this question it is evident that should a preventive policy be adopted, there must be a serious loss of revenue. The Government of India has to be carried on, and if it should be found impracticable to meet the loss from the cessation of the opium traffic by economies, then there must be increased taxation; what have you to say with reference to the disposition of the people of India?—I believe that among the people of India there is absolute unanimity. Even the few organs of public opinion that favour prohibitive measures, say that the loss to the revenue should be made good by economy here and by reducing home charges; but the utmost economy would not produce five to seven millions, and that sum would be required, or in fact more in case the dissatisfaction amounted to disaffection. The bulk of the people of India are poor; not poor in the sense of poor in England, but living from hand to mouth, though in a state of fair comfort and with very few hopeless paupers; and being thus poor they cannot stand direct taxation, which is also specially bad in India because so much of direct taxation fails to reach the State coffers. The only alternative would be to double the salt tax, and I fancy the strongest anti-opiumist would hesitate to propose this. In his evidence Bishop Thoburn has suggested a tobacco tax. This would be a most expensive tax to realise, and it would fall on exactly the same class as the salt tax. Almost every man, woman, and child in India consumes tobacco, and if taxation of this kind is to be imposed, it would be infinitely better to double the salt tax, which is easily collected at a minimum of cost. I fail entirely, however, to see the equity of prohibiting men from using opium which they are willing to pay for, and to tax non-opium consumers to make up the deficit.

3194. I believe that you came prepared to make a statement to us with reference to the Bengal monopoly. It is not necessary that I should trouble you on that point. The Commission have conferred and we understand it to be the view of those members whose opinion in this respect we are specially bound to consider, that the mere cessation of the Bengal monopoly would not remove the objections which are entertained to the opium traffic. They hold that if such a traffic is permitted at all, the conduct of that traffic under the system of monopoly as it exists in Bengal is no particular aggravation of what might be considered to be the evils inseparable from that traffic. I therefore do not propose to re-examine you on the Bengal monopoly. Before concluding your evidence-in-chief, I think I am right in assuming that you were present on the occasion when Mr. Alexander gave his evidence?—Yes, I was present.

3195. If you desire to do so, I think it is my duty to afford you the opportunity of making any observations you wish in regard to that evidence?—I desire to add a few words regarding Mr. Alexander's evidence. In the first place, I would desire to put on record the fact that has no doubt attracted the attention of the members of the Commission that his evidence deals very largely—in fact almost exclusively—with ancient history, more especially as regards the attitude of China. Next, I would note that paragraph 13 of the memorial identifies the Society's objects with the spread of Christianity. The Government of India is a government by Christians strictly pledged to religious neutrality, and it would be most dangerous and opposed to the most solemn pledges if Government in any way moved from this attitude. Mr. Alexander also stated that excise opium was more intoxicating than medical opium. The opium is the same, the only difference being that the medical opium is selected (that is to say, it is the best opium that is sent in), and that it is dried in the laboratory, and not in the sun. The reason of Indian opium not competing with Turkey opium in England is that the price paid even for Turkey opium in England is less than the price realized in India for opium. If we competed, the price of Indian opium would be lower than that of the Turkey drug (that is, in the English market it would be lower), as the Indian opium contains less morphia. With regard to farming licenses, I would only remark that in practice we find it impossible to put on a sufficiently high selling price in some districts. The range is from Rs. 16 per seer in the Patna Division to Rs. 32 in Orissa. Communications have so improved that smuggling is easy, and the profit on a seer bought at Patna and smuggled to Calcutta is Rs. 18. In Chittagong, with the help of the farming system, the price in the south of the district has been raised as high as Rs. 60 to 70. That I may say was done in order to prevent smuggling into Burma. I may also note that only this morning I had a case before me in which 3 maunds of opium were seized at Mokameh while being sent down to Calcutta by a Patna vendor in order to get these Rs. 12 which I am speaking of. That is by no means a single case. I had it before me only this morning. Another point that requires notice is

that, so far as I could understand, the Anti-Opium Society has not distinguished between the smoking and the eating of opium, as I think it should have done. All the arguments regarding China refer to smoking, and not to eating. In India opium is entirely eaten, and all that has been said in the evidence of different witnesses, except as regards chandu and madak shops, relates to the eating of opium, and not to smoking. The licenses are perfectly separate for madak and chandu. The opium which is consumed under these licenses is smoked, the rest is eaten.

3196. Have you anything else you would like to put in as part of your evidence-in-chief?—I desire to draw attention to the memorial which has been put before the Commission by Mr. Phillips. That memorial was sent to me by the Bengal Government to whom it had been referred by the Government of India, and I desire to make a few remarks upon it.

(Mr. Wilson.) We have been told that that was withdrawn.

(Witness.) The note as originally drawn up contained by oversight an extract from a private letter, and it was that that I desired to withdraw. In the note which is now before you it has been excluded. A private letter was allowed to, which I had no right to quote.

(Chairman.) I suppose if Mr. Lyall desires to make the statement in regard to the memorial, we may receive it.

(Mr. Wilson.) The note was withdrawn, and I have neither read it, nor the remarks.

(Chairman.) The document has been in our possession for perusal, and Mr. Lyall can be examined upon it, another day, unless he particularly wishes to say anything on behalf of the Government of India.

(Witness.) I have been directed by the Secretary to the Government of India to present the note before you.

(Mr. Wilson.) Of course it calls for a rejoinder.

(Witness.) I should like to add one or two words more with reference to the evidence that has been given since. Reference was made in Mr. Phillips' evidence to the decayed appearance of Mahomedan families. Now I desire to say that the decay in Mahomedan families is not peculiar to Murshidabad; it extends all over Bengal to my certain knowledge, and it is due to their lagging behind the Bengali in education and in general ability to conduct their own business. Most of the old Mahomedan families have allowed their estates to fall into the management of the more clever Hindus, who have gradually ousted them. It is to that I attribute the decay of Mahomedan families. I do not say that some are not opium-esters, but the general decay is due, not to the opium, but to the Mahomedans falling behind the Hindus in the race for life. Another point is this. It has been said that dispensaries could supply opium for Bengal. I have brought a list of Charitable Dispensaries which shows that in all Bengal in 1892 there were 282 Charitable Dispensaries only, of which 77 were private, Government having no connection with them; leaving only 205 dispensaries for all Bengal. Another point raised in Mr. Evans' evidence is the objection of the ryots to cultivate. I can only say that knowingly no pressure is put upon any ryot by the Government of India to cultivate, and that yearly, I might almost say daily, I receive petitions from ryots against the Opium Agents and Sub-Agents for refusing to give them licenses. This very morning I sent some such petitions to Sub-Opium Agents for report. Instead of getting petitions objecting to being made to cultivate opium, the petitions that we receive at the Board of Revenue are almost entirely from ryots who complain that they have not been allowed to cultivate opium.

3197. (Mr. Pease.) You remarked that opium was used to keep off fever and was the only "excise article" which a good Mahomedan could use for the purpose; I suppose they have no difficulty in using articles that are not excise?—No; that is why I put in the word "excise."

3198. I believe there are many other remedies?—Yes, there is quinine, but I may say that there is a strong prejudice amongst the natives, which we are unable to get over, against quinine; they say it gives them headaches.

3199. Are you aware that when the son of Babu Keshab Chundra Sen was appointed to the office, the *Indian Messenger*, the *Sonjivani* and several other papers and the missionaries of Keshab Chundra Sen condemned the appointment of his son as a slur upon his father's name?—I did not see those papers.

3200. (Mr. Wilson.) You say that opium is largely used in the malarious districts of the Burdwan division.

Hon. D. R. in Orissa, and in other places. Is Orissa very malarious? *Lyall, C.S.I.*—Very much so, perhaps one of the most malarious parts of Bengal.

24 Nov. 1893.

3201. You say that the price of opium in Orissa is Rs. 32 per seer?—I can easily explain that. The price of opium is fixed with reference to the facility with which smuggling can be carried on. The Orissa districts are the most remote from the opium-producing districts, and it is difficult to convey it there; therefore, the price is higher than in any other part of Bengal.

3202. (*Sir James Lyall.*) The price to the vendor?—Yes of course. I may add that we have had strong representations made by the Assam Government to raise the price of opium in Rungpore and the neighbouring districts, but the Government of Bengal have been so far unable to accede to the wishes of the Assam Government, simply on the grounds that the facilities of smuggling in these districts are so great that raising the price would inevitably lead to more smuggling.

3203. Raising the price to the vendor might cheapen the price for the consumer?—Probably it might have that effect.

3204. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I understand that the leniency of your evidence as of other evidence we have had, is that opium is a great advantage to the people both as a prophylactic and as a remedy in case of fever?—I hold it to be so: it is largely used as a sort of domestic medicine.

3205. Is it not an apparent anomaly that in Orissa, which you say is one of the most malarious districts, the price is exceedingly high?—Exceedingly high in one sense, but for the small amount sufficient for a dose the price is really exceedingly low. I mean that a man can get enough for a dose for a very small amount. The doses taken here are perfectly infinitesimal. The ordinary native takes an amount of opium that should be almost laughed at in England as a dose of opium. It is a very small amount indeed, and these small doses a man can get for a very small amount. If you look at the statistics before you showing the consumption in the whole of Bengal, you will see that the incidence of revenue per head is only Rs. 0.38, which is an exceedingly small amount.

3206. Still the fact remains that the price is twice as high in Orissa as it is in Patna?—Yes. It is grown in Patna, and if we were to put a high price there, there would be smuggling. We are obliged to keep it down. It is next to the North-West Provinces, where the price is Rs. 1 lower.

3207. You submit to us that doubling the price makes a great deal of difference for the Government, but no difference to the people?—Not very great. The people can still get enough for the purposes they require it for.

3208. (*Chairman.*) The Government could make the price higher, but they could not put a check upon smuggling?—Sir Charles Elliott was much in favour of raising the price, but he gave it up.

3209. From an apprehension of smuggling?—Entirely.

3210. You say that you put the opponents of the present system on the horns of a dilemma: if the opium is bad, it is better to have it under Government control. I suppose you know that they would say that if it was bad it was better to do away with it?—I do not think you can do away with it; the dangers would be too serious. I do not think that any Government in India would think of doing away with the production of opium.

3211. You have said that any legislation of a prohibitive character would be viewed with great disfavour, but you have a great deal of legislation already of a highly restrictive character?—Restrictive, but not prohibitive; you surely admit the difference.

3212. There is undoubtedly a difference, but do you think that people view the restrictive legislation with disfavour?—Distinctly. I believe if the people of India were polled, they would be in favour of the universal production of opium all over the country without restriction. It is the Government that has imposed restrictions, not the will of the people.

3213. You have said that the bulk of the people of India are poor, but not poor in the sense of poor in England?—We have no such thing in India as the poor that the Salvation Army tries to deal with. The residuum that there is in England scarcely exists in India. It may exist to a small extent. The ordinary cultivator in many districts a poor man, but not poor in the English sense of the word. He has not much, but the country is one in which he can live much cheaper than it is possible in England with comparative comfort. The state of the poor in India, even of the very poor, is different from that at home. We have not the sunken mass of poor that you have to deal with at home.

3214. Is there not a considerable portion of the population that only has one meal a day?—I do not believe. The last time I was in Patna I made full inquiries, and I do not mean to say that there are not some, but the bulk of the people certainly get a fair amount of food, even in famine time.

3215. Is there such a thing as the "Behar Opium" usual?—Yes, it is in three bulky volumes which, if desired, can be produced before the Commission.

3216. I think when fever is exceedingly prevalent in certain localities, Government is in the habit of sending out apothecaries with considerable supplies of quinine?—Yes, I think so. I have never been in one of those localities, but I have understood so.

3217. In such cases does the Government also send out supplies of opium?—I really am not aware. That is a medical question which I am unable to answer.

3218. Government does send out medicines, but not opium?—Medicines you are not in a position to say?—That is not correct.

3219. (*Mr. Mounsey.*) I believe in Bengal you have a system of druggists' permits?—We have.

3220. Does that come under your Department?—Yes.

3221. Will you explain what the system is?—They are allowed to take small quantities of opium, as much as they are expected to use in their legitimate business, but not such quantities as would allow them to sell to the public for anything but medical purposes.

3222. Do they get those licenses cheaper than in other parts?—It is a different form of license. They have no right to sell opium alone.

3223. Therefore they pay less for the privilege?—Yes. The whole statistics will be put before you by the Eastern Commissioner.

3224. Have you any reason to suppose that the system is abused?—Not at present. We restrict the amount given to these druggists to such an extent that I do not think they do abuse it at present. If they were allowed to take what they wanted, of course it would be abused.

3225. I suppose those druggists' permits do not prove to supply all the opium required for medical purposes?—Nothing like it; not a hundredth part I should say.

3226. If you extended the system there would be more risk of its being abused?—If you extended the system, from the evidence I have heard, I take it that even Kabiraj, Hakim and Vaid in every village would require a license.

3227. Could you give us any idea of the difference between the retail price in Patna and Orissa?—No. The retail price is generally a few rupees more than the price at which they buy. It depends very much on the license fees.

3228. The result of the difference between the Government price in Patna and in Orissa is to increase the profit of the vendor in Patna?—No; it is sold very cheaply in Patna. Practically the license fees almost come to nothing, so that opium is sold almost at the same rate as Government retails it. If you look at the statement before you, you will see that the license fees in the Patna division only amount to Rs. 5,398.

3229. Practically you find yourselves compelled to buy it very cheaply in the districts where it is grown?—Yes, we are compelled to do it.

3230. (*Mr. Haridas Voharidas.*) You state that the price is a paying one apart from the advances made upon it?—Yes, in a favourable year the crop is a very paying one; but in the last three years we have had bad crops and they have not been so paying; there has been a smaller result. Even in bad years it pays better than ordinary crops, nearly as well as other garden crops. Opium is essentially a garden crop. It is grown on a small piece of land close to the man's house, not in his field.

3231. Is not injustice done to others who grow other crops by these advances to the cultivators who grow opium?—Any man can get advances who chooses to cultivate.

3232. To cultivate the poppy?—We give advances for any other crop.

3233. Then so far do you not do an injustice to those who cultivate other crops?—If you choose to call it so. Any man can grow it who chooses to apply for it.

3234. (*Mr. Farnham.*) We may take it that the poppy crop does not occupy the whole of a man's ground?—No, I know no case in which the poppy crop occupies the whole ground; it is an infinitesimal part of the man's land—a very small part close to his house.

Y; 413.2.M31

C4.1 - C9.2

3235. (Sir James Lyall.) I understand that in the South, Chittagong, the price had been raised to Rs. 80 or Rs. 70 per seer—that is, to the consumer?—Yes.

3236. What is the Government selling price to the vendor in Chittagong?—I think Rs. 28.

3237. Will you explain how the price has been raised to the consumer from Rs. 28 to Rs. 70?—I happened to be Commissioner of Chittagong when the arrangement was made, and I can therefore explain it. We had had strong representations from the Burma Government as to the amount of opium smuggled from Chittagong into Burma. A hundred and fifteen maunds were consumed in one year in Cox's Bazar subdivision; the real consumption could not be more than twelve or fourteen maunds, all the rest was smuggled into Burma. The Burmese Government made direct representations to the Bengal Government, and they referred it to me as Commissioner of the Division to see how it could be stopped. The only way we could think of was by putting an artificially high license on these shops. We restricted the sale of these southern shops to so many seers per month, and we made them pay a license fee in proportion to the number of seers they were allowed to take, which, of course, raised the price enormously to the people who bought it for consumption in Burma. That was the only way we saw of doing it.

3238. A fixed fee, not a farming license?—Yes, it was altogether an exceptional arrangement.

3239. In other districts in Bengal when the price to the vendor is low, that is, where the producing districts are not near, is the farming system used?—Yes, entirely.

3240. And the result is to raise the price to the consumer?—Yes.

3241. The object of raising the price to the consumer in two ways—that is, partly by keeping up the price of the opium sold to the vendor, and partly by farming licenses, is, I understand, to prevent opium vendors from dealing in smuggled opium?—Such is the intention.

3242. Do you in your official experience know of any instances of Government officials being discharged or degraded through the alcohol habit?—More than once—a good many. When I was Inspector General of Police, I am sorry to say that I had to deal with more than one case; and I have also had to deal with such cases in the Opium Department.

3243. Have you known of any instances in which Government officials have been discharged or degraded through the opium habit?—Never; not even a native officer.

3244. (Mr. Pease.) Do you see any disadvantage in doing away altogether with the system of licensing chandu shops?—No further than that it is an interference with the liberty of the subject. I do not say that there is any very great objection to it. In Calcutta I do not think it could be done, because we have so many Chinamen here. In the mofussil I do not think it will be any very great hardship. It is an interference with the man's liberty if he buys a certain amount of opium, just as if I bought a bottle of whisky I should think it an interference with my liberty if I were not allowed to make whisky toddy. If a man buys 5 tolas of opium, I do not see why he should not make it into chandu and smoke it if he chooses.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. L. HOPKINS called in and examined.

3256. (Sir James Lyall.) I believe you are a civilian of 30 years' standing?—Yes.

3257. You are now Opium Agent for Benares and Patna?—Yes.

3258. You have only recently joined the Department as Opium Agent?—Only six months.

3259. I do not propose to ask you questions as to the details of the agency system, as we shall have other witnesses with greater experience?—I should like to explain that there is only one difference in the Opium Agency at Patna and Benares. I pay commission to the Gomasthas. The Asaniwar system is not so much in force in Patna as in Benares.

3260. What is that?—It is the system by which the advances are paid direct to the cultivators without the intervention of the lumbaran.

3245. You are aware that Government has largely reduced the number of licenses for the public shops in the North-West, the madak and chandu shops, from 324 to 14?—They are being reduced largely. It is the most harmful means of taking opium as far as my knowledge goes.

3246. What do you say with regard to madak?—It is more harmful than eating.

3247. But there would be no particular difficulty in reducing the license shops for madak or chandu?—I do not anticipate the same danger that I should anticipate if opium were prohibited altogether.

3248. (Mr. Wilson.) I understand you to say in reply to Mr. Vecharidas that anybody can get an advance and grow opium who chooses to apply for it?—Provided the land at the disposal of the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent has not been already given away.

3249. We heard from Mr. Rivett-Carnoo yesterday that a number of persons are from time to time refused on various grounds?—Yes, the Opium Department refuses any one who is, in the language of the Department, a bad cultivator, that is a bad gardener; because the opium garden produce requires more care than most crops.

3250. Also if Government does not require so much somebody must be out down?—Yes.

3251. Therefore it is not quite correct to say that anybody can get an advance?—Provided there is land still available; that is what my meaning was.

3252. (The Maharaja of Darbhanga.) I should like to ask a few questions with regard to suggestions for the total abolition of the poppy cultivation. First, is the poppy plant cultivated simply for the sake of opium manufacture, or is any other use made of it?—The ryot in addition to what he receives from Government, first for the opium itself, next for the leaf, and again for the trash, is also allowed to sell in the open market the poppy seed, which sells at a high rate.

3253. How much per acre do you think he makes from the poppy seed?—The product I think is under a maund per acre if I remember rightly. I should not like to give the amount of poppy seed. I think it is about 30 or 39 seers per acre, but I am not quite sure.

3254. What is the price at which the seeds sell?—I am not prepared to say.

3255. Besides the poppy-seed is there any stalk of the poppy?—Yes, it is used as manure. I should like to add one word more. In a publication of the Anti-Opium Society that I have seen this morning, and had not seen till then, it is put forward as a strong indictment against the use of the poppy, that no less than 77,378 seers are used in Bengal every year. I must say that looks a pretty big sum, but if you reduce it, and deal with it with reference to the population, and again deal with the population according to what one anti-opium witness said was the probable consumption,—25 per cent. for the adult males,—I find that the yearly consumption of the adult male in the population of Bengal amounts to $\frac{7}{10}$ the of a rupee in weight in a year, which I think is not very much.

Mr. J. L. Hopkins.

3261. From what you have seen in your long experience, do you think that people who take opium habitually end by taking it to such an extent as seriously to injure their mental or physical powers or to shorten their lives?—I never came across a case of excess in opium in the whole of my career in India.

3262. You never came across a case?—Not one.

3263. Have you known cases of officials, Native or Eurasians, being dismissed or degraded in consequence of the alcohol habit?—I cannot say that I have. I do not recollect any now.

3264. Do you know of any cases in which they have been dismissed or degraded from the opium habit?—No.

3265. In your opinion is there any case for a prohibition of the use of opium in this Province except for medicinal use?—No, certainly not.

Dr. J. L.
Hopkins.
Nov. 1898.

3266. Do you think that medical use can be distinguished from non-medical use?—No. As a rule opium is used in the first instance, properly speaking, for medical use. It is used in cases of insomnia, irritability of the nerves caused by excessive heat, overwork and malaria.

3267. Do you think that a system of providing opium for medical use only could be invented and worked properly?—I do not see how it could. It is an administrative act and for my part I do not see how any distinction could be made, because the consumption of opium amongst people over 50 is so very considerable. I do not mean that they take excessive quantities, but so many people take opium.

3268. What do the natives think of the proposal to prohibit the use of opium except for medical use?—I do not think they have thought much about it, if at all.

3269. Have they heard of it lately?—Yes. But they give no opinion on the subject; they have no thought about it. They cannot understand it. They say that opium is of such general use and consumption that it would be impossible to prohibit it. It would be a great hardship too. In the first place the medical use of opium is dependant on a medical certificate—the certificate of the medical officer in the district. Practically speaking there are no competent medical officers in the District. There is the Civil Surgeon and his assistant at head-quarters and at sub-divisions, but elsewhere they are only stationed at dispensaries, which are comparatively few in number.

3270. Would the people, or any large part of them, be willing to bear the whole or part of the cost and the losses involved?—Certainly not.

3271. Is there any part of the opium excise system which you think ought to be altered on moral grounds?—I do not myself consider that the opium shops themselves are capable of being altered. The opium license is very generally given to a moodi and sold as a drug by the moodi. There used to be a moodi pretty well in every village where opium used to be sold. As a rule the opium vendor is a moodi in the agricultural districts; in towns it is different.

3272. What would you say is the size of the circle in which there is one opium shop?—I should think it is about 50 square miles—quite.

3273. Do the same classes of people generally use both opium and alcohol?—Certainly not.

3274. If they use one they generally do not use the other?—Not generally. Alcohol is used by the lowest classes; opium by the better classes. Alcohol is used considerably by khayaths, members of the writer class.

3275. If the use of opium were checked, do you think that other stimulants would take its place?—Certainly they would.

3276. Have you any information as to the magnitude of the interest bound up with opium in the districts of your Agency in which the poppy is cultivated and the loss to the cultivator involved in such prohibition?—For this I refer you to the statement appended to my notes. The number of licensed cultivators in 1892-93 was 637,187, and the sum disbursed amongst them over 80 lakhs of rupees. It is impossible to say how the withdrawal of this sum would affect the landlords; it would mean a considerable reduction in their rent receipts, for so-called poppy lands are the highest rented lands in the neighbourhood to which they belong. The withdrawal of such a large sum from agricultural industry and general circulation is bound to produce distress. Landholders as a rule support poppy cultivation and encourage it; cultivators rank it with tobacco, potatoes and sugarcane as a profitable crop. Poppy employs the females and young people of a family and produces a handsome return. The items of profit are as follows:—Opium, poppy-seed, poppy-leaf, trash, manure. It would pay to cultivate poppy for its seed and the valuable manure it produces. Poppy seed oil is used in India for cooking purposes, and the seed is exported to France, Italy, etc., wherever olive oil is produced. I think it right to note that to the ordinary cultivator and labourer, having reference to their diet, clothing, and general simplicity, one rupee represents the same value that ten shillings does to an English labourer: there is no class in this country which represents the English farmer. Therefore 80 lakhs of rupees represents to them what £4,000,000 would represent to the British labourer and small cultivator; and we must consider the withdrawal of the monopoly with reference to the withdrawal of the 80 lakhs of rupees which the cultivators receive for opium; a very large portion of the sum would have to be met by relief proceedings on an extensive scale.

3277. I understand that the proposal to abolish the monopoly is now being withdrawn?—Yes.

3278. Have you any further remarks to make?—No.

3279. (Mr. Wilson.) You have stated that no case has come under your notice of the habitual use of opium for non-medical purposes?—None.

3280. Habitual use of opium for non-medical purposes is unusual?—I say it is generally used in cases of illness.

3281. That is the commencement of the use?—Yes.

3282. Not the continuance?—No.

3283. Would you wish to modify or explain that?—I think I said that the non-medical use of opium is unusual. It commences with the medical use, and it is continued.

3284. You say that it would pay to cultivate the poppy for its seed and the valuable manure it produces?—Yes.

3285. You do not mean apart from the opium altogether?—Yes.

3286. Do you mean that the cultivator having grown the poppy has got all his value in the seed and the manure left behind, and what he gets for the opium is clear gain?—I have said that the poppy seed is used for the manufacture of oil which is largely used for cooking purposes in India, and besides that it is largely bought on the continent for the adulteration of olive oil.

3287. I want to know whether I am to understand that in your opinion, poppy cultivation would pay though there were no opium produce at all?—Yes, I will explain. Every seer of opium will give a return of poppy-heads, which would give two maunds of poppy-seed; therefore if you have six maunds you get twelve maunds of seed, and twelve maunds of seed would sell for Rs. 37-8-0.

3288. Then you say that the money that the cultivator gets for the opium is clear gain into his pocket?—Certainly, of course if he gets a fair return for the poppy seed. Sometimes there are only two seers of poppy per bigha, and in that case it would not pay.

3289. You have told us that the poppy land is more highly rented than the other?—It is.

3290. If a cultivator is refused an advance and refused a license to grow opium, does he pay less rent upon the land?—Yes.

3291. It is not inherent in the particular patch of land, but the question is whether he gets the poppy crop or not?—It would depend on the crop.

3292. The zemindar would reduce the rent?—Most probably; I cannot say for certain. Whenever the ryot cultivates the poppy the rent is raised to the rate of the poppy land usual in the neighbourhood.

3293. We understood from Mr. Rivett-Carnac yesterday that the zemindars had no occasion and no interest whatever to put any pressure on the ryot under any circumstances to grow the poppy?—That may be in the North-Western Provinces; the zemindar there is largely the Government Zemindars in the Patna Agency are zemindars under the Permanent settlement.

3294. I should like to get it as clearly as possible whether the zemindar can and does raise or lower his rent according to whether a particular cultivator *A* *B* gets permission to grow opium or not?—If *A* *B* for the first time sowed the poppy in certain land, that land would be raised to the poppy rate usual in the village to which it belongs.

3295. And if he was refused a license in the following year the zemindar would reduce him to the original rent?—No case of that sort has come to my notice, but I imagine it would be reduced again. You must know that poppy land requires four or five years cultivation to come into thorough bearing. The first year gives a small return, the second a larger return, the third a still better, and the fourth and fifth years will give a full return.

3296. Do you receive every year an official intimation as to the amount of land that should be devoted to the amount of opium that should be produced?—The quantity of opium that should be produced. We are forbidden under the orders of Government to exceed the average area of the previous five years.

3297. Sometimes you have to reduce that?—I think that three or four years ago in my Agency ten per cent. of the cultivation was reduced all round.

3298. My question was this—was the enhanced rent of the district reduced by ten per cent. or not on the poppy cultivation?—I cannot say.

3299. You do not know?—No, it was before my time.

3300. (*The Maharaja of Darbhanga.*) You have said that there is a special rate for poppy lands?—Yes.

3301. According to the Tenancy Act, is it not the custom that the rent at which the land is assessed is not according to the crop grown on it, but according to the quality of the land?—It is so.

3302. Therefore if a tenant chooses to cultivate the poppy on land upon which he has hitherto grown other crops, can the landlord easily, according to the law, ask for an increase in the rent?—That is a point of law that I have not studied. The poppy rate of the manza (village) in which the poppy is raised is always charged to the poppy cultivator.

3303. Do you know that the rates applying to poppy land and tobacco land are the same?—Poppy and tobacco lands are about the same.

3304. If the poppy is abolished, the ryot cannot ask for a deduction on that ground?—I suppose it depends upon the crops sown.

3305. (*Mr. Fanshawe.*) Is there another point in regard to the opium monopoly which you wish to bring out?—

The witness withdrew.

Dr. FREDERIC PINSENT MAYNARD called in and examined.

3311. (*Sir William Roberts.*) I understand that you are a medical officer in charge of the workmen at the Patna opium factory?—Yes.

3312. Before you had that duty, what experience had you in India?—I had served in the Punjab, in the North-Western Provinces, and Behar, with Native troops of all ranks over 5,000 in number and of all classes and all castes. They were Sikhs, Rajputs, Dogras, Hindustanis and various Punjabis.

3313. I presume that those who work at the factory invariably consult you in case of illness?—Yes, I am in medical charge.

3314. How many workmen are there there?—The maximum number employed this year was 2,768, and the minimum number 606.

3315. Altogether your experience has been in two rather different states?—But in between those two services I was in civil employ. I was Civil Surgeon at Burdwan and Nudda, both in Lower Bengal, and highly malarious districts; so much so that in Nudda the population between the two last censuses is said to have decreased over 50 per cent. from malarial diseases.

3316. Have you opportunities of judging how far the opium habit prevailed in those places?—It is always difficult to form an opinion as to how many men eat opium unless some effects are apparent.

3317. So that you can only give an impression?—The troops I serve with, have the reputation of being opium-eaters, but they do not exhibit any ill effects from the opium.

3318. Was opium served to them?—On field service yes.

3319. They did not buy it themselves?—In cantonments it was not served. It is never supplied to the troops by Government.

3320. They have to buy what they use?—I suppose so.

3321. Referring to your experience with these regiments, did you observe any ill effects from opium in any case?—I can only remember one man, a Sikh, who was an opium-eater to a rather larger extent than usual; he took about 80 grains daily and occasionally he would be stupid, so much so that it was decided to pension him; but he was of a considerable age.

3322. With that exception could you tell by the look of the men who used to take opium and who did not?—No, I was surprised to find the men opium-eaters on that account—that I could not see that they were so.

3323. Did you see anything in the shape of disease or illness that you could attribute to opium in these regiments?—Certainly not.

3324. Turning to your other experience in the Patna Opium Factory, may we assume that there was a considerable consumption of opium amongst the people you had to do with?—I am not aware of it.

3325. You mean you could not see the effect?—As far as the factory hands are concerned I do not believe that they consume opium.

There is one point in favour of the opium monopoly which has probably escaped notice; it is that it enables cultivators to improve their holdings in spite of the zemindars, who, as a rule, oppose all improvements for fear they should be registered and reduction of rent or compensation claimed, and they thus nullify one of the beneficent purposes of the Tenancy Act.

3306. Kindly explain what you mean by that?—Improvements are registered under the Bengal Tenancy Act. When a ryot is ejected, he is entitled to compensation. Perhaps I am wrong in talking about a reduction of rent. I am not quite sure.

3307. Why does this system allow him to make improvements?—We make well advances.

3308. The Government advances money to make wells?—Yes, the money is advanced to the ryot without interest; the ryot makes the well, and he repays the money in instalments. The well then constitutes an improvement.

3309. That enables him to ask for a reduction?—No, it entitles him to compensation if he is ejected.

3310. That is what you were referring to?—Yes.

Mr. J. L. Hopkins.
24 Nov. 1898.

Dr. F. P. Maynard.

3326. Not any of them?—I have never seen any effects, and I think, considering that one sees them all day long, and that their duties are severe, necessitating great sharpness of mind, and so on, that one would catch them tripping if they were in the habit of consuming opium; but it is unknown in the factory.

3327. You say it was an unknown practice among the factory hands?—Yes, unknown.

3328. Do I understand you to say, not merely that it was not known to you, but that it was not talked of or that it was not understood to be the case that the factory hands did use opium?—I made very searching inquiries from all the officers of the factory who spent their lives there, and their different subordinates, and I could not hear of any case of opium-eaters among the factory hands.

3329. It is a malarious district about Burdwan and even about Patna I suppose?—There is a certain amount of malaria about Patna, but not so much as in Lower Bengal.

3330. Has it come to your notice that children are subject to malaria?—I think they are very subject to malaria and the effects in their case are more disastrous than in the case of adults.

3331. How do you recognise that fact?—By an enlarged spleen and by malarial cachexia.

3332. You speak of an enlarged spleen as a well-known sign of malarial disease?—Yes, I have seen babies in arms with enlarged spleens in Burdwan brought to the dispensary.

3333. Does it appear to you possible that they might have been born of malarial mothers and have been malarial themselves?—I should say it is very possible, but I have not seen any instances.

3334. Do you think quinine could altogether replace opium in these malarial districts?—I should say not.

3335. Why not?—Even if the present system of using pipe packets were so extended that every individual could obtain them, I do not think it could replace opium, because in these districts other diseases prevail,—bowel complaints and diabetes, which are more common in Lower Bengal, and in these diseases opium is very valuable.

3336. Is it used as a popular domestic remedy or under medical prescription?—It is not possible to get a medical prescription in the case of a great proportion of the population. They have to use it as a domestic remedy.

3337. Are they within reach of medical advice?—No, very few.

3338. I thought there was a dispensary system in India?—So there is, but it cannot reach the great masses of the population. For instance, the district of Nudda, where I was Civil Surgeon, is 3,404 square miles with a population, according to the 1881 census, of over 2 millions. I was the only European medical officer in that district. I had an Assistant Surgeon and a number of native hospital assistants and five dispensaries scattered over the district; but in spite of it all there are a large number of people who cannot avail themselves of these dispensaries, who cannot travel the necessary distance.

Dr. F. P.
Maynard.
24 Nov. 1898.

3339. They have native doctors I presume?—I think that in many of the villages there are *hakims*, but their knowledge is small.

3340. Is it the opium that is made at the factory that is used in that district as a domestic or popular remedy?—It is the opium obtained from the licensed vendors I presume, and that must have been manufactured at the factory, or it would be contraband and would be seized.

3341. I think you have paid some attention to the analysis of various *chases* of opium?—Yes, I have given in some tables, to be handed in to the Commission, compiled from the laboratory records of the Patna Opium Factory.

3342. Will you tell us broadly what are the differences between the opium you make at Patna and the Smyrna or the Turkey opium?—The deductions I have made from these tables are that the opium grown in Behar contains more morphia than either Persian, 1.27 to 1; or Chinese, 1.59 to 1 (though this analysis is open to doubt on account of the adulteration of the Chinese specimens that we receive for analysis), but less than Smyrna, 1 to 1.868, or Malwa, 1 to 1.02. The Behar opium contains more narcotine than the Persian, 1.26 to 1; the Chinese, 1.39 to 1; Smyrna 3.65 to 1; Malwa 1.39 to 1. The contrast with Smyrna is very marked. Behar contains 3.65 times as much narcotine as the Smyrna opium does. The proportion of morphia to narcotine in the Behar opium is 1 to 1.59; Smyrna 4.26 to 1 (4 times as much).

3343. The Patna opium is very like the Persian opium?—It is very similar.

3344. But richer in narcotine?—Yes, it contains more narcotine than any other variety, and it also contains more extractive matter.

3345. The samples of opium contain the same ingredients, but vary in their proportion?—Yes, it is the proportion.

3346. Of course you are aware that opium is an extremely complex substance, with a great number of active principles?—Yes.

3347. And I presume you will tell us that the main effect of Patna opium is the same as our medicinal opium in England?—No, I do not think it is.

3348. You draw a distinction?—There is a marked distinction.

3349. Will you tell us the distinction?—Smyrna opium, which is the official drug in use in Europe, contains a much larger proportion of morphia and a much smaller proportion of narcotine.

3350. By doubling the dose it would be about the same?—The people who consume Indian opium regularly are consuming narcotine, and narcotine is a tonic and antiperiodic similar in its effects to quinine.

3351. It has anti-malarial properties?—Yes.

3352. But not equal to quinine?—No.

3353. I understand that Patna opium is used medicinally?—Yes, in India, and we supply from the Patna Factory all the medical stores and depôts in India. There are two kinds of medical opium, one in cake and one in powder.

3354. We were told by Dr. Rice that he used opium much more freely than some of his medical brethren at home; perhaps that was the reason; because he used opium poorer in morphia?—Possibly.

3355. Do you think it was likely?—I think it was quite possible.

3356. I presume that all the analyses you have given are taken from authorities?—They are all from recognized authorities.

3357. The variety of opium you send out as medicinal is called Garden Patna Opium, is it not?—Yes.

3358. And what do you call that which is sent out for general use?—It is all garden opium; it is the same kind of opium. We pick out the medical opium on account of its fine grain, and being of high consistency, and therefore not requiring so much labor in the manufacture. It is all perfectly pure opium. We have no distinction in the districts from which medical opium comes. We have perhaps one

jar from one district and one from another. There is no special place for growing medical opium.

3359. Practically there is no distinction?—No.

3360. I understand so far as your experience goes that you have not witnessed, except in the case you mention, any ill effects on the health of the population from the use of opium?—No.

3361. Have you noticed any difference in their character and their moral faculties?—I have not seen the ill effects of opium.

3362. Among the soldiers?—No, I have not.

3363. (Mr. Pease.) What is the distinction between the medical and the other opium?—Medical opium is opium of 90 degrees consistency, with 10 per cent. of moisture. The difference consists in the way in which this degree of consistency is arrived at. The opium is dried in shallow trays in the shade, and it is worked by hand every few days until it dries up to 90 degrees consistency; then it is pressed into cakes and issued in that way. The opium for excise differs in being dried in the sun.

3364. What is the object of making a difference in the process?—I cannot say how the difference originated, but the result is different. To the touch and to sight the opium is not the same as the Abkari opium.

3365. The analysis is the same?—Yes.

3366. And the effects upon the consumer are the same?—I believe so—precisely the same.

3367. Therefore if doctors prescribed the ordinary opium it would have the same effect as medical opium?—The ordinary Indian Abkari opium—I believe it would; not the Smyrna.

3368. (Mr. Wilson.) Is what you call medical opium in cakes exactly the same as medical opium in powder?—No.

The other variety of medical opium in powder is the same opium dried on a steam table until all the moisture is evaporated and the powder results; it is pure opium at 100 degrees.

3369. Then, as far as you know, the difference is purely one of moisture? the quantity of water in it?—Yes; the chemical composition I believe is the same.

3370. If I were to purchase a quantity of ordinary opium dried on the steam table until it is 90 degrees consistency?—That is not dried in trays in the shade.

3371. It is drier than ordinary opium?—Yes, it is drier than ordinary opium.

3372. What is the consistency of the ordinary opium which you send out from the factory?—We send to China opium of 75 degrees consistency; the Abkari is 90, and the medical 90 and 100.

3373. The medical powder is 100?—Yes.

3374. (Mr. Mowbray.) Do I understand you to say that opium is actually served out to Sikh troops on service?—I believe it is.

3375. Is that within your own personal knowledge?—I was on service in the Black Mountain Expedition, and then opium could be had as a ration in place of tea by the men who were in the habit of taking it.

3376. (Mr. Fauschawe.) What regiments were you serving in?—I was with a section of a field hospital and with a Wing of the 4th Sikhs and a Wing of the 2nd-5th Gurkhas.

3377. Then were you referring to these troops when you said that an opium ration was served out—Sikhs and Gurkhas?—Sikhs.

3378. Only Sikhs?—As far as I know.

3379. You only know that opium was served out as a ration in the field and to the Sikhs?—They could obtain it. It was not served out unless it was asked for.

3380. (Mr. Pease.) In place of tea?—The idea was that the man could take tea or opium as he pleased.

3381. (Mr. Wilson.) Do I understand that these Sikhs could apply for a ration of opium?—I was not connected with the issue of rations in any way. I simply knew as a matter of common knowledge that it was obtainable. I cannot say what the system was.

3382. Was it a limited quantity?—Distinctly.

3383. What was the quantity?—I do not remember, but it was limited. It is three years ago.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 10-30.

At the Council Chamber, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

THIRTEENTH DAY.

Saturday, 25th November 1893.

PRESENT:

SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D. (IN THE CHAIR).

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B.
THE HON'BLE SIR LACHMESWAR SINGH BAHADUR,
MAHARAJA OF DARBHANGA, K.C.I.E.
MR. R. G. C. MOWBRAY, M.P.
" A. U. FANSHAW.

MR. ARTHUR PRASE.
" HARIDAS VISHNIDAS DESAI.
" H. J. WILSON, M.P.

MR. J. PRESCOTT HARVEY, C.I.E., Secretary.

SURGEON-COLONEL ROBERT HARVEY, M.D., M.R.C.P., D.S.O., called in and examined.

Surg.-Col. R.
Harvey,
M.D.,
M.R.C.P.,
D.S.O.
25 Nov. 1893.

3384. (*Chairman*.) I believe that you are at present Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals in Bengal?—I am.

3385. And you have been in the service for nearly twenty-nine years?—Yes.

3386. Kindly tell us what service you saw?—I was for more than five years in Rajputana, where opium is very largely used; four years in Malwa, where it is extensively grown; five years in the Punjab, where it is also largely taken by the Sikhs; and twelve years in a large practice in Calcutta. I have been six times on Frontier expeditions, some of them involving great hardships, have had considerable experience of jail management, and during all my service have had large experience of opium-eaters. I have also visited China and Turkey when on furlough.

3387. Will you tell us when your attention was first called to the use of opium?—My attention was first drawn to the opium question in Lancashire during the cotton famine of the American war, when I was assistant to the House Surgeon of the Stockport Infirmary. Many applications were made at the Infirmary for supplies of opium, the applicants being then too poor to buy it. These were invariably refused and the patients warned against the danger of the practice. I was much struck by the fact that the use of the drug was much more common than I had any idea of, and that habitual consumers of ten or fifteen grains a day seemed none the worse for it, and would never have been suspected of using it. I remember only two cases—both opium-drunkards, one of whom took four ounces of laudanum daily—where the refusal caused any appreciable suffering; and several patients thanked us afterwards for enabling them to break with their habit.

3388. Did you connect that unusual tolerance in England with the effect of the famine or partial famine, that then prevailed in Lancashire?—No; according to their own account, these were people who were in the habit of taking opium, and only came to us because they could not afford to buy it themselves. Apparently they were ordinary opium-eaters before the famine. I do not think, as far as I remember, that it had anything to do with the famine; I think it was simply because they could not afford to buy it.

3389. (*Mr. Prase*.) In what form do they take the opium?—In pills apparently, and sometimes in the shape of laudanum.

3390. (*Chairman*.) Tell us your experience in Rajputana, Malwa, and the Punjab?—In Rajputana, Malwa, and the Punjab my experience has been similar. During the great famine of 1876-79, crowds of half-starved paupers, most of them refugees from other States, were treated in the Bharatpur hospital and dispensaries. Bharatpur is the most Eastern State in Rajputana, and the people suffered comparatively little from the famine. Most of the people were refugees from other States. Large numbers were accustomed to opium; and small supplies, never, I think, exceeding two or three grains, were given to these without any bad effect, but to their great comfort and contentment. In all ordinary cases we had no idea the patient was an opium-eater till he asked for the drug. I know of no criterion by which the moderate opium-eater can be recognized, and while very many of them at once admit the

habit, many others—and this is, I think, especially true of soldiers and others who know what is said against opium—will strenuously deny that they use it, or will admit it reluctantly to a medical man.

3391. Have you known many instances?—I have known repeated instances of this.

3392. You are now speaking of persons who take opium in moderation?—Yes, in moderation.

3393. Were they inclined to increase the dose?—Many people, of course, do increase the dose, but in the average man, there is no necessity for him to increase it at all, and I do not think he does as a rule increase it.

3394. Have you any experience of opium being taken in excess?—I have seen opium taken in excess, by what I call an opium drunkard. It is perhaps a misnomer, because in this country they eat more than drink. I use the term as a convenient one and as analogous to the alcoholic drunkard.

3395. What did you observe in the case of opium-drunkards that you have seen: what was it you saw amidst with them?—The regular opium drunkard is a most pitiable object,—lean, emaciated, dried-up and altogether a broken-down wretch, that is good for nothing. But I have seen, comparatively speaking, very few of these.

3396. In those that you have seen was any organic disease at length produced?—I do not think disease was produced. I think in a very large number of cases the persons organically suffered from disease, and that was why they took to the opium.

3397. Do you mean to suggest that some of those whom you call opium-drunkards began to take it for disease and were diseased?—Yes, I should say that the great majority of them were.

3398. Have you seen any opium-drunkards pure and simple?—Yes, I think I have. I am perfectly certain that I must have; but I think in the great majority of them the cause of the excess is the fact that they are suffering from some painful or some wasting disease which calls for the relief which opium gives. No doubt there are cases where men do it for the sensual enjoyment of the opium, but I think they are quite the minority.

3399. Do you mean by that more than the enjoyment which many people have with a cigar?—Something similar. I think the feeling of *bon dire* which opium gives is more marked than you ever get from a cigar. Morphia is not much used by the natives, but the feeling which morphia gives is much more marked than that given by opium.

3400. May I take it from you, that even an opium-drunkard, pure and simple, does not, as far as you know, develop organic disease?—I have never seen any case that I could distinctly put down to the use of opium.

3401. In your experience, the vast majority of Indian opium-eaters take it moderately?—I should say so, certainly.

3402. What would you call the average dose of a moderate opium-eater?—I never like to give numerical expression to anything. I have not investigated statistically

Surg.-Col. R. Harvey,
M. D.,
M. R. C. P.,
D.S.O.

25 Nov. 1898.

When you ask a man about his opium the general way in which he puts it, is, that a pice worth lasts him two or three days, or that he uses two pice worth a day. It is generally expressed in terms of pice: he says that a pice worth lasts him for so and so. In my experience with many men take a pice worth a day and a good many take two pice worth a day, a very much larger number make a pice worth last them two, three or even four days. I myself got a pice worth from the bazar yesterday and it weighs 4 grains.

3403. We may take that as the usual thing?—I should say about 2 grains is a very common allowance. A good many men take four and some take eight grains. When you get beyond eight grains I should think you are going to excess.

3404. What effect has it upon them in the case of moderate opium-eaters?—It supports and comforts them, especially under exertion or exposure—many of them take it only or take a little more than their ordinary dose when called upon for extra work,—enables them to do a great deal on what seems to European ideas a very scanty and insufficient diet, and I believe by its sustaining power acts as a prophylactic to a considerable extent against chills, rheumatism, and malarial fevers, dysentery, and, I think I might add, diabetes.

3405. Coming more particularly to the Sikhs and Rajputs with whom you have had some experience, what did you learn with regard to the effect of opium on these people?—I should say that, as races, they are the two finest races in India generally. Anybody knowing India on being asked which were the two finest races, would probably reply Sikhs and Rajputs, or Rajputs and Sikhs. They are very martial people and altogether a very fine race. A very considerable proportion of them take opium habitually. As I say again, I cannot give you any numerical expression of opinion because I have never investigated the subject statistically.

3406. I understand that opium is served out to certain regiments on the march?—I hardly think that is so. I think the Commissariat takes a supply in order that the men may be able to buy it. But I have never heard of its actually being served out. It may be so, if that is in evidence; but I have never heard of it. I believe the Commissariat on frontier expeditions takes a supply of opium to give it to habitual opium-eaters on payment.

3407. If it is served out, one would like to know how much is served?—That I cannot answer. My idea is that none is served out, but that the opium-eaters are allowed to buy it. I do not think they get it for nothing. They are allowed to buy it from the Commissariat. The Commissariat takes out a supply in order that there may be no difficulty about giving it to the men.

3408. Have you had any experience in China?—I visited China on furlough in 1874, and I was there for about three weeks. I was struck with the physique of the common people, which was very good. I was very much struck by two chairmen who carried me about in Hong-Kong. Through an interpreter I asked what they did, and they both said that they smoked opium. I had never seen two finer men, and they carried me up and down the streets of Hong-Kong with most perfect ease.

3409. What is your impression about the men of business in Calcutta?—Many of the great business men of Calcutta, merchant princes, who for skill in business and boldness in speculation can hold their own with any, are Marwaris (from Marwar in Rajputana), and I know from having had a large practice among them that many of them, I believe I should not be wrong in saying the majority of them, are habitual opium-eaters. Many others take it occasionally; and while I think that few men who have once made a habit of it give up the habit, as few men who smoke and drink moderately in other countries give up their drink or tobacco, I believe they could do so if they wished without any great difficulty and without any danger whatever. I have never known a native of India come to hospital to be cured of the habit, but I have known many give it up under advice, and others voluntarily.

3410. Are you speaking now of cases of excess?—I am speaking now mainly of cases of excess. The cases where I have advised people to give it up have been cases of excess; but I may add that for many years I do not remember having interfered with a patient's opium habit. If I found that he took opium, I treated the case absolutely without reference to that fact, I did not interfere with it in any way. I treated him merely as if he were an ordinary person. The case is different with the opium-drunkard.

He finds it very difficult to stop; but the difficulty lies more, I think, in the initial weakness of will which led to the excess, than to the effects of the opium itself. The man has very little power of self-control; and he cannot nerve himself to the amount of discomfort he has to undergo in order to get rid of the habit.

3411. What is your experience with regard to prisoners in Indian Jails?—The rule, I believe, in Indian Jails varies in different provinces. A certain latitude is allowed to the medical men. The rule in this province, for instance, as laid down in the Jail Code, is that all opium found upon a prisoner on admission is confiscated, and he is not supposed to get any. The smuggling of opium is a jail offence. I believe, as a rule, the supply of opium is entirely cut off at once. People say that the prisoners obtain opium by bribery. But I do not think this can be largely true, though I would not say it never happens; it is probably quite exceptional. I think that our jail discipline is sufficiently good to make it very doubtful whether every opium-eater who comes into jail can easily supply himself with smuggled opium. I do not think it is likely; no doubt it can be done occasionally. I have known a few instances of considerable temporary suffering accompanied by diarrhoea; the stoppage has never led to dangerous results, and the suffering has passed off in a few days, except in the case of those accustomed to take the drug in excess. They suffer considerably longer, but they get over it in time. I have cured a considerable number of very bad cases of Europeans and Eurasians. I recollect one case, and one only, where the suffering terminated in death, but it would be hard to say that the deprivation of the accustomed opium had any share in the fatal result, for the man—a cooly on field service—had been under-clothed, over-worked, and exposed, without proper or sufficient food, to extreme cold and was drenched to the skin every night by heavy dews. The deprivation of the opium may have been a factor in the case, but I doubt it very much; at all events it was not the only one.

3412. The evidence given before us almost with one accord testifies to the fact that opium does not produce any known organic change, but it has been stated by several witnesses that the habitual use of opium makes those persons more liable to intercurrent disease. What is your view with regard to that?—I can understand that being the case with an opium-drunkard, although I have had no actual experience of it; but with the moderate opium-eater I believe the exact contrary to be the truth. In the first Miran-zai Expedition of 1891, where only native troops—many of them opium-eaters—were employed, we encountered the most terrible weather, constant rain and snow, and sometimes 20° of frost. The men were very hard-worked, had to wade repeatedly through ice-cold mountain streams, and were frequently wet to the skin all day. One regiment alone had forty men frost-bitten on 2nd February—none of them were opium-eaters. Had the theory been correct, the conditions were such as to prove it. Yet the net results of the campaign gave a death-rate of only 7.83 per 1,000 of strength per annum, about half the average death-rate of troops doing duty in cantonments; the admission-rate, 573.9, being also about half the average.

3413. What has been the effect upon the moral character?—So far as I know, the moderate use of opium has no effect upon the moral character, while excess does not lead to violent crime. The opium-drunkard, when under the influence of the drug, only asks to be let alone. If poot, he may be driven to petty thefts to get the means of supplying himself with the drug. In my experience, even patients who come with the sincerest desire to be cured of the habit invariably bring opium with them and they lie in the most unblushing way about it, declaring that they have not got it. The same thing applies to alcohol. Every medical man has known of and seen cases of drunkards who are prepared to swear that they have not tasted a drop for weeks although they are saturated and reeking with alcohol.

3414. You probably agree that the excessive opium-eater, like the alcohol-drunkard, is more likely to be carried off by intercurrent disease?—I think so certainly. I think in both these cases the cause is want of control. It is neither the alcohol nor the opium that leads to excess: it is the want of will and self-control of the patient. The worst result I ever knew from opium was the case of a fine young woman who deliberately prostituted herself during the Laccashee Cotton Famine in order to obtain means to buy opium.

3415. What do you think generally of the place of opium amongst what we may call dietic restoratives or stimulents?—I think it is one of the most harmless and most

useful. I think it is one of the greatest blessings that men can have. I think it was Dr. Gregory who called it *Optima Dei donum*—God's best gift.

3416. Have you any further information to give to the Commission?—I believe, although I have no evidence to offer upon the point, that if men, accustomed to opium were to be effectively denied it, the possibility of which I doubt, since small quantities can be so easily smuggled, they would take to other stimulants; and if these happened to be ganja or alcohol, "the last state of those men would be [very much] worse than the first." As to the ease with which opium can be smuggled, I may say that taking 2 grains to be the amount a man eats in the day, a year's supply will go into a packet 2×½×¼ inches. I hold in my hand a packet containing a year's supply of what I call the average opium-eater. It contains two years' supply for many; it contains half a year's supply for the man who takes a pipe worth a day. Any native in this country could so conceal this packet in his loin-cloth or in his pugree that you would have to strip him naked in order to find it. It seems to me as a matter of practical administration absolutely impossible to subject people to this sort of espionage, and I do not believe that people would stand it.

3417. I presume that in your responsible position and throughout your career you have mixed very largely with medical men in the Indian Service?—I have. I have mixed largely with medical men not only in the Indian Service, but in the Medical Staff, and with large numbers of native medical practitioners, university graduates of all sorts, and vernacular school graduates.

3418. Do you think that the views you have expressed are held by those men generally?—I should say that they were held by all with the exception of an infinitesimal minority.

3419. That is to say by medical men who had practical experience in India?—Yes, practical experience in India. I should say we are practically at one. I know one or two who will not endorse these views, but I think the profession as a whole certainly would.

3420. I suppose you have no explanation of the fact of why the natives of India should take to the use of opium and tolerate it in a different way from our own countrymen at home?—I think it is a race question. Looking all round the world we find that each nation has its own habits; at the same time we find that all mankind seems to want a stimulant of some sort. The Northern nations of Europe resort largely to spirituous stimulants. Going down to the south of Europe you come to wine-spirits being much less used. Northern nations seem to be able to do with a quantity of spirits which if administered to people in the tropics, as experience has proved over and over again, kills them off at once. Spirits are absolutely unsuited to a hot climate. My idea is that opium is the stimulant which the inhabitants of this country have found by experience to be the best suited to them. Although like everything else it is liable to abuse, the moderate way in which the great majority take it not only does them no harm but does them a great deal of good. It adds to their comfort and satisfies for them the desire which is satisfied by wine in France and by spirits in Scandinavia and in Scotland.

3421. Have you any further statement you would like to make?—There is one practical point which I should like to bring before your notice. It has been brought up in the evidence of several preceding witnesses. Everybody seems to admit that opium must be allowed for medicinal purposes; with that reservation it seems to me that it is absolutely impossible to prohibit the use of opium in Bengal. The last Report of the Medical Institutions of Bengal, which I only got two days ago, shows that as a matter of fact, in a population of over 70 millions, only 2½ per cent. of the population get any benefit from the Government Medical Institutions. There are no doubt a certain number of private medical practitioners spread about the country, but the great bulk of the people practically have no medical advice to go to, unless they go to those baidas and hakims who have no real qualifications, who are not registered, but who, as I understand, must be allowed to give certificates that such and such people are to be allowed opium. As far as I see, there is nothing to prevent any man being his own hakim and prescribing opium for himself; at any rate a number of baidas and hakims scattered about the place will have the power of ordering opium, and from what I know of native character, I think that anybody who wishes to get opium would only go and give four annas to get a certificate. You transfer the opium revenue into the hands of the baidas and hakims; you would not decrease the consumption of opium in the least, as far as I can see; but

you would seriously embarrass the Government. There is a statement in this Report, from which it appears that allowing each dispensary to deal with a radius of 5 miles, the 310 dispensaries of Bengal cover less than one-fifteenth the total area of the province; so that less than one-fifteenth can come under proper medical arrangements, which could be safeguarded; and you must throw it open practically to any man who calls himself a baid or hakim.

3422. (Lord Brassey.) Have you any personal experience of the use of opium?—Yes, I have. I have myself been an opium-eater in a very small way. I trust that I shall not be considered to be one now; not that I have reformed. I am perfectly prepared to begin again if circumstances required it. My first experience of its use was during a professional examination when suffering from a severe influenza cold. Thirty drops of laudanum taken to procure sleep had the exact contrary effect, but removed the stupidity due to the cold and enabled me to go lucidly over the subject of next day's examination. I seemed to have the books all before me; everything came clear before me. In 1871-72, when in charge of the advanced base hospital in the Lushai Expedition, I had nearly two thousand sick and wounded through my hands in less than three months, and there were sometimes four hundred in hospital at once. During most of the time I had only one hospital assistant to help me, and neither nurses, orderlies, nor clerks. I had begun the campaign with a severe attack of fever which kept recurring every few days, and I never was so nearly overdone in my life. I believe I must have broken down but for opium, of which I used to take a grain about 6 A.M. when beginning work for the day, whenever I knew the work was unusually heavy. I may have taken it thirty or forty times. I never exceeded the grain, never hankered for more, and had no difficulty in stopping it. It sustained and comforted me and kept my head clear. I have taken it perhaps ten times since, always under circumstances of great fatigue or exposure, and always with the same result.

3423. (Mr. Pease.) You mention the great exertions which men were able to put forth under the influence of opium. You would consider I suppose that that was the result of its being a stimulant and not on account of its nourishing qualities?—On account of its stimulating properties. It also diminishes waste of tissue. That is the physiological explanation of it. By diminishing tissue-waste it enables a man to do more.

3424. Is there not a corresponding depression after the effects of the opium has passed off?—I do not think there is, unless you take large quantities of it.

3425. Did you find that in your experience at all?—No, I found no reaction or depression whatever.

3426. Do you find that persons who are in the habit of taking opium are equally susceptible to other drugs?—I think so. I do not think I have noticed any difference.

3427. You spoke of persons who had become opium sots as persons of weak will: do you not think that the taking of opium considerably affected or weakened the powers of the will?—That is a question I could not give a definite answer to. It seems to be more, both in the case of alcohol and opium, a weakness of the will. I know it is generally said to be the effect of alcohol or opium, but I do not see that there is any evidence of that.

3428. You have made a well-known quotation from Dr. Gregory; was he not at that time alluding to opium as a medicine and not as an indulgence?—No doubt. But in many of these cases it is used medicinally. I think in a very large number of cases it is begun for the relief of pain and for medical reasons, and then people have felt such a comfort from it, that they go on with it.

3429. Are you in favour of any reduction in the present facilities in obtaining opium?—I do not think that it is at all necessary.

3430. (Mr. Wilson.) You have referred to a person in Lancashire who was in the habit of taking 4 ounces of laudanum daily?—Yes; a young woman. It was the same young woman who afterwards prostituted herself because she could not get it.

3431. Did this person taking 4 ounces of laudanum daily come to your infirmary to ask for charitable relief?—She came to ask for opium because she had no means of paying for it.

3432. Four ounces of laudanum would cost a good deal of money?—Yes, as far as I remember, her husband was a well-to-do operative, probably an overseer, or something like that; at all events she had been able to get opium up to the time of the cotton famine. They were then all turned out of work, supplies of money dried up, and eventually she came to us, but we refused to give the opium to her.

K

- Sur.-Col. R. Harvey, M.D., M.R.C.P., D.S.O.
25 Nov. 1898
3433. You refer to the Miranzai Expedition, where there were only Native troops: you say that many of them were opium-eaters?—Yes.
3434. I suppose you are not able to give us any kind of proportion?—No, I cannot, I have never made a numerical enquiry. It is well known, however, that Sikh sepoy do take opium very considerably, although a great many will deny it; more of them take it than admit that they take it. But a considerable number will admit that they take it. I ascertained afterwards that none of those particular 40 men who were frost bitten were opium-eaters. They may have been, but they said they were not.
3435. Opium-eaters and non-opium-eaters alike stood this severe weather so well that your death-rate was only about half the average death-rates of troops doing duty in cantonments?—Yes, opium-eaters and non-opium-eaters equally stood it.
3436. You do not suggest that the non-opium-eaters died faster?—No, this is with reference to a statement that under certain bad conditions the opium-eater is liable to intercurrent disease. It is only to meet that. The real causes of the diminished death-rate were to be found in the admirable arrangements made by Government for the comfort and feeding of the troops, and for their shelter.
3437. You say that opium sharpens the mental faculties, brightens the wits, and improves the logical powers?—I think so.
3438. May I ask you why you do not take it regularly; do not you want to have sharp faculties and bright wits?—I hope they are sharp enough. Seriously speaking, I think it does sharpen the mental faculties under circumstances of exertion. It was under those circumstances that I have taken it in the past, and I would always take it again in the future if it were necessary.
3439. That is the point I was going to ask you about,—whether you regard its value mainly as a special agent under peculiar circumstances of stress, or whether you mean that it has that habitual tendency throughout life?—I do not think I am in a position to answer that question. I said that when I was taking it it kept my head clear. It has done that for me several times. It made me as I said, when I had the desperate cold and was stupid and thought that I must fail in my examination, go right over the whole subject. It cleared my brain in the most wonderful way. You cannot speak of the intellectual faculties of other people, because you would not know what the ordinary effects of it upon them are, or what their original condition was.
3440. As a matter of fact you do not recommend it as a practice to persons who wish to have sharp faculties and bright wits?—I would not go as far as that.
3441. Have you ever recommended anybody to take it regularly?—I have.
3442. To take it regularly?—Yes.
3443. Have you recommended it to many persons?—Not to very many, but I have recommended it to many diabetic patients.
3444. I am not talking about disease at all. I mean for these valuable results?—No, I have certainly not for that purpose.
3445. With reference to your own experience which you gave us, I take it that when you were suffering from this severe influenza cold, your taking it was purely medicinal?—It was on that occasion. That was the first thing which showed me the value of it,—as a supporting thing, and as clearing the intellect. That was before I had any experience of it in other people. That was when I was a student.
3446. That was for a special purpose?—Yes.
3447. For a temporary purpose?—For a temporary medicinal purpose. Afterwards I took it as a stimulant.
3448. Speaking generally, will you tell us whether the evidence that you have given relates specially to eating or drinking or smoking?—I have practically no experience of smoking with the exception of my reference to the two Chinamen who carried me about in Hong-Kong. They were smokers. The majority of the people, however, in this country, eat the opium. They take a little pill,—a little goli. They carry it in their pugger or loin-cloth and pinch off a little bit. In Rajputana, especially on official occasions, it is generally made into a solution and drunk, but the bulk of the people in this country eat it. I have no experience of what they do on the Bombay side. In the large cities of India, especially where there are Chinamen, they have learned the habit of smoking it; but I practically have no experience of opium-smoking.
3449. We may take it broadly that the evidence you have given relates to eating?—Eating or drinking, which I think is practically the same.
3450. You tell us that you were five years in Rajputana?—We had some little difficulty the other day in ascertaining exactly what Rajputs are. Do you know what proportion of the population of Rajputana are called Rajputs?—I think you may practically say the whole population. They all take opium. I do not think there is much difference. They are not all pure Rajputs; there are various mixed races in the country. As far as my knowledge goes, they all take opium,—much in the same proportion; but I have never made any statistical enquiries, and I could not reduce the question to a numerical statement.
3451. In consequence of some degree of doubt about it here the other day, I referred to Hunter's "Gazetteer." There I found that the population of Rajputana was given at 10 millions odd, and the number of the Rajput class or caste, half a million. That is five per cent. It is important to know whether the reference to Rajputs refers to that five per cent. of the population, or whether you speak of the population of the country?—I am speaking of the whole population of the country: my remark refers to them.
3452. I do not know whether you know anything of the views of a medical missionary, Dr. Huntly, who has lived a good many years in Rajputana?—I do not recall the name.
3453. In a letter addressed by him to the *Lancet*, he says among other things: "The natives of Rajputana are well aware that drinking milk with opium helps to ward off some of the ill-effects of the drug. On the other hand, the majority of opium-eaters very soon show the harmful effects on the system, and they are able to be recognised at a glance by the doctor who gives time and attention to this." Do you agree with that?—I agree with it in the case of people taking it to excess, but not in the case of a moderate opium-smoker. People do take milk in order to obviate a tendency to constipation which is sometimes caused; but I think the average moderate opium-eater is absolutely unrecognisable.
3454. Further on he says: "In seven years of constant intercourse with the natives I have never met a native who considered the drug harmless." That is not your experience?—No, certainly not.
3455. "In a careful enquiry into 100 cases of opium-eaters I found from their own lips that nearly forty per cent. had begun the habit to stimulate the sexual appetite, and the end of many of these was impotence. This fact can be learned from the native songs."—I believe that a certain number of people do take it under the deluded idea that it is an aphrodisiac. I do not think that it is a real aphrodisiac. The natives are extremely fond of resorting to aphrodisiacs; and whenever a new one is started there is a tremendous run upon it. If you ask any chemist in Calcutta, he will tell you that. Whether they begin it for that purpose or not I do not know; probably they do. I do not think I have ever made any enquiries as to that particular point.
3456. I was shown a book the other day—Russell on *Malaria and Injuries of the Spleen*. Is that book any authority?—I glanced through the book when it was published. That was a good many years ago. I do not think it had any very large circulation. I have no doubt from what I know of Dr. Russell that it ought to be a book of authority. I do not know what his statements are, so I cannot say whether I agree with them or not. Dr. Russell's opinion, however, ought to be valued.
3457. You made use of an expression that you thought this was very much a race question. Can you apply such a term to India?—Perhaps I ought to have said a climatic question, rather than a race question. Climatic question would be a better term. The races vary enormously. There is a very large number of entirely different races. I ought to have said a climatic question rather than a race question. It was clear from the illustration I gave that I meant a climatic question.
3458. (*Mr. Haridas Vekaridas.*) Do you use alcohol?—Yes, I use alcohol, but in strict moderation.
3459. You took opium you say 30 or 40 times?—Yes, 30 or 40 times. Since that expedition I have taken it perhaps 10 or 12 times.
3460. Were you also in the habit of taking alcohol on all occasions?—No, I was not. I could not get any. That was the reason. I should have taken it if I could have got it.
3461. Then you gave up the opium?—Yes, I gave it up afterwards.

3462. Were you obliged to take something after you gave up the dose of opium?—I took wine as soon as I could get it. There was no wine there.

3463. Had you to take more alcohol afterwards?—No.

3464. (Mr. Fauskauer.) Did I understand you to say that it had come within your experience that opium was largely used as an aphrodisiac by the natives?—No, I did not say largely. It is used no doubt. I have no personal experience, but I have no doubt they use it. They use anything that they hear is an aphrodisiac.

3465. I suppose you would not be able to tell us the sort of doses they take?—No, I cannot give you any information upon that point.

3466. Can you give us any information as to the age, speaking generally, at which the classes who have the opium-eating habit, the Rajputs and Sikhs and others, would begin the habit?—I have often been in Rajputana and I think the habit is begun when they are children and carried on sometimes throughout boyhood. Sometimes it is given up. It is frequently given by mothers when they go into the fields in order to quiet their children. Then I think there is a period when it is not taken. I have seen children of five or six years of age who took opium regularly.

3467. That would be in Rajputana and in the Punjab?—*Surg.-Col. R. Harvey, M.D., M.R.C.P., D.S.O.*

3468. Then would they recur to it when they were grown up men?—They generally do.

3469. And give it up in the interval?—Apparently.

3470. I want to make that point about the Rajputs quite clear. You say in speaking of the Rajputs that they are one of the finest and most martial races in India?—Yes.

3471. In using that expression, you are referring to the Rajputs proper?—I am referring practically to the whole population of Rajputana—whether they are pure Rajputs or not—as being one of the finest races in India. There are a number of offshoots,—the Jats and Dogras, and people who are related to the Rajputs although not pure Rajputs. They are splendid men, physically, and make very good soldiers. The same may be said of the common people, who are of very mixed blood. They are as fine and plucky men as you could wish to see.

3472. The opium habit is equally common among classes other than Rajputs?—Yes, I think so.

The witness withdrew.

SURGEON-LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. CROMBIE, M.D., called in and EXAMINED.

3473. (Chairman.) I think you are Superintendent of the Presidency General Hospital?—Yes.

3474. And you have been a long time in the Indian Medical Service?—Yes.

3475. And you have also had a large private practice for many years?—Yes.

3476. Tell us what means you have had of becoming acquainted with the effects of the opium habit in India?—I have been a Hospital Physician and Surgeon during the whole of my service in India. I have served in the Medical College Hospital in Calcutta, in Rangoon, in Dacca, and again in Calcutta. These are the places where I have served. I was for the longest period Civil Surgeon in Dacca, namely, 11 years; but for only 7 years of that period did I actually reside in Dacca. Besides hospital experience, I have also been medical officer of two very large jails. I have repeatedly had executive charge of one of these jails, and I have also been in charge of a lunatic asylum at Dacca for 7 years, which held 220 lunatics. I have also had considerable experience of lunacy throughout the whole province of Bengal, in consequence of being consulted by the Government of Bengal in all matters relating to lunatics.

3477. I understand you have paid rather special attention to this question?—Yes, and especially of late years.

3478. Kindly give us your impression as to the consumption of opium in the Lower Provinces.—I have made a number of calculations with regard to the consumption of alcohol and opium in India, especially in Bengal; and I should like to give the data for those calculations. I wish to call the attention of the Commission to a collection of papers relating to the consumption of opium in India published in the *Gazette of India* on the 9th January 1892. There is a great deal of information in this book; but the particular page to which I wish to refer is page 89, in which the total consumption of opium in British India is stated to be sufficient to furnish a moderate daily dose of $\frac{1}{2}$ tola (that is to say, $\frac{1}{16}$ part of an ounce, or 45 grains), to about 400,000 people (that is to say, 2 persons in every thousand of the total population); that comes to 22½ grains per thousand of population, or 8½ grains per head of the population for the whole of India, men, women, and children, per annum. The cost of this would be 4 pies per annum; that is, a little more than a farthing. In contrast with this I would mention that the cost of drink in England is £3-15-0 per head of the population per annum. With regard to the proportion of opium to each opium-eater in that amount, that would depend upon the estimate formed; by taking it very low, at 5 per cent, it would give about 400 grains per annum to each opium-eater, or rather more than 1 grain a day.

3479. Five per cent. of the total population?—Yes.

3480. That would make about 20 per cent. of the adult population?—Yes, about 20 per cent. of the adult male population. In Bengal, that is to say, in the Lower Provinces under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, 1,943 maunds of opium are supplied for consumption. That amounts to 15½ grains per head of the population, or, according to the same calculation, 300 grains per annum for each consumer, which is rather below 1 grain a day for each opium-eater. I believe the amount varies in different parts

of Lower Bengal. A gentleman supplied me with some information the other day,—Bijoy Matab Mukerji, one of our Sub-divisional Officers who has served in the Sub-division of Supur in Bhagalpore. There the amount obtained from the Treasury was 3 maunds for a population of 800,000, which amounts to 2½ grains per annum per head of the population or 50 grains to each consumer per annum. He mentioned, in explanation of the small quantity of opium used in that sub-division, that a large quantity of alcohol was consumed by that population, and he considered that the two intoxicants are used in inverse proportion. In the Sub-division of Banaghat (not very far from Calcutta), which is a non-alcohol district, alcohol being used in very small quantities, the consumption was from 12 to 15 maunds in different years, giving from 25 to 31 grains per head of the population, or about 600 grains per annum to each consumer. That amounts to nearly 2 grains a day to each consumer. With regard to that, there are two or three explanations. The amount is, I believe, very much smaller than is actually taken by the average consumer; and it may be that only a portion of those consumers use it daily, leaving a larger quantity for the others; or the estimated percentage of opium-eaters is too high; it may be that there is a considerable quantity of illicit opium in constant use. My evidence with regard to the effect of opium on the people of India, as seen by a man practising with every opportunity of observing the evil effects, is almost absolutely negative.

3481. But you have recognised that cases of excess do occur?—I have of course frequently met with individuals who take opium in excess. I have not always noticed that the excessive quantity produced any deleterious effects. In one or two, perhaps three, instances, I have seen these deleterious effects in the course of my 20 years' experience.

3482. Deleterious effects which you traced directly to opium?—Yes, which I traced directly to opium.

3483. Opium uncomplicated with any disease or poverty?—With any existing disease.

3484. Does your memory carry you sufficiently back to remember what were the conditions of a man who took opium to excess, without any disease and without any poverty?—It is rather difficult to find a case exactly fulfilling these conditions. The first case which was brought prominently to my notice was that of a Chinaman, a prisoner in the Rangoon Jail, who died in the hospital from chronic diarrhoea. He was a very large consumer of opium, and the conclusion I came to at the time, either rightly or wrongly, was that both the diarrhoea and death were due to opium. Chronic diarrhoea and dysentery are of course very common to India, and it may have been that this was a case of chronic diarrhoea due to other causes. But the impression made upon my mind at the time was that death was due to opium, and I have always considered it so.

3485. In your experience, that is the only fatal case that occurred?—That is the only fatal case that I know.

3486. You have had a good deal of experience from the fact that you have been in charge of hospitals and asylums, can you tell us if the opium habit has been a cause of lunacy or a cause of crime?—In that Supplement to the *Indian Medical Gazette*, which I believe has been sent to each member of the Commission (I now formally

Surg.-Lt. Col. A. Crombie, M.D.

25 Nov. 1893.

Surg.-Lt.-
Col. A.
Crombie,
M.D.
5 Nov. 1898.

present it to each member of the Commission) I have given my experience with regard to lunacy. The figures on which my opinion is partly based, will be found at page 27 of that Supplement. There the statistics of the Bengal asylums are given for ten years. The number of admissions to these asylums during those ten years was 2,202. Of that number, 641 were ganja-smokers, or consumers of ganja in some form; 117 were drinkers of alcohol, and only 8 were opium-eaters.

3487. Would you put it quite in that way. The column I see is headed "Alleged cause"—P.—Yes.

3488. So that a good many more than these 8 might have been opium-smokers or eaters?—No, I think not. In each of these cases in which the history of ganja or spirits or opium is given, that is put down as the cause. There may be other causes; but in the asylum records I think it is invariably put down as the cause. These may be regarded as statistics of ganja, spirits, and opium-eaters in asylums. With regard to ganja, there is no question in my own mind that in a very large proportion of the cases in which it is put down as "alleged cause," it is the cause. With regard to spirits, I believe it is also the same in the asylums in England, where from 20 to 25 per cent. of the lunatics have become insane in consequence of drink. But with regard to the opium-eaters I am of opinion that the opium is never the cause of insanity. As regards the number of opium-eaters shown here, it merely means that these were lunatics who had been accustomed to take opium. I have also collected statistics from Bombay and Rangoon, as well as Madras, but they are incomplete, as I was unable to obtain the figures. I can only give the figures for Bombay for 3 years, and for the Rangoon asylum for 6 years. In Burmah there are also very few opium-eaters, indeed, admitted as lunatics; whereas the number of spirit-drinkers is very considerably increased in the town of Bombay, that is to say, in the Colaba asylum. There is a considerably larger proportion of spirit-drinkers admitted there than in the other asylums. In 1888 there were 25, in 1889 and 1890, 13; against 1 opium-eater in two of those years, and 3 in another year.

3489. You have given an account of your opinion and the impressions produced upon your mind by the study of this question?—Yes.

3490. Will you state the reasons why you think the evils of opium-eating in India are almost of a microscopic character?—In the first place because it is specially a habit of advanced life. Alcohol and ganja are the intoxicants chiefly used below the age of 30 or 35.

3491. What would you consider the beginning of advanced life?—Speaking of the natives of India, 40 may be considered as advanced life.

3492. Do you think that the people of India have a constitutional tolerance for the drug?—I have some reason for believing that there is such a tolerance, and I believe that a great deal of the agitation on opium is due to that difference,—that the effect of opium, specially of morphia, is very much greater in European countries, and especially among people who use alcohol, than it is in India. It is also perfectly certain that all animals are not equally affected by opium. I have during the past week made some experiments upon ducks and fowls, and I have given them enormous quantities. To a duck weighing 2½ lbs. I have given at one time 30 grains of opium and into another duck of about the same weight, I have injected 3 grains of morphia. That would mean to a man of 10 stone, 15 times 140 grains, at one dose or 1½ grains of morphia to every pound of his body weight. That would mean 1½ times 140, or 210 grains for one injection. Beyond giving rise to a certain amount of nausea in all the animals, to some slight drowsiness lasting about an hour in the case of the ducks and to a little unsteadiness of gait, little or no effect was produced upon these animals. During the first few days in which the experiment was continued, they were quite happy, inquisitive as ducks always are, and ate their food as usual. The fowls after two or three days of the treatment ate very little and were evidently affected in some way by these enormous doses of morphia and opium. I made these experiments in order to satisfy myself that the statements made in books with regard to that, were true. I am able to confirm those statements. There are evidences of various kinds that the natives of India have certain peculiarities in their constitution, and the first one of these, I would like to mention, is with regard to the body temperature. In 1872-73-74 I made some 1,800 observations of the normal temperatures of the human body of the natives as well as of Europeans in India, and they have been printed in this book which I shall be glad to present for the inspection of the Commissioners. I have here drawn the differences diagrammatically.

The three lower figures are the average temperatures of Europeans in England as observed by Ogle, Casey, Allbutt and Battray.

3493. You say there is a difference in the bodily temperature; your argument would be, I suppose, that there may be a difference of tolerance?—That is my idea.

3494. (Mr. Pease.) Can you give the average temperature?—It depends very much upon the time of day. The mean daily temperature according to Ogle was 97.9 of Europeans living in England; 98.2 according to Allbutt and 98.07 according to Casey; giving an average of 98.08 from the three observers. From the observations which I made here in India of Europeans, I found the average daily temperature to be 98.5.

3495. What is the average temperature of the native population in India?—Nearly half a degree higher. That makes the temperature nearly a degree higher than that of Europeans living in England.

3496. Have you any special information, direct evidence, of the difference of tolerance for opium between a European and a native of India?—It has to be taken into account that we are using weaker opium, but there is no doubt that it is the experience of us all, that we can give larger doses of opium here than in England. For instance, in cases of acute diarrhoea, I never give less than one drachm of laudanum, which is probably three times as much as would be given by an English practitioner in England in an ordinary case of that kind.

3497. Would your preparation be made from Smyrna opium or native opium?—The laudanum I prescribe is mostly obtained from England—Turkey opium.

3498. That would contain a full amount of morphia?—Yes.

3499. You give a drachm dose?—Yes, a drachm dose freely without hesitation.

3500. To adults?—Yes, to adults; but I think the difference in constitution is to be chiefly noticed with regard to children. Our authorities, especially Lauder Brunton, say that opium should not be given at all to English children, under 5 years of age, only with great precautions. But here, in India, we do it hardly with any precaution. We give opium to children even of a year old in fair doses.

3501. (Mr. Mowbray.) English children?—We give it also to English children; but I am now referring chiefly to native children. We also give it here to English children in larger doses than they do in England.

3502. (Chairman.) Do you observe the distinction of doses in the two cases?—Yes. I give it more freely to native than to European children. I know that native mothers constantly give opium to their babies when they are a day or two old; and I believe the habit is continued to the age of four, when it is most frequently given up. Most of our ayahs, who are entrusted with the care of European children, are up-country women, who are accustomed to deal with their own children in this way, and when they find a peevish, fretful English child they give it the same dose of opium they would give to their own child, and the English child dies. I think Bishop Thoburn mentioned a case in his own experience the other day. We have all had experience of that kind.

3503. Have such examples fallen under your own notice?—Yes, where a child has died from opium given to it by an ayah. I have never treated a native child for opium poisoning in the course of my 20 years' service. No case has ever been brought to any hospital with which I have been connected.

3504. Do you consider tolerance with regard to opium in India is altogether a matter of race or a mixed product of several causes?—I think it is the product of all the influences which are brought to bear upon the natives in the course of ages, they are constantly living in a hot climate, have a constant vegetable diet and abstinence from alcohol. I think these are the chief conditions which have brought about this result.

3505. Do you include the malarial constitution?—I cannot go into that point as giving tolerance. I am not aware of that.

3506. Of course you are aware that certain diseases like diabetes do give a tolerance?—Yes.

3507. I thought perhaps you might have observed whether malaria did?—I have not observed it, except that most of the people I have treated have had more or less malarial taint in their systems.

3508. I believe you distinguish between the effects of the habit and those of the ailments for which it is taken,

that is a matter of course?—That goes without saying I think. Another point, though there are differences of opinion with regard to this, is, that evidence of difference of constitution is to be found in the immunity of the natives of India from typhoid fever. Dr. Harvey tells me, for instance, that he has seen typhoid fever in natives, the diagnosis being confirmed by *post-mortem* examinations. But if I am not wrong Dr. Harvey refers to a long time ago. I think it must be admitted by all that typhoid fever in natives is extremely rare. I ascertained the other day that a native student may go through the whole of his curriculum of 5 years without ever seeing a case of typhoid fever. Dr. Gibbons, who was pathologist in the Medical College Hospital for seven or eight years, has never seen evidences of typhoid fever in a native on the *post-mortem* table. It is common enough in the General Hospital, which is a European Hospital. I think there they are from ten to twenty cases every year. I have never myself treated a native of India for typhoid fever.

3509. (Lord Brassey.) Have you had the same experience with regard to scarlet fever?—Yes, but I do not bring that forward so much, because Europeans in India are practically exempt from scarlet fever. I have seen an unquestionable case of scarlet fever in one European in India.

3510. (Chairman.) Have you anything to tell us about the comparative effects of eating and smoking opium?—I have made a special study of this particular point. I believe that the evils of smoking opium are very considerably greater than anything that can be attributed to eating opium. But I think that is due chiefly to the conditions under which the opium is smoked. Opium is eaten at home; a man swallows his pills, and at once proceeds to his usual avocations; it is smoked in clubs and, until recently, in opium dens—smoking in company. It is a social vice like alcohol. People go to these places for the sake of company to enjoy each other's society, and they smoke opium together. The consequence is, that opium-smoking is a vice of the younger people and of the low characters and those of vicious habits generally. I believe that madak-smoking is more deleterious to the constitution than chandu-smoking. I have repeatedly visited several of the madak shops as well as chandu shops. Three or four years ago I came to the conclusion, and I still believe, that madak-smoking does lead to greater ill-health than chandu-smoking. Chandu is the Chinese way of smoking, madak is the Bengali mode of smoking.

3511. You have visited these opium dens more than once I think?—I should think I have paid six or eight visits to them at different times.

3512. What has been your impression of their effect upon the public morals?—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. It has no particular effect on the public morals. It gives rise to no violent crime, no infringements of public decency. You might live within a short distance of an opium den and not know that it is there. I confess that I lived in Dacca for seven years, where there was an opium-smoking den and I did not know of its existence.

3513. Opium-smoking in India—madak—seems to be a habit of the lower strata of society?—Yes, it is decidedly a habit of the lower classes. I do not know of any well-to-do or respectable men who smoke opium. I know many respectable men who eat opium constantly, but I do not know a single well-to-do man who smokes opium.

3514. You are speaking of Hindus, not Chinamen?—I am speaking of Hindus and Mahomedans—the inhabitants of Bengal.

3515. You have had no experience of the Chinese as opium-smokers?—Not of any value.

3516. What do you think is the reason why so many people take opium habitually in this country?—The majority of people that I know, who take opium, do not begin it until their vital powers are failing, that is to say, until they are 40 or 50 years of age, and then it is usually on the advice of their elders, who advise them to take it, to improve their health, when they begin to break down in any way and are not up to their former condition. I now have a native patient in the town, who is suffering from heart disease, and he is being constantly urged by the members of his family to take opium. They tell him to take it for his stomach's sake and his many infirmities. Those are almost the words he used himself.

3517. Not as an aphrodisiac?—No, not at all—not in such a case.

3518. It has been said that wine is the old man's milk. Is it in that sense you mean it?—It is in that sense that they take opium.

3519. For what other purpose is it taken by the poorer classes?—The belief enables them to withstand the effects of chills. It is taken also as a preventative of diarrhoea and dysentery, and for the treatment of chronic diarrhoea and dysentery, and for asthma. I have found it useful in the treatment of diabetes, and also as a prophylactic in the treatment of malarial fevers.

Surg.-Lt.
Col. A.
Crombie,
M.D.

25 Nov. 1891

3520. Do you agree with the opinion that the excessive use of opium is apt to diminish the fertility of families?—I am unable to give an opinion upon that point, but there is evidence, I believe, to bear out that suggestion, especially that of the late Dr. Vincent Richards, who studied the subject in Orissa (*vide Indian Medical Gazette* for August 1877). I think I ought to say something more about the use of opium in malaria. When one comes to India the first thing that strikes one is what seems to be the rooted and unreasonable objection that the natives have to being treated with quinine. Even now one has sometimes to prescribe quinine under a synonym, because the patients have very often such a strong objection to it, that if they know there is quinine in the medicine they will not take it. After a time one finds out that this objection is not unreasonable, and that there are a great many fevers,—I might almost say the majority of cases of fever which I have to treat in Bengal,—which are not only not benefited by quinine, but which are aggravated by it. That we find out after some years, and we are able after a time clinically to distinguish those cases which are aggravated by quinine from those which are benefited by it. I treat a large number of cases of fever without any quinine excepting in convalescence.

3521. That is to say, you distinguish more than one type of fever which is prevalent?—Not only more than one type. I believe that there is more than one infection. Though they are lumped under the name "malarial" and appear in the records of the hospitals as malarial fever, I am convinced that they are not really malarial, and in these cases quinine would cause an aggravation of the symptoms. I think that is the common opinion of all medical men of any experience in India.

3522. Your remarks point to the conclusion that the distribution of quinines would not replace opium in these districts?—No, not at all; quinine is of very limited application. I am not betraying any confidence when I state that Dr. Birch, who was recently Principal of the Medical College at Calcutta, suffered frequently from fever. He constantly took laudanum for the relief of the symptoms, and he assured me that he never got the same benefit from any other drug in the Pharmacopoeia. Brunton, who is a great authority upon therapeutics, mentions the same circumstance, and gives reasons for the benefit of opium in cases of fever. So also does Garrod. They both mention circumstances in the treatment of malarial fever in which opium is beneficial. The same opinion is held in the Fen country in England where the people use large quantities of opium for the same purpose, both in the treatment and prevention of fever.

3523. You have already given evidence to the effect that opium does not cause crime and violence?—Opium is not a cause of crime and violence or brutality. According to my experience alcohol is the intoxicant of brutality; ganja is that of sudden and uncontrolled violence. Chevers quotes a case of amok, "running-amok," which was attributed to opium. In all my experience as a Jail officer and the Superintendent of an asylum, as well as an expert relating to criminal lunatics, I have never known a case of "running amok" produced by opium. In my experience it has invariably been caused by ganja. I know the case of a young Fenkall who indulged in a single dabouch with ganja. He went round the house at night and slew seven of his own relatives in their beds. Cases of men killing three or four of their neighbours under the influence of ganja are quite common in Bengal. But it is invariably ganja, and not opium, which is the cause of these cases.

3524. What do you say as to the practicability of limiting the use of opium in India to its purely medicinal purpose?—I believe that such a proposition could only originate with people who were absolutely unacquainted with the conditions of life which obtain in this country. It presupposes that there are places other than ordinary vendors' shops where it could be obtained under medical advice; but there are no druggists or druggists' shops in the swamps of Bengal; it presupposes that there are medical men available who would be capable of giving that advice with discretion; and it also presupposes that there are means of communication available to the people which, as a matter of fact, do not exist. I think it is desirable that

Surg.-Lt.
Col. A.
Crombie,
M.D.

5 Nov. 1893.

the Commission should know something of the conditions of life obtaining in a place such as I have lived in for a great part of my service in India,—I refer to Eastern Bengal. There when a man wants to build a house, he first of all digs a tank and with the earth from which he has dug the tank he raises a mound, and on the top of that mound he places his house. The elevation of that mound depends entirely upon the height to which the annual floods rise. The floods rise with fair regularity; but sometimes they go two or three inches higher than the average, and then the inhabitants of those houses have to live on rafts inside their houses; and their cattle are tethered up to their bellies in the water. These people have generally no boats. They paddle about on rafts made of the plantain tree, and the boys go to school in what I call wash-hand basins. They are earthen gumbles. The boy squats at the bottom of the gumbles and paddles to school. This is the only means of communication. Some of those dwellings are extremely isolated. There may be only one household within four or five miles. There is no native doctor or dispensary within five or ten miles of them. I am convinced that to deprive these people of the possession of opium, except under medical advice, would be a terrible and wanton cruelty. It is the only medicine of any value that is available to them, and if you deprive them of it I should not like to be one of those who do it. The best practitioner in that part of the world available to the people is the Civil Hospital Assistant; he is educated at one of our Vernacular Schools, but he is of no avail whatever as a person of responsibility in whose hands to place opium for distribution purely on medical grounds. There are only a very few of them scattered throughout the districts, and they are as a rule very poor and altogether dependent on the good-will of their neighbours; to them, a matter of four or eight annas or a rupee would be sufficient to let any man in the country obtain opium. I ought also to mention another thing, that here in Calcutta, which swarms with practitioners and with hospitals in every direction, where people can obtain free advice, and there are medical practitioners of every persuasion, fifty per cent. of the people die without any medical attendance whatever—that is even in Calcutta. These statistics were given by the Health Officer of Calcutta in 1891, and they will be found at page 5 of his report for that year, which I now hand in.

3525. (*Lord Brassey*.) In the country districts, how would it be?—If it is fifty per cent. in Calcutta, I should say it is 75 per cent. in the mofussil, people dying without medical advice. The only medicine available of any value to them is opium. Instead of restricting opium any more than is done now, I think that every householder in this part of the world ought to have opium always in readiness in case of emergency. I never travel without it. Even when I came from England the other day, my wife provided me with laudanum as a safeguard for the journey. I did not take it, but I always travel with it. There are one or two points which I have omitted and which I ought to mention. Besides my other duties here in Calcutta, I am Consulting Physician to the East Indian Railway, and I have obtained figures as to the number of natives employed on that Railway, which extends from Calcutta to Jubbulpore on the one hand, and to Kalka on the other.

3526. (*Chairman*.) What was the number of employes?—850 Europeans, 525 East Indians, and 39,760 Natives at the present moment.

3527. About 40,000?—Practically 40,000 natives. I have been Consulting Physician for five years, and all the reports from the different medical officers of the districts are submitted to me half-yearly. During these five years the name of opium has not once appeared in any of the reports. On questioning the medical officers, they tell me that it does not come before them either professionally or officially, yet this Railway passes through the opium-growing and opium-eating districts of Behar and the North-West Provinces. One medical officer said that the native doctor sometimes pointed out to him that a patient was an opium-eater, but he himself was unable to discover the fact.

3528. Has it come within your knowledge whether any of the servants of the Railway have been dismissed in consequence of opium-eating?—I asked Mr. Wagstaff, the Secretary of the East Indian Railway, who has been in the head office in Calcutta for 28 years, and this is his reply:—“During the 28 years I have been in the head office here I do not remember a single case being reported of a native of any grade being unfit for duty owing to the use of opium, and the experience of the Deputy Traffic Manager, with about the same length of service on the line, is precisely the same. There have, however, been one or two solitary instances of suspected cases of indulging in ‘bhang’

but nothing proved. You may make what use you choose of this information.” I am also in another capacity Depot Surgeon to three Emigration Agencies which send coolies to the West Indies. A large part of these are recruited in the North-West Provinces, and a considerable number, though a smaller proportion, in Behar. During the last six years 43,170 coolies have been despatched to the West Indies from these three depôts. The proportion is 100 men, 42 women, and 15 children. That leaves 92,000 male statute adults. During those five or six years it has only come to my knowledge twice or three times that the man I was examining was an opium-eater. It has not been because I discovered it for myself, but because the man has asked for opium, and then it was discovered that he was an opium-eater. As regards his physical and mental condition, he was not to be distinguished from the other coolies. I ought to mention that every coolie sent to the West Indies is first examined by the Civil Surgeon up-country, then by myself, then by the ship's Surgeon, and then by the Inspector of Emigrants; also by the Protector of Emigrants, all of whom have, for many years past, been medical men; and yet we are sending a considerable number of opium-eaters to the West Indies. It is against the rules to send opium-eaters as emigrants to the West Indies, but we are so unable to detect an opium-eater that we are constantly sending them, as is discovered when they reach the West Indies.

3529. What is your opinion as to the attitude of the people towards the opium question?—I have made many inquiries, and I have had a great deal of conversation with opium-eaters and opium-smokers and with people who are neither, and I think there is a consensus of opinion among all of these, including the opium-smokers themselves, that the chandu and madat manufactures should be abolished. I distinguish between that and the mere abolition of the opium dens. I think that measure is absolutely futile, and that it will have no effect whatever on the consumption of opium as madat or chandu. Of that I am perfectly convinced. There is as much opium-smoking in Calcutta now as there was before the opium dens were closed. I myself believe that it would be a good thing to close these manufactures, to forbid absolutely the manufacture of chandu and madat in Calcutta. There would be a little discontent, among the Chinamen especially, but they are a small number, and special arrangements might be made in their favour. What would happen would be that the majority of those who now smoke opium would eat it, and there is no question that that is a comparatively harmless way of using opium. As regards the trade with China and the prohibition of it except for medical purposes, what the people ask themselves is—“who would benefit by such a prohibition?” They exclude themselves. Asked what would be the consequence of prohibiting opium, I believe their universal reply would be that it would lead to the increased use of both alcohol and ganja. There is, therefore, a suspicion, which, of course, I know to be absolutely unfounded in fact, that the agitation against opium is being got up in England in the interests of the liquor traffic. I have heard it repeatedly since I came back from Europe, and there is no doubt that the belief is very widespread.

3530. Of course you do not for a moment suggest it?—On the contrary, I know that those who are most actively engaged against the opium traffic are also equally strong against alcohol, but I share the belief that prohibition of opium would lead to a largely increased consumption of alcohol in India. This very morning I received a letter from a Missionary whom I have known for a considerable number of years, which I should like to read.

3531. (*Mr. Pease*.) Where does he reside?—I have not permission to mention the gentleman's name. I should like to be able to mention his name, but he has not given me permission. He is a resident in this part of India, and I have known him for 10 or 12 years. He says:—“I have seen the ill-effects of ganja and alcohol both in Bengal and Calcutta, but I have failed to discover the ill-effects of opium. I believe that any attempt to deprive the people of this country of this stimulant would prove as abortive as would any attempt to deprive the people at home of their beer and their pipe. It was said in a tramcar yesterday morning that the people of England were trying to make the people of India give up opium for alcohol, and that Government was trying to make the people here what the people in England are. ‘What is that, I asked?’ ‘Quick as lightning came the reply ‘Drunkards.’” Then, he adds “one swallow does not make a summer; but I must not take up more of your time.”

3532. Have you nothing further to tell us?—I think I have said everything that I desired to say.

3533. You mentioned that a sensible proportion of the coolies, who were despatched under your supervision to the

West Indies, were, without your knowing it, opium-eaters?—Yes.

3534. Do you receive any complaints from the West Indies with regard to the inefficiency of those men for labour?—It is made a matter of complaint that we pass those men. A complaint is made by the Colonial Government, but I do not know their reasons.

3535. You are inclined to draw the inference that some of those opium-eaters you send are, when they arrive, found to be, in consequence of their eating opium, inefficient as labourers?—That possibly is the opinion held in the West Indies.

3536. May I take it that, so far as your experience in Bengal extends, the moderate use of opium in the eating form does not impair a man's efficiency for labour?—In moderate use it certainly does not.

3537. Do you suppose that these people complained of in the West Indies were immoderate consumers?—I think that when they go there they are probably brought under other influences, combining alcohol with opium, and under those circumstances the opium has probably a more deleterious effect than it would have in their own country where they are abstainers and live on vegetable food.

3538. I understand you to make a special recommendation that the preparation of chandu and madat should be forbidden?—I should not be sorry to see it stopped. I will go further and say that I think it would be a good thing for the people who indulge in smoking opium if that could be stopped.

3539. Are those establishments, to which you refer, places where the operation is carried on, under license from the Government?—The sale of chandu and madat is carried on under license; the smoking of opium is now carried on privately in what are called clubs.

3540. But the preparation is done in establishments under Government license?—Yes.

3541. You think that no such licenses should be given?—I should be glad to find that they were stopped altogether.

3542. (Chairman.) You know that chandu could be introduced from China?—It could, and it could be made in India, but it is rather difficult to make; it requires to be made in quantity, and very few people would be able to afford the outlay to make a large quantity. Besides, the possession of a large quantity is, I believe, illegal.

3543. (Mr. Pease.) You have spoken of the difference between the effects of madat and chandu. Will you give us your opinion a little more fully?—I think that the class of people who smoke madat are of a lower moral and general physique than those who smoke chandu. I have seen more madat-smokers with deteriorated health without any apparent cause except the madat; and then I have seen madat-smokers who are themselves of opinion that madat-smoking is extremely deleterious to the health. I think the belief is almost universal among them, and yet I have seen madat-smokers who have smoked 20 or 30 years and still retain a perfect physique. A considerable number of them, however, are of very poor physique, and I believe of very low moral standard generally. The way in which they smoke it in company leads to excess, as well as the effect which it may have itself. I am unable to explain why madat should be more deleterious than chandu, because madat is smoked through a hubble-bubble and ought to part with some of its ingredients to the water; nevertheless, whether it is from some difference in the preparation or whether because it is smoked in terribly hot and confined places, the effect is distinct upon the madat-smoker. I think I could recognise an habitual madat-smoker without any difficulty; I could not do so with an opium-eater or chandu-smoker.

3544. Are the chandu and madat-smokers men who belong to the same race, and are they of the same social position?—They are of the same race; they are both Mahomedans and Hindus, but I think that, for some reason, the madat-smoker is of a lower social grade.

3545. I gather that you think landanum, opium, and morphia have less effect upon a European in India than upon one in England?—I am not quite sure about that. It is many years since I practised in England. When I was a practitioner in England, I was very young; my impression is, however, that we give more opium here than they do in England, specially to European children.

3546. (Mr. Wilson.) I think you said you always carry opium about with you?—When I travel.

3547. Is that chiefly with a view to fever or diarrhoea?—Diarrhoea and cholera are chiefly in my mind. I never

suffer from fever. In the course of 21 years I have only been six days absent from my work from any cause, and that was from fever.

3548. With regard to the respective qualities of madat and chandu, I think we have had evidence from more than one witness—we certainly had it from one yesterday—just the opposite of what you state?—I know the other opinion is held. I am aware that Mr. Westmacott, Excise Commissioner for some years, has expressed exactly an opposite opinion; but I disagree with him.

3549. In reference to the coolies whom you send to the West Indies you say that many come from the North-West?—The larger number.

3550. Who pays the passage from the North-West to Calcutta?—There are local agents who are supplied with money to send them down.

3551. And if you reject any of them here on whom does the loss fall?—On the local agent for forwarding an opium-eater.

3552. He is supposed to keep a sharp look-out?—Naturally.

3553. Purely for his own protection?—Yes.

3554. I have a statement before me made by a medical practitioner at Sohagpur, who is M.R.C.S. and L.R.C.S., Edinburgh, a Parsee, and he says that in his opinion some 50 per cent. of native children who die die from taking opium.—Yes.

3555. I did not understand your evidence to relate to Sohagpur or the Central Provinces?—No.

3556. So that it might prevail there?—I can say nothing as to what happens in the Central Provinces.

3557. You were not referring to that district?—No, only to Lower Bengal and Burma.

3558. Will you tell us a little more than you have told us about the dens you visited?—Perhaps I may read an account of one of these visits, which was written on the very same day, and submitted to my companion to verify and correct, so that it may be taken as an accurate account of the visit:—

"Agreeably to my promise I re-visited the same opium den in the evening of Sunday, the 1st May. On this occasion I was accompanied by Dr. Tull Walsh, 1st Resident Surgeon of the Calcutta European General Hospital. The 'back-shop' was not so full as on the preceding evening. The farther end was empty, and only three opium lamps were burning. Round these were grouped fifteen men and one woman, evidently a prostitute. She was smoking a hookah. Only three men were actually smoking opium. The others were, as before, squatting or reclining on the platforms, several of them smoking tobacco, the others chatting. None of them were asleep. They were, all with one exception, Mahomedans. The exception was a Hindu. Twelve of the fifteen were strong muscular, plethoric men. One was a man of apparently sixty-five years of age, who, when the subject was broached, was loud and persistent in his denunciation of the opium habit. It destroyed, he said, the health and dried up the body. He had himself smoked opium for thirty-two years, and when it was pointed out to him that he for his age was in very fair condition, he explained that that was due to his always having had plenty to eat, and he modified his expressions by limiting his remarks to the case of those who, being poor, were unable to supply themselves with sufficient food along with opium. There was a very general consensus of opinion among those present that, under those circumstances, the habit of smoking opium was very pernicious, but with the ability to take a sufficiency of food, the habit, they said, was harmless enough. They certainly bore testimony in their own broad frames and brawny muscles and healthy-looking skins, bright eyes, and intelligent view of the question, to the harmlessness of the practice as far as they were concerned. Another old man of some fifty-six or sixty years of age, a lamp-lighter on board a steamer, had smoked opium for thirty years, and was to all appearance a hale man of his age. The gharami of the previous day was again present, and greeted me with a smile. He said he came every day at about 3 P.M. after his day's work and stayed till 6 or 6-30 P.M. He had been there for three hours then, and was intelligent, cheerful and bright, and was certainly not under the influence of opium in the ordinary acceptance of the expression, unless his brightness and intelligence were evidence of it. The smiling, shame-faced youth was also present. A deaf-mute, though not in the same rude health as the others, was still in fairly good condition. One individual did certainly look much below par, but that was due, the others said, to his not having enough to eat,—an opinion in which he seemed

Surg.-Lt.
Col. A.
Crombie,
M.D.

25 Nov. 1891

*Surg.-Lt.-
Col. A.
Crombie,
M.D.*
25 Nov. 1898.

to acquiesce. Questioned as to the comparative harmfulness of alcoholic drinks and opium-smoking, they said—"Look at us, you find us here after two or three hours opium-smoking, sitting, talking quietly together; if we had been drinking like the sahibs (they referred probably to the European sailors who frequent the brothels of the neighbourhood) we should have been quarrelling and fighting." We then went behind the counter where the good-natured landlord had my new opium pipe ready. He had cemented the 'bowl' to the stem with 'blubber' and lashed it on with string, and it was ready for use. He and I took up the correct position, reclining on the mat on either side of the 'fairy' lamp, and he proceeded to prepare the charge of chandu for me, and when it was ready, placed it on the 'bowl' (really a slightly convex surface with a small pin-hole in the centre, over which the 'bubbling opium mass is placed). Inverting the bowl over the flame of the fairy lamp I proceeded to inhale the smoke, which came in considerable quantity. It was perfectly non-irritating, and I filled my lungs with it at each inspiration as much as possible. The small hole over which the opium was placed was constantly getting blocked, and an iron wire had to be constantly used to clear it. I had the pipe charged three times, and smoked with the interruptions inseparable from the process for about ten minutes. The effect was absolutely nil, and getting no 'forrader' by that time, I did not think the game worth the candle and stopped. After my own experience of opium-smoking I was not surprised at the small effect noticeable in our friends 'of the den' several of whom stood on the other side of the railed counter and watched my performance with good-humoured curiosity. We paid two rupees each for our pipes, the landlord refusing to take anything for my smoke.

"Dr. Walsh tells me that while we were behind the counter altogether about a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes, about ten or twelve persons came to purchase chandu. It was sold to them in shells by two Chinamen seated there for the purpose. A shellful cost about three annas, but the usual quantity purchased was about five or six pice worth (1½ to 2 annas). One man took away a rupee's worth in a small cylindrical wooden box."

Wishing to be extremely accurate, I sent my notes to Dr. Walsh and asked him to correct any error he might notice. On returning it, this is the remark which he made: "The man said that the boxes were made of cow's horn, not of wood." That was the only correction he had to make, so that I think the account may be taken as accurate.

3559. Was the consumption of opium on the premises prohibited at that time?—Not at that time.

3560. I believe you have paid a more recent visit?—Yes, I visited the same place on Thursday evening with yourself.

3561. Will you tell us what you saw?—We saw a very active sale of chandu going on. We asked the Chinaman to show us the process of smoking chandu, which he did. There was one man asleep, but he instantly woke up, and he assured us that he was not an opium-smoker. Another man was lying in bed, but on going to him I found that he was suffering from colic; he was not asleep. In the premises behind, which I mentioned as the back-shop, the description was no longer applicable. It was divided into a number of rooms, and in each of these rooms there were one or two what might be called divans or platforms surrounded by mosquito curtains. These are places used by Chinamen for smoking opium. There were, I think, three or four of those rooms, and they were capable of accommodating from four to six men each. On questioning the Chinaman, who accompanied us, as to how it was, that these places were there, he said they were used by their own employes, those employed in making chandu, which was being actively prepared in a shed close by. We then went to visit three or four opium clubs in the immediate neighbourhood.

3562. (Chairman.) Will you tell us what number of persons were making chandu in comparison with the amount of accommodation provided for smoking?—I think there were four Chinamen behind the counter. There was one man taking the cash, another was ill with colic, and there were three or four perhaps employed in making chandu. That would be altogether about a dozen men.

3563. And there was accommodation for how many smokers?—Fourteen or fifteen I should think, not more. We then went to visit the opium clubs close by. We went to three or four of those clubs, and found four or five men in each of them. There was generally one engaged in smoking opium assisted by one of the others because

the process of smoking chandu is a rather difficult one. There was a woman in one of the clubs who was asleep, but she woke up; all the others were males. One of the men frequenting the place was in extremely bad health. I had no opportunity of examining him to tell whether he was an opium wreck, or whether his appearance was due to some disease; but he certainly was a wreck.

3564. (Mr. Wilson.) Will you tell the Commission whether you got any information in one of those places as to the terms on which people came there?—Yes, we inquired into that point. Chandu must be apparently smoked by three or four people. They told us that when the chandu pipe is new it costs a rupee, but when old and seasoned it costs from four to six rupees. Apparently they smoke not only for the effects of the opium but for the flavour. An old opium pipe, like an old tobacco pipe, seems to be in favour, and it is beyond the resources of those men to have a pipe of their own, and they club together to smoke through one pipe. They stated that they purchased the opium individually at the chandu shop close by, and brought it there to smoke in company. The keeper of the club in one or two instances said that he made his profit entirely out of the refuse made from the pipes; that he was paid nothing by the smoker, and that the contents of the pipes were his perquisite, and that he sold this "dirt," as he called it, to the chandu makers, as it seems to be necessary for making chandu that the refuse of the pipes should also be used.

3565. I believe you had some conversation also with the people outside?—Yes, we had a conversation with some of the people, several of whom were opium-smokers, and others were not; the general feeling was in condemnation of the habit unquestionably. Even the opium-smokers themselves condemned it, and stated their willingness to give it up if they could do it. They also expressed an opinion that it would be well if those places were abolished altogether.

3566. In reference to the Railway experience that you have had, do you think that if a man were known to be an opium-eater or an opium-smoker he would be employed in a position of responsibility, for instance, as a signalman?—I think certainly he would be employed.

3567. It would not be any bar?—It would not be any bar to employment. The most intelligent servants we have in India are many of them opium-eaters. The men who do work in big offices in Calcutta, merchants' offices, the men in charge of the cash and of the discipline of the office, are generally, three out of four of them, opium-eaters.

3568. In reference to the deaths of children, I do not know what system of registration of deaths or the causes of death prevails in India; have you any means of getting at them?—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 inquire as to the number of deaths that occur within a specified time. I used to take notes of these and go to the police office in the neighbourhood to compare them with the registration that takes place there, and I found that the number registered was about 1 in 3.

3569. Of the deaths?—Yes, that was my experience.

3570. Is there any system of registration of deaths in Calcutta now?—The system in Calcutta is explained in the book of the Health Officers which I have handed in. It is done at the burning ghats and the cemeteries. The agents of the municipality sit there and question the relatives of the deceased as to the cause of death. The statistics I allude to are obtained from these relatives as to who attended the patient during his illness, and so on. The object of Dr. Simpson was to get more exact statistics of the causes of death, and the discovery was made that 60 per cent. of the people died without any medical attendance.

3571. You said that within your own knowledge you had no cases of deaths of native children from opium though you had with Europeans?—Yes.

3572. The object of my question was to ascertain whether there were any statistics available in support of that information?—No statistics, but I may mention that besides the cases you are alluding to, these mofussil cases, my hospital was in a city of 80,000 inhabitants. The inhabitants of cities are much more given to alcohol, ganja and opium than people living in the mofussil. They are very fond of their children, that is one of the great points in the native character—their fondness for children; and I am certain if there had been any cases of opium-poisoning of children in Dacca, while I was there, they would have been brought to me for treatment.

3573. Do you believe that the people of Bengal at large are acquainted with the antiperiodic properties of opium?

and that they ask for it for fever?—They never ask me for it, because it is available to them without asking the doctors; it would never occur to them to ask me for it, because they can buy it from the opium vendor.

3574. Do you prescribe it as a prophylactic?—No, I have never done so.

3575. Neither to natives nor Europeans?—No, I have never served in an extremely malarious district. Dacca is not one of the extremely malarious districts. If I were serving in the Tarai, or spending the night in the Tarai, I should take quinine, but I would also take opium.

3576. (Mr. Mowbray.) With regard to the coolies I understand that the restriction is imposed by the Colonial Governor, not by you?—Yes, it is one of the conditions under which we work.

3577. I also understand that if the matter was within your own discretion you would not impose such a restriction?—I think not. If I were employing coolies, I would not inquire whether they were opium-eaters.

3578. With regard to your visit to the chandu shop, I suppose there is no special exception in favour of the Chinese in Calcutta?—Not as to the shops; this was spoken of as their private residence.

3579. The manufacture of chandu and madat can only be carried on under a license, I believe?—I believe so. It is open to any one to make chandu or madat, but practically it is difficult to make it in small quantities, and stopping the manufacture of chandu and madat would practically mean the extinction of opium-smoking by natives of India.

3580. (Mr. Pease.) Under a recent rule no one is permitted to manufacture madat or chandu even for private consumption?—That is the law of Bengal. I may be wrong, I have been absent from India for six months, and there may be a new rule now in force.

3581. (Mr. Mowbray.) If you prohibited licenses you would prohibit the manufacture of chandu altogether?—That is my belief.

3582. At present chandu is manufactured under license?—I believe so.

3583. Therefore by refusing to grant the licenses you would make the manufacture in any shape illegal?—Yes.

3584. That is what you are disposed to recommend?—Yes, with regard to chandu and madat, as used by the natives of India.

3585. You were two years at Rangoon?—Yes.

3586. I do not know whether you have formed any opinion with regard to Burma being on all fours with your experience in India?—I have not had sufficient experience to give an opinion of any value with regard to Burma.

The witness withdrew.

SURGEON-LIEUTENANT-COLONEL O'BRIEN called in and examined.

3599. (Chairman.) I believe you are Professor of Surgery and Descriptive Anatomy in the Calcutta Medical College?—Yes.

3600. Have you had many opportunities of studying the effects of the opium habit on health?—I have had a fair opportunity of doing so, especially as a Civil Surgeon, that is, a District Surgeon, in two large districts in Bengal.

3601. Before you had your present post?—Yes. I was Civil Surgeon of the large district of Burdwan off and on for 3½ or 4 years, and I served in Shahabad, in Behar, for about 18 months.

3602. Did you see a good deal of the opium habit?—I had numerous opportunities of observing it, inasmuch as I lived amongst an opium-eating race to a greater or less degree. I believe opium is more consumed in Behar than in Lower Bengal, but I can say that very little of this habit presented itself to my notice.

3603. What has your experience led you to conclude with regard to the opium habit? In the first place do you distinguish between the opium habit as moderate and as excessive?—Yes, I draw a marked distinction between the two. It would be impossible to recognize a moderate opium-eater. You might as well expect to recognize whether a man drinks tea or coffee. When opium is taken in moderation it has no ill-effect upon the constitution that I am aware of.

3604. What do you say as to the question of excess apart from the subject of disease?—Let me premise by saying that my evidence refers entirely to eating opium. I have

3587. (Mr. Fanshawe.) With regard to what you have stated as to the habit of opium-eating being taken up as a rule in advanced life, you are speaking of Eastern Bengal and Calcutta?—Eastern Bengal and Calcutta.

3588. The experience may be different in other parts of India?—I only speak of my own experience.

3589. The broad result of your general experience is that opium is common to most houses as a domestic remedy?—I should not say it was common, for I believe that a great many houses would be searched without finding any opium at all. The point I wanted to make was this, that if repressive measures are used, they will soon become oppressive, so that those who wish to have opium for legitimate purposes, for disease as well as for the falling of old age, will be unable to get it.

3590. You say that it is commonly used as a domestic remedy in Eastern Bengal?—I believe it is.

3591. (Mr. Wilson.) With regard to your visits to the dens on Thursday, I did not ask you what was the nationality of most of the people?—Most of them were Mahomedans unquestionably. I did not take a note of their nationality. I saw no Chinamen inside the opium clubs. I should think that nine-tenths of those present were Mahomedans. I cannot say whether there were Hindus there or not; those that I remember were distinctly Mahomedans.

3592. You mentioned just now to the Commission that the Chinamen said that these divans or platforms were for the use of those employed about the place?—That is what I understood.

3593. You would not like to tell the Commission that you were convinced of the accuracy of that statement?—I should not like to give an opinion. I only saw a certain number of men. I do not know the actual number employed.

3594. You simply repeat what you saw?—Yes.

3595. You would be sorry to endorse it from your impressions?—I could not endorse it: I do not know.

3596. (Mr. Fanshawe.) You are not prepared to express any opinion on the subject?—I am not prepared to express any opinion on that subject.

3597. (Mr. Mowbray.) Was an explanation given to you of what was *prima facie* an illegal position?—I should be sorry to say that it was illegal. I have no grounds for saying it at all.

3598. (Chairman.) Have you any medical or chemical explanation of the difference in the effects of chandu-smoking and of madat-smoking?—I have no grounds to go upon for giving any opinion. I have heard opinion expressed, but I think they are only fanciful. I know of no real grounds for an opinion.

Surgn.-Lt.-Col. A. Crombie, M.D.

25 Nov. 1898.

Surgn.-Lt.-Col. O'Brien.

no experience whatever of smoking opium. I was not aware that it was smoked at all, or at any rate to any noticeable extent in the two big towns in which I served. I was in Burdwan for 3½ years, I think I knew every hole and corner of the town. I was consulted most extensively by natives; I knew them and was familiar with them, rich and poor. I attended the dispensary every day—two large dispensaries with an aggregate of 300 patients per diem.

3605. You knew that a considerable number of those did use opium?—I knew that a considerable number used it, but I think the number has been exaggerated. I would be inclined to say that the number of adult males using opium in a malarial district like Burdwan did not exceed 5 or 6 per cent. of the total population. Five per cent. would be I think a high estimate of adult males; indeed, I would say elderly males, because I never knew a young opium-eater in my experience.

3606. Will you tell us whether you have heard the evidence given by Dr. Harvey and Dr. Crombie, and whether you substantially agree with that evidence?—Yes, I substantially agree with all that was said by Dr. Harvey, because his experience like my own relates to the eating of opium. Dr. Crombie gave a good deal of information about the smoking of opium as to which I know nothing. There is another point upon which Dr. Crombie gave his opinion and the results of his experience as to the use of opium in larger doses amongst children and people generally in this country. I have had no such experience. I have confined my doses of opium to doses similar to those administered at home, as a rule. Except in the case of opium-eaters, when a much

L

Surgn.-Lt.-
Col. O'Brien.
25 Nov. 1898.

larger dose had to be given. Latterly my experience has been enlarged in the treatment of fevers, and I have come to recognize what Dr. Crombie has also recognised, *viz.*, the disadvantage of quinine in many cases and the undoubted remarkable benefit to be derived from the use of opium.

3607. Would you like to call the attention of the Commission to anything that has come within your own experience?—In 1881 I lived in Burdwan when cholera and fever were enormously prevalent. The death-rate in the last quarter of this year or 1882 exceeded a decimation rate. People died at the rate of about 12 per cent. as far as I can remember in that quarter. Cholera was prevalent and fever prevailed everywhere. Every European in the station was laid low with it. One day I had fever myself and I had a letter from every European in the station asking me to go and see him because he was ill with fever. At that time I had as my assistant a medical practitioner of great intellectual power and professional ability. He was a very weakly man, tall and thin, with a very poor physique. He escaped through all this illness that laid us low on every side. I said to him "How has it happened that you managed to escape, a weakly fellow like you, when we are all knocked down?" "I think," he said, "that I owe my immunity to the fact of taking 3 or 4 grains of opium every day." I have known opium-eaters who have taken over 100 grains.

3608. (*Mr. Pease.*) In what period?—In the 24 hours, the morning dose, consisting of 2 pills about the size of small marbles. Among my acquaintances was a gentleman, respected, benevolent, and intelligent, connected with the Burdwan Raj, occupying a position as Minister in the Raj. He died at an advanced age, about 75. His daily dose was over 100 grains, but he was well nourished, active, rarely ill, and, to the best of my knowledge, exempt from the attacks of malaria which were so fatal in the town. I was consulted by his family and I saw many people in his house, but he was never ill himself. He was a large opium-eater, but he did not suffer in any degree from the opium cachexia. As I look back over my twenty-three years' experience of India, most of which was spent in the mofussil and in Assam, a long period in the hills, and a good deal in Bengal, I can only recollect three or four cases of pronounced opium cachexia, that is, ill health due to opium only. I do not think this opium cachexia could exist without my knowledge.

3609. (*Lord Brassey.*) In your experience would you say that the consumers of opium in moderation were the many, and the immoderate consumers the few?—In my experience I may say that the moderate consumers form the large majority.

3610. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I understand that, except in the point specially mentioned, you substantially agree with Dr. Harvey and Dr. Crombie?—Yes, with reference to eating opium.

3611. With regard to its use as a domestic remedy

The witness withdrew.

Surgn.
Lt.-Col.
J. F. P.
McConnell.

SURGN.-LT.-COL. JAMES FREDERICK PARRY MCCONNELL called in and examined.

3622. (*Chairman.*) I believe you are a Professor of *Materia Medica* in the school here?—Yes.

3623. That would naturally lead you to study the opium question from a professional point of view?—Yes.

3624. What opportunities have you had of observing the opium habit in India?—My opportunities have been confined to Calcutta. I have been stationed in Calcutta nearly the whole of my service.

3625. Has your experience been confined to any class or grade of society or pretty evenly through all grades?—Through all grades. I have been connected with one of the largest native hospitals here, and my practice as a consultant has been one of the largest among the native population.

3626. Will you tell us how far this opium habit in Calcutta prevails?—I have never inquired into the matter particularly, but I should say, roughly speaking, about one per cent.

3627. Of adults not more than one per cent. P.—I think not; my experience would lead me to say not more than one per cent.

3628. In the cases you have observed in which opium has been used habitually, what results have you noticed?—My experience has been that where it has been used habitually, the use with very few exceptions is moderate, and as to the results, so far as I have been able to judge, no harm has been done either morally or physically.

would you say that people keep it in their houses for that purpose or purchase it when they want it?—I think they purchase it when they want it, as far as my knowledge goes.

3612. I believe you are connected with one of the large Insurance Associations?—I am.

3613. Will you tell us the practice of your Association or your experience in connection with it?—My experience in connection with it is that but very few acknowledge the opium habit, and I have no means of detecting it. One of the questions that I have to ask is "Do you consume ganja or opium?" Everybody almost without exception says "no." Occasionally, I dare say, one may take some, and perhaps one in a hundred will acknowledge it. I have no means of detecting it.

3614. You had no cases in which you could say from the man's appearance that he consumed opium?—Of course any one who is a pronounced opium cachectic would not come to me because he would know that he would be rejected; the sub-agent would not bring such a man.

3615. He would be stopped before he came to you?—Yes; I should think so. I never see such cases.

3616. Then practically except for the question being in the proposal form, you would not recognize it in connection with the Insurance Company?—I do not recognize it because I do not see it.

3617. My point is that the Company would equally accept proposals for insurance from persons who take opium and from persons who do not?—For my own part, if a man said that he was a moderate opium-eater, and if his condition was good, I should feel inclined to pass him; but as I have told you, such cases have not really come to me. If I asked the man how much opium he took and he said four grains, I should not consider that a case for rejection.

3618. In your dispensary at Burdwan did you give opium to the people who came with fever?—No, we never used opium for the treatment of fever, unless insomnia occurred.

3619. Did you recommend opium to Europeans under your charge as a prophylactic?—I never recommended it, but I know it was largely used as a prophylactic.

3620. Do you think it was employed in Burdwan in order to cure fever?—Not that I know of. It is employed as a prophylactic in small doses.

3621. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) Do I understand that you agree with the last two witnesses, not only in their opinion as to effects of opium-eating, but also as to the practical difficulties, amounting in their opinion to impossibilities, in limiting the consumption to what is required for medical purpose?—I think it would be absolutely impossible. It would give rise to smuggling and to difficulties of all descriptions which it would take some time to think over and point out. As far as I have thought over the question, the difficulties appear to be practically insurmountable.

3629. Have you seen examples of opium used in excess by itself?—I have.

3630. I should be glad to know whether in any case of that sort, where there has been no sickness or poverty or starvation or semi-starvation, what the effect of the isolated opium habit in excess has been on the state of health?—I have only seen it used in excess in a few cases; I do not suppose I have seen more than three or four, and they have been all in consequence of disease; the habit has been acquired in the first instance in consequence of disease, and has grown until large amounts have been taken.

3631. You have not seen an opium drunkard pure and simple?—No.

3632. From your knowledge generally would you agree with the conclusions arrived at by Dr. Harvey and Dr. Crombie?—Yes.

3633. Have you any further particulars which you wish to give?—No.

3634. (*Mr. Pease.*) I believe you are of opinion that there should be some restriction upon the unlicensed sale of opium by retail vendors? Have you any suggestions to make on that subject?—I do not know how it would be carried out, but I think it would be desirable.

3635. You say it is necessary, in order to prevent suicide?—Yes, because the numbers of cases of suicide are very numerous, and the drug is easily procured. There is some restriction, but it is a slight one. A person cannot

obtain more than one rupee's worth from each shop. That would be more than sufficient for suicidal purposes; but if it were not, there is nothing to prevent a person from going to half a dozen shops and getting a rupee's worth from each. I do not know how it can be worked, but it would be well if some means could be devised of limiting the quantity that could be purchasable.

8636. What do you say is a sufficient quantity to kill a woman?—Ten or twelve grains would be sufficient.

8637. What would a rupee's worth amount to?—430 to 440 grains.

8638. Then a fatal dose might easily be obtained for one rupee?—Yes.

8639. (*Mr. Wilson.*) How much is sufficient to kill?—From 8 to 10 grains.

The witness withdrew.

SURGEON-LIEUTENANT-COLONEL R. C. SANDERS, M.D., called in and examined.

8644. (*Chairman.*) I believe you are Professor of Ophthalmic Medicine and Surgery in the Medical College?—Yes.

8645. Have you in your previous service had many opportunities of observing the opium habit?—I was many years in the North-West Provinces, and when there I came across a considerable number of people who admitted having taken opium. I was in the North-West Provinces from 1874 to 1884.

8646. Did you pay special attention to the opium habit?—I noticed the people carefully.

8647. Did you notice any ill-effects?—I never could see any ill-effects. I had to find out by asking them, and it was only when they had a certain confidence in me that they would tell me; but I have never seen anybody badly affected from the opium habit in any case that I have attended in India.

8648. In cases where you have known opium to be used habitually, were they moderate cases?—Moderate.

8649. Did you see many cases, apart from disease, where the dose is increased by the habitual eater?—I think as people get a little older they slightly increase the dose, but they do not do so to any very large extent. It is

The witness withdrew.

BRAIGADE-SURGEON-LIEUTENANT-COLONEL PURVES, F.R.C.S.E., called in and examined.

8653. (*Chairman.*) Have you had considerable opportunities of witnessing the effects of the opium habit in India?—I have, in my general practice and work during the last 3 years.

8654. In Calcutta?—In different parts of India. For a short time I was in the North-West, then I was in Assam three years; Assam was then part of Bengal. The rest of my service has been in Bengal.

8655. I believe, according to your experience, the consumption of opium in Bengal does not obtrude itself on one's observation in the way that the effects of alcohol do at home?—It does not.

8656. And you do not consider that the moderate use of opium produces evil effects on the physical and moral condition of the people?—I do not.

8657. In malarial tracts do you think that the people look upon the drug as a kind of prophylactic against disease?—Yes.

8658. Are you of opinion that it does help in malarious districts?—That is my opinion. I have known in malarious districts a great number of people take opium in small quantities; they say it relieves them of fever and complications connected with malarial disease, such as dysentery and rheumatism.

8659. What was your experience in Assam?—When I went to Assam almost fresh from home, I was prejudiced against the use of opium in the way it is used in India. At first I thought that some of the miserable cases that came into the hospital were due to opium, but after more experience I found that they had taken opium on account of malarial disease, and that probably it had prolonged life and relieved their sufferings.

8660. You have not seen any real damage to health from the opium habit standing by itself?—I have never seen a case where I could trace death to opium alone, without disease having been present at the same time.

8640. That would only be 2 pice worth?—Yes. I am talking of persons unaccustomed to use opium and buying it simply for the sake of committing suicide.

8641. A person habituated to opium in what might be called moderation would require more?—Yes.

8642. In the same way in your practice, if a person has become what I think you professionally call tolerant of opium, you have to give a larger dose medicinally to accomplish the same purpose than you would give to a person who is not accustomed to it?—That is quite true.

8643. You have no statistics on the subject?—I have roughly worked through my own cases, and I find that last year, 1892, in my own wards in the hospital we had 63 cases of opium-poisoning.

Surgn.-Lt.-Col.
J. F. P.
McConnell.
25 Nov. 1893.

quite an exception for a man to take an enormous dose of opium.

8650. The tolerance becomes greater perhaps?—It may be slightly greater. I do not think it comes on quickly; they do not go on month by month or week by week, but perhaps in five years or so they will slightly increase the dose.

8651. Have you seen any cases of injurious effects from decided excess in the habit?—I have never seen any cases of decided excess.

8652. You have heard the evidence that has been given at great length by Dr. Harvey and Dr. Crombie: may I assume that you agree with their evidence?—I agree with their evidence almost in its entirety. I do not know much about opium-smoking. There is one point to which I should like to refer. Dr. Crombie stated that it was a common opinion amongst the people in this country that the Opium Commission has something to do with the distilleries of whisky and gin. I have heard it in five different places in Calcutta within the last three days, that the whole question has been brought up in order to get more whisky and gin imported into this country. I have tried my best to deny it absolutely; but there is that opinion, and I have no doubt that it will increase.

The witness withdrew.

Surgn.-Lt.-Col.
R. C.
Sanders,
M.D.

Bry.-Surgn.-Lt.-Col.
Purves,
F.R.C.S.E.

8661. Have you seen poverty induced by the opium habit in excess?—Not where I have been able to verify it personally.

8662. Would you agree generally with the evidence that has been given this morning of the effects of opium on health?—I generally agree that the moderate use of opium in this country is rather beneficial than otherwise. If opium were stopped, they would take to much worse things, such as drink and gauja, to a greater extent than at present.

8663. Is there anything else that you would like to state by way of supplementing the evidence that has been given?—The great difficulty is to find out the signs of opium-eating. In this country a great number of respectable inhabitants amongst the middle class natives eat opium to a considerable extent, nobody suspecting them. They carry on their duties in such a way that nobody would suspect them of taking opium. Only a few days ago I met a native gentleman who said that most of his friends who lived near him (about 24), took opium more or less, and that all were driven to it on account of disease and fever and general ailments, and that they were now doing their work in a way that they had never been able to do before they took opium. This gentleman did not take it himself. Only yesterday I discovered to my surprise that two of my best servants had been opium-eaters for years. I had never suspected them.

8664. Is there any further remark you desire to make?—It has been said that the use of opium is a very common cause of suicide. I quite agree with Dr. Harvey that no doubt in different parts of India people have different methods of committing suicide. The other day I asked a native gentleman his opinion, whether he thought prohibition would prevent suicides, and he said, "If opium is to be done away with in order to prevent suicides, clothing will also have to be done away with,

*Surgn.-Lt.-
Col. O'Brien.*
25 Nov. 1898.

larger dose had to be given. Latterly my experience has been enlarged in the treatment of fevers, and I have come to recognize what Dr. Crombie has also recognised, *viz.*, the disadvantage of quinine in many cases and the undoubted remarkable benefit to be derived from the use of opium.

3607. Would you like to call the attention of the Commission to anything that has come within your own experience?—In 1881 I lived in Burdwan when cholera and fever were enormously prevalent. The death-rate in the last quarter of this year or 1882 exceeded a decimation rate. People died at the rate of about 12 per cent. as far as I can remember in that quarter. Cholera was prevalent and fever prevailed everywhere. Every European in the station was laid low with it. One day I had fever myself and I had a letter from every European in the station asking me to go and see him because he was ill with fever. At that time I had as my assistant a medical practitioner of great intellectual power and professional ability. He was a very weakly man, tall and thin, with a very poor physique. He escaped through all this illness that laid us low on every side. I said to him "How has it happened that you managed to escape, a weakly fellow like you, when we are all knocked down?" "I think," he said, "that I owe my immunity to the fact of taking 3 or 4 grains of opium every day." I have known opium-eaters who have taken over 100 grains.

3608. (*Mr. Pease.*) In what period?—In the 24 hours, the morning dose, consisting of 2 pills about the size of small marbles. Among my acquaintances was a gentleman, respected, benevolent, and intelligent, connected with the Burdwan Raj, occupying a position as Minister in the Raj. He died at an advanced age, about 75. His daily dose was over 100 grains, but he was well nourished, active, rarely ill, and, to the best of my knowledge, exempt from the attacks of malaria which were so fatal in the town. I was consulted by his family and I saw many people in his house, but he was never ill himself. He was a large opium-eater, but he did not suffer in any degree from the opium cachexia. As I look back over my twenty-three years' experience of India, most of which was spent in the moussil and in Assam, a long period in the hills, and a good deal in Bengal, I can only recollect three or four cases of pronounced opium cachexia, that is, ill health due to opium only. I do not think this opium cachexia could exist without my knowledge.

3609. (*Lord Brassey.*) In your experience would you say that the consumers of opium in moderation were the many, and the immoderate consumers the few?—In my experience I may say that the moderate consumers form the large majority.

3610. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I understand that, except in the point specially mentioned, you substantially agree with Dr. Harvey and Dr. Crombie?—Yes, with reference to eating opium.

3611. With regard to its use as a domestic remedy

The witness withdrew.

*Surgn.
Lt.-Col.
J. F. P.
McConnell.*

SURGN.-LT.-COL. JAMES FREDERICK PARRY MCCONNELL called in and examined.

3622. (*Chairman.*) I believe you are a Professor of *Materia Medica* in the school here?—Yes.

3623. That would naturally lead you to study the opium question from a professional point of view?—Yes.

3624. What opportunities have you had of observing the opium habit in India?—My opportunities have been confined to Calcutta. I have been stationed in Calcutta nearly the whole of my service.

3625. Has your experience been confined to any class or grade of society or pretty evenly through all grades?—Through all grades. I have been connected with one of the largest native hospitals here, and my practice as a consultant has been one of the largest among the native population.

3626. Will you tell us how far this opium habit in Calcutta prevails?—I have never inquired into the matter particularly, but I should say, roughly speaking, about one per cent.

3627. Of adults not more than one per cent. P.—I think not; my experience would lead me to say not more than one per cent.

3628. In the cases you have observed in which opium has been used habitually, what results have you noticed?—My experience has been that where it has been used habitually, the use with very few exceptions is moderate, and as to the results, so far as I have been able to judge, no harm has been done either morally or physically.

would you say that people keep it in their houses for that purpose or purchase it when they want it?—I think they purchase it when they want it, as far as my knowledge goes.

3612. I believe you are connected with one of the large Insurance Associations?—I am.

3613. Will you tell us the practice of your Association or your experience in connection with it?—My experience in connection with it is that but very few acknowledge the opium habit, and I have no means of detecting it. One of the questions that I have to ask is "Do you consume ganja or opium?" Everybody almost without exception says "no." Occasionally, I dare say, one may take some, and perhaps one in a hundred will acknowledge it. I have no means of detecting it.

3614. You had no cases in which you could say from the man's appearance that he consumed opium?—Of course any one who is a pronounced opium cachectic would not come to me because he would know that he would be rejected; the sub-agent would not bring such a man.

3615. He would be stopped before he came to you?—Yes; I should think so. I never see such cases.

3616. Then practically except for the question being in the proposal form, you would not recognize it in connection with the Insurance Company?—I do not recognize it because I do not see it.

3617. My point is that the Company would equally accept proposals for insurance from persons who take opium and from persons who do not?—For my own part, if a man said that he was a moderate opium-eater, and if his condition was good, I should feel inclined to pass him; but as I have told you, such cases have not really come to me. If I asked the man how much opium he took and he said four grains, I should not consider that a case for rejection.

3618. In your dispensary at Burdwan did you give opium to the people who came with fever?—No, we never used opium for the treatment of fever, unless insomnia occurred.

3619. Did you recommend opium to Europeans under your charge as a prophylactic?—I never recommended it, but I know it was largely used as a prophylactic.

3620. Do you think it was employed in Burdwan in order to cure fever?—Not that I know of. It is employed as a prophylactic in small doses.

3621. (*Mr. Mosbray.*) Do I understand that you agreed with the last two witnesses, not only in their opinion as to effects of opium-eating, but also as to the practical difficulties, amounting in their opinion to impossibilities, in limiting the consumption to what is required for medical purposes?—I think it would be absolutely impossible. It would give rise to smuggling and to difficulties of all descriptions which it would take some time to think over and point out. As far as I have thought over the question, the difficulties appear to be practically insurmountable.

3629. Have you seen examples of opium used in excess by itself?—I have.

3630. I should be glad to know whether in any case of that sort, where there has been no sickness or poverty or starvation or semi-starvation, what the effect of the isolated opium habit in excess has been on the state of health?—I have only seen it used in excess in a few cases. I do not suppose I have seen more than three or four, and they have been all in consequence of disease; the habit has been acquired in the first instance in consequence of disease, and has grown until large amounts have been taken.

3631. You have not seen an opium drunkard pure and simple?—No.

3632. From your knowledge generally would you agree with the conclusions arrived at by Dr. Harvey and Dr. Crombie?—Yes.

3633. Have you any further particulars which you wish to give?—No.

3634. (*Mr. Pease.*) I believe you are of opinion that there should be some restriction upon the unlicensed sale of opium by retail vendors? Have you any suggestions to make on that subject?—I do not know how it would be carried out, but I think it would be desirable.

3635. You say it is necessary, in order to prevent suicide?—Yes, because the numbers of cases of suicide are very numerous, and the drug is easily procured. There is some restriction, but it is a slight one. A person cannot

obtain more than one rupee's worth from each shop. That would be more than sufficient for suicidal purposes; but if it were not, there is nothing to prevent a person from going to half a dozen shops and getting a rupee's worth from each. I do not know how it can be worked, but it would be well if some means could be devised of limiting the quantity that could be purchasable.

3636. What do you say is a sufficient quantity to kill a woman?—Ten or twelve grains would be sufficient.

3637. What would a rupee's worth amount to?—430 to 440 grains.

3638. Then a fatal dose might easily be obtained for one rupee?—Yes.

3639. (*Mr. Wilson.*) How much is sufficient to kill?—From 8 to 10 grains.

The witness withdrew.

SURGEON-LIEUTENANT-COLONEL R. C. SANDERS, M.D., called in and examined.

3644. (*Chairman.*) I believe you are Professor of Ophthalmic Medicine and Surgery in the Medical College?—Yes.

3645. Have you in your previous service had many opportunities of observing the opium habit?—I was many years in the North-West Provinces, and when there I came across a considerable number of people who admitted having taken opium. I was in the North-West Provinces from 1874 to 1884.

3646. Did you pay special attention to the opium habit?—I noticed the people carefully.

3647. Did you notice any ill-effects?—I never could see any ill-effects. I had to find out by asking them, and it was only when they had a certain confidence in me that they would tell me; but I have never seen anybody badly affected from the opium habit in any case that I have attended in India.

3648. In cases where you have known opium to be used habitually, were they moderate cases?—Moderate.

3649. Did you see many cases, apart from disease, where the dose is increased by the habitual eater?—I think as people get a little older they slightly increase the dose, but they do not do so to any very large extent. It is

The witness withdrew.

REGIMENT-SURGEON-LIEUTENANT-COLONEL PURVES, F.R.C.S.E., called in and examined.

3653. (*Chairman.*) Have you had considerable opportunities of witnessing the effects of the opium habit in India?—I have, in my general practice and work during the last 2 years.

3654. In Calcutta?—In different parts of India. For a short time I was in the North-West, then I was in Assam three years; Assam was then part of Bengal. The rest of my service has been in Bengal.

3655. I believe, according to your experience, the consumption of opium in Bengal does not obtrude itself on one's observation in the way that the effects of alcohol do at home?—It does not.

3656. And you do not consider that the moderate use of opium produces evil effects on the physical and moral condition of the people?—I do not.

3657. In malarial tracts do you think that the people look upon the drug as a kind of prophylactic against disease?—Yes.

3658. Are you of opinion that it does help in malarious districts?—That is my opinion. I have known in malarious districts a great number of people take opium in small quantities; they say it relieves them of fever and complications connected with malarial disease, such as dysentery and rheumatism.

3659. What was your experience in Assam?—When I went to Assam almost fresh from home, I was prejudiced against the use of opium in the way it is used in India. At first I thought that some of the miserable cases that came into the hospital were due to opium, but after more experience I found that they had taken opium on account of malarial disease, and that probably it had prolonged life and relieved their sufferings.

3660. You have not seen any real damage to health from the opium habit standing by itself?—I have never seen a case where I could trace death to opium alone, without disease having been present at the same time.

3640. That would only be 2 pice worth?—Yes. I am talking of persons unaccustomed to use opium and buying it simply for the sake of committing suicide.

3641. A person habituated to opium in what might be called moderation would require more?—Yes.

3642. In the same way in your practice, if a person has become what I think you professionally call tolerant of opium, you have to give a larger dose medicinally to accomplish the same purpose than you would give to a person who is not accustomed to it?—That is quite true.

3643. You have no statistics on the subject?—I have roughly worked through my own cases, and I find that last year, 1892, in my own wards in the hospital we had 53 cases of opium-poisoning.

Surgn.-Lt.-Col. J. P. McConnell.
25 Nov. 1893.

quite an exception for a man to take an enormous dose of opium.

3650. The tolerance becomes greater perhaps?—It may be slightly greater. I do not think it comes on quickly; they do not go on month by month or week by week, but perhaps in five years or so they will slightly increase the dose.

3651. Have you seen any cases of injurious effects from decided excess in the habit?—I have never seen any cases of decided excess.

3652. You have heard the evidence that has been given at great length by Dr. Harvey and Dr. Crombie: may I assume that you agree with their evidence?—I agree with their evidence almost in its entirety. I do not know much about opium-smoking. There is one point to which I should like to refer. Dr. Crombie stated that it was a common opinion amongst the people in this country that the Opium Commission has something to do with the distilleries of whisky and gin. I have heard it in five different places in Calcutta within the last three days, that the whole question has been brought up in order to get more whisky and gin imported into this country. I have tried my best to deny it absolutely; but there is that opinion, and I have no doubt that it will increase.

The witness withdrew.

Surgn.-Lt.-Col. R. C. Sanders, M.D.

Brg.-Surgn.-Lt.-Col. Purves, F.R.C.S.E.

3661. Have you seen poverty induced by the opium habit in excess?—Not where I have been able to verify it personally.

3662. Would you agree generally with the evidence that has been given this morning of the effects of opium on health?—I generally agree that the moderate use of opium in this country is rather beneficial than otherwise. If opium were stopped, they would take to much worse things, such as drink and gauja, to a greater extent than at present.

3663. Is there anything else that you would like to state by way of supplementing the evidence that has been given?—The great difficulty is to find out the signs of opium-eating. In this country a great number of respectable inhabitants amongst the middle class natives eat opium to a considerable extent, nobody suspecting them. They carry on their duties in such a way that nobody would suspect them of taking opium. Only a few days ago I met a native gentleman who said that most of his friends who lived near him (about 24), took opium more or less, and that all were driven to it on account of disease and fever and general ailments, and that they were now doing their work in a way that they had never been able to do before they took opium. This gentleman did not take it himself. Only yesterday I discovered to my surprise that two of my best servants had been opium-eaters for years. I had never suspected them.

3664. Is there any further remark you desire to make?—It has been said that the use of opium is a very common cause of suicide. I quite agree with Dr. Harvey that no doubt in different parts of India people have different methods of committing suicide. The other day I asked a native gentleman his opinion, whether he thought prohibition would prevent suicides, and he said, "If opium is to be done away with in order to prevent suicides, clothing will also have to be done away with,

Brg.-Surgn.-Lt.-Col. Purves, F.R.C.S.E.
25 Nov. 1898.

because there are far more suicides from ropes made from garments than there are from opium." During the last year out of 35 police cases sent in as suicides, only 6 were from opium. Twenty-seven cases were cases of suicidal hanging, two were from drowning, and six were from opium.

3665. Those numbers are official?—Yes, from the Howrah District.

3666. Is there any further remark you desire to make?—I have only to say that to stop the growth and sale of opium in India would be almost impossible on account of the amount of smuggling that would go on.

The witness withdrew.

Surgn.-Lt.-Col. E. G. Russell.

SURGEON-LIEUTENANT-COLONEL E. G. RUSSELL called in and examined.

3667. (Chairman.) Have you had considerable opportunities of studying the habitual use of opium?—Yes. Considerable in Assam for several years. For seven years I was in Assam, and since then in a great many districts of Lower Bengal, 24 Parganas, Hooghly, Rajshahi, Nuddea and Patna.

3668. You mentioned Assam first, I think?—I was in Assam first. I was there seven years.

3669. What part of Assam?—Lower Assam, in the district of Kamrup.

3670. Is that a large town?—Kamrup is a district, the town is Gauhati.

3671. What percentage of the population are opium-eaters?—From 5 to 10 per cent.

3672. What province does that apply to?—To the Province of Bengal.

3673. You mean 5 or 10 per cent. of the total population of adult males?—Adult males.

3674. Have you observed any racial difference in the susceptibility to the different Indian races?—No, I cannot say that I have.

3675. Have you had any experience in Orissa?—None in Orissa. No personal experience.

3676. What is your experience with regard to the diffusion of the habit through the mass of the population?—High and low. I do not think that the opium habit is confined to any special social stratum of the people.

3677. What is your impression as to effects of opium-eating on the health and morals of the people?—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.

3678. You do not know of any disease produced by the habitual use of opium?—None. I do not think that any disease or any susceptibility to disease is produced by the moderate and habitual use of opium.

3679. You have heard the views expressed by Dr. Harvey and Dr. Crombie: does your experience coincide with theirs?—Practically.

3680. So far as the effect on health and morals is concerned?—Yes.

3681. Is there anything else you wish to add?—I may add a word to what the other medical witnesses have said as to the opinion that is extant with regard to the connection of the anti-opium agitation with the interests of the

The witness withdrew.

Surgn.-Maj. R. Cobb, M.D.

SURGEON-MAJOR R. COBB, M.D.

3688. (Chairman.) You are a Surgeon-Major in the Indian Medical Service, I believe?—I am.

3690. How long have you been in the service?—About 17 years.

3691. What have been your duties during that time?—During a greater part of the time I have been in civil employ in Lower and Eastern Bengal. I have had charge of some hospitals in various parts of Bengal.

3692. Have you had charge of any lunatic asylums?—Yes. I am at present in charge of the Dacca Lunatic Asylum. I have held executive and medical charge of Central and District Jails, and I have charge of the Milford Hospital at Dacca.

3693. Have you exercised your profession among Europeans and Natives?—Yes.

3694. In what part?—In Dacca.

3695. How far, in your large experience, do you think the opium habit has extended amongst the classes you have to do with?—I estimate from about 3 to 5 per cent. of Hindus in Dacca and the neighbouring parts.

3696. Do you mean adults or the whole population?—The whole population.

distilleries of home. The fact that it is groundless will scarcely interfere with the spread of the belief among the population of India.

3682. (Mr. Wilson.) I think you are the author of a book on malaria?—Yes.

3683. I have a copy of that before me published in 1860. Do you adhere to the views therein expressed, or have you modified them materially since you wrote that book?—I have to some extent modified them. I have had 13 years' more experience.

3684. You say in the second chapter:—"The opium-eater enjoys considerable immunity from malarial affections, in the early stage—the first few years of indulgence in the habit, before organic visceral changes are set up, and the general shattering of constitution results, which prematurely break down the consumer of opium, and render him an easy prey to diseases of every kind." And further on there is something of the same kind as to the opinion of other surgeons, which would look as if you thought that it did some good at the beginning, but ultimately destroyed the man?—The mischievous effects of it are confined to the opium sot, the drunkard, the excessive habitual user.

3685. You refer to the "opium-eater," which would hardly convey the impression of an opium sot?—It is to be taken with that meaning, as you will see if you look at the context. I desire it to be so taken.

3686. Further on you say:—"The prevalence of this habit is the curse of our jail populations in Lower Assam. No work can be got out of the long-confirmed opium-eater." That does not seem to convey to an ordinary lay reader the idea that you speak of an opium sot?—It is the opium sot that I am speaking of, as will be seen from the context in the next few pages.

3687. Further on you say:—"The observations of several surgeons, of extensive experience in opium-eating regions, confirms the popular belief that the opium-eater, in the early stages of the habit, while as yet not constitutionally broken by its long continuance, does, as a matter of fact, enjoy considerable immunity from malarial affections." I think you will agree that the term "long continuance" is hardly the same as excessive use?—It means excessive and long continued use.

3688. You quote, apparently with approval to Dr. Garrod in his *Materia Medica* that "there are other remedies which possess greater anti-periodic powers, without the narcotic properties." You agree with that probably?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

3697. Then that would be about 20 per cent. of the adult population; is it so common as that?—Very common; it may be as much as 20 per cent.

3698. Is it confined to one class?—No; the Mahomedans take it to a greater extent than the Hindus.

3699. Do the rich and poor take it?—Yes.

3700. Is any stigma attached to the practice?—Not to the moderate use; only to opium-smoking.

3701. Is opium-smoking unfashionable in Dacca?—It is not fashionable amongst the higher classes; the poorer, lower class people may smoke to some slight extent.

3702. They smoke madat?—I do not know whether it is madat or chandu; I do not know the composition.

3703. I believe madat is smoked in an ordinary pipe like tobacco?—I do not know; I see it so little; one does not come across it.

3704. After all your experience do you think that the opium habit is an innocuous habit in India?—I believe the moderate use of opium to be quite an innocuous habit.

3705. In your district do you consider that on the whole the use of opium does the people more good than if they

did not use it?—I believe in a large number of cases it does, essentially.

3706. Do you think that without it the public health would suffer?—I think it would deteriorate if they did not use it.

3707. Of course you recognise that it does produce ill-effects when taken in excess?—I have never been able to distinguish between the ill-effects of an excessive use of opium and the effects of the diseases for which the opium is taken. Men are admitted to the jail who are said to be excessive eaters and smokers, and they beg for opium, but I have always found that they were suffering from chronic disease.

3708. You have had medical charge of hospitals and jails?—Yes.

3709. Have you seen anybody brought to the hospital from the results of opium-eating?—Never. I have seen them in jails, as I have explained, but not in hospitals.

3710. You have never had any applications for treatment for the opium habit?—No.

3711. Was it your practice to cut off the supply of opium-eating prisoners?—In nearly all cases the supply was cut off immediately. Just as the use of tobacco is prohibited.

3712. Did you cut off the supply of opium to the prisoners?—In nearly every case.

3713. Not in all cases?—Not in all. There are some cases in which men are admitted with chronic diarrhoea and in which I have deemed it wise to continue the habit, at any rate for a time.

3714. With regard to the others, do you stop it at once?—In the case of moderate eaters I am in the habit of stopping it at once.

3715. In the case of people who take 10 or 12 or 14 grains a day you stop it gradually?—I try to let them down gradually.

3716. Does that represent the common practice in India do you think?—The common practice is to stop it at once in the case of moderate eaters. The excessive eaters are very few. Perhaps you may come across one case in a year in a large jail with 1,800 prisoners.

3717. Have you seen much suffering from stopping opium in the case of prisoners?—Only in those rare cases in which chronic diarrhoea exists; then diarrhoea breaks out and causes a certain amount of suffering.

3718. Sometimes very sharp suffering in the case of these excessive users?—For a short time very considerable suffering.

3719. For a few days, or weeks?—Perhaps a few weeks if the opium is stopped suddenly.

3720. One witness told us that the work done in jail by habitual opium-smokers was apt to fall short of what it ought to be if the opium was withheld; have you noticed that?—No, except in those rare cases.

The witness withdrew.

SURGEON-CAPTAIN J. H. TULL

3733. (*Chairman.*) I think your experience with regard to the use of opium has been confined to the Lower Provinces?—Almost entirely as Civil Surgeon of Puri, which is a large district in Orissa, as Health Officer of that district, and as Medical Officer of the Presidency Jail here, and of the Jail in Puri; that has been principally where my experience has been, apart from such use of opium as is made regimentally, among transport coolies and the like.

3739. I believe your experience has been that opium is largely consumed?—I believe it to be largely consumed; I know it from my experience to be very considerably consumed.

I have seen in Puri itself, which is yearly filled by a large number of pilgrims, lakhs of people; and being Health Officer in charge under the Lodging-house Act, and having personally examined all these places, I say without hesitation that among these persons opium is freely used.

3740. (*Mr. Wilson.*) What are they?—The principal inhabitants of the Province of Orissa are Ooryas.

3741. (*Chairman.*) Have you seen any ill-effects from the moderate use of opium?—From the moderate use I have never seen any.

3742. What have you observed in regard to the excessive use?—It has been stated to me that certain

3721. May one assume that the majority of these prisoners would be opium-users?—Yes.

3722. You agree substantially with what you have heard?—Yes.

3723. Have you anything else to add?—I think that sufficient stress has not been laid on the use of small moderate doses of opium as a dietetic. In the damp climates of Eastern Bengal the poor natives are in the habit of eating largely of rice, and a peculiar sensitiveness of the bowels seems to exist in those damp climates. As a man advances in age, digestion fails to some extent, and the food is hurried through the intestines. Opium is a remedy to prevent this. The effect of hurrying food through the intestines is to cause diarrhoea, dysentery and other allied affections. Opium in small doses prevents this, and it is largely used among the poor in Eastern Bengal.

3724. That seems paradoxical to us medical men from England?—It does.

3725. You see a distinct difference?—It is in consequence of the large rice meals they take.

3726. Have you noticed constipation to be a troublesome symptom in the case of opium-eaters?—Not in the moderate use.

3727. When they take their food well?—When these men are advanced in life it helps them to digest their food.

3728. Are they usually spare and thin?—No.

3729. You have not noticed any loss of flesh?—Only in the case of excessive eaters; in which disease may have equally had something to do with the sparseness.

3730. Have you anything else to say?—I do not think that any restriction can be placed on the use of opium. Indeed, I think it should be distributed more widely. The Government of Bengal lately sent quinine to all parts of the country through the post offices, and I think it would be a good thing if opium were sent in a similar way and distributed with equal facility.

3731. You have had no experience of madat-smoking?—No; very little.

3732. (*Mr. Pease.*) Is there any public feeling in Dacca on the subject of opium consumption—any feeling adverse to the practice?—No, except with regard to those smokers, and they are not much thought of.

3733. Were you in Dacca in the spring of 1892?—No, I was not.

3734. You cannot give me any information with regard to a meeting that was held there at that time at which resolutions were passed strongly adverse to the opium trade?—No.

3735. (*Mr. Wilson.*) You have been speaking chiefly about opium-eating?—Yes.

3736. A question was put to you about prisoners who had been in the habit of opium-smoking; perhaps that was only a slip, and you spoke generally about eating?—Yes; I had seen one or two cases of opium-smoking.

3737. But what you have said about prisoners referred principally to eating?—Yes.

WALKER called in and examined.

persons admitted into the jails in an emaciated condition are excessive opium-eaters, but I am utterly unable to say from any symptoms that I have seen that the man has been suffering from opium-eating rather than from starvation. I do not believe it possible for any one to distinguish an excessive opium-eater.

3743. Have you ever made a *post-mortem* examination of an excessive opium-eater?—I have made several in jails of persons who have been said to be opium-eaters, but I have had no knowledge on the subject, and I say further that such knowledge is impossible except from the statements that are made.

3744. There is a great contrast in that respect between alcohol and opium?—Distinctly. There is no such degeneration in any organ of the body as is seen in the case of alcohol. There is a certain amount of congestion of the vessels of the brain with its concomitant reactions, nothing farther, but that is from poisonous doses, and it is only a temporary, not a permanent lesion.

3745. It appears that apprenticeship to the opium habit is very much like apprenticeship to smoking?—Very much indeed.

3746. For what purpose do you think people usually begin the habit?—I think partly from the tradition that opium is useful for disease, which they find to be confirmed

Surgn.-Capt.
J. H. T.
Walker.

Surgn.-Capt. J. H. T. Walsh.
25 Nov. 1899.

by experience; also partly from social habit. Persons who take opium find enjoyable effects from it, and it becomes a use amongst them as wine does amongst other people. Then in India, where the standard of health is always low, even for the most healthy, it is used to combat various pains, aches, and diseases.

3747. You mean chiefly in malarial districts?—Not only there, but very largely among the people; without any prescription from the doctor. A man takes opium because it is traditionally good for disease, and the tradition is borne out by experience.

3748. Have you noticed the practice of giving opium to infants?—I have no absolute instances to bring forward, and I can only repeat what is the general opinion as to the custom. It is stated by the natives themselves, and I agree entirely with Dr. Crombie on the subject that it is a common practice among mothers, and that it extends to European children who are nursed by ayahs, much to their injury.

3749. It is injurious when given to a European child?—I take it that large doses would be injurious, but I have no personal knowledge on the subject; I simply say that a large dose would be injurious to any child not accustomed to it.

3750. Have you had any experience of the effect of malarial disease in the district of Dacca?—I know nothing at all about the Dacca district.

3751. In Orissa?—Certainly. I was in charge of the large native hospital in Puri, and as Civil Surgeon I had to direct the energies of my assistants in the smaller dispensaries throughout the district.

3752. Did you find cases of enlarged spleen?—Yes, but fevers accompanied by enlarged spleens are not so common as the type of fever not so accompanied.

3753. There is more than one type?—I believe there are two distinct diseases which have got muddled up under the head of "malaria."

3754. You have not encountered these enlarged spleens in infants?—Not actually in infants, but in very young children.

3755. Two or three years old?—From one to four or five.

3756. Do you attribute that to malarial influence?—Always.

3757. Do you agree with the evidence we have heard?—Yes, generally.

3758. You think that to cut off the supply of opium to the people of these districts would do more harm than good?—I think distinctly it would do more harm than good.

3759. Have you any further information that you would like to lay before the Commission?—I agree entirely with Dr. Cobb in his explanation of the dietetic use of opium. The diet of the native of India is to start with most indigestible and productive of a loose form of fœces. I think that

opium would probably prevent their suffering from diarrhoea produced by unwholesome dietary articles which from their poverty they are obliged to eat. There are some forms of rice which the natives would tell you at once are bad because they produce diarrhoea, but the poor man is obliged to eat them because he can get no other. With regard to the fact of opium being easily obtainable, it must have occurred to every Civil Surgeon to have opium sent to him by the Magistrate of the district in which he has lived, as confiscated, that he may see whether it is fit for human use. Of course it always is. It is generally adulterated with sugar, and sometimes with lime. Although I have been Civil Surgeon only a short time in the district, on eight or ten occasions large lumps of opium, as big as one's fist, have been confiscated and sent to me to state whether I considered that they were fit for human use or not. Having stated that they were, I returned them. It is quite easy to obtain opium; and any attempt at a preventive service when dealing with those who, so far from preventing would assist people to attain it would be a more waste of time.

3760. (*Mr. Wilson.*) You are aware that opium is a much higher price in Orissa than in other places?—I am not aware of it.

3761. Do you consider that Orissa is a very malarious district?—In parts, but there are parts that are extremely healthy. You can obtain evidence of its malarial condition from the Sanitary Commissioner, who ten months ago presented a special report on the subject.

3762. Some parts are healthy and some bad?—Yes. It is more or less due to geological distribution. The hilly north-west portions are not malarious.

3763. Do you agree with the opinion that has been expressed that where people are very poor and have great difficulty in getting food opium helps them?—It helps them to bear up. One must admit that it would be far better if they 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.

3764. You mentioned particularly Puri; where is that?—It is one of the most sacred cities in India; and it contains the second largest Hindu Juggernaut Temple.

3765. Is the town a healthy place?—The town itself is particularly unhealthy. It is kept away from the sea breeze by high banks and by the European quarter. During the rains the greater part of it is under water.

3766. Are the people poor?—Not very poor, except in certain confined districts. They make a very rich living out of the pilgrims who visit the place. The pilgrim is often poor when he gets there, and poorer when he goes away.

3767. Do you know what is the death-rate?—I ought to know perfectly well as I have written reports on it, but I cannot carry it in my head.

The witness withdrew.

Surgn.-Lt. Col. Crombie, M.D.

SURGEON-LIEUTENANT-COLONEL CROMBIE, M.D., recalled.

3768. (*Chairman.*) I believe you wish to make a statement?—I wish to explain what I meant when I alluded to the stopping of the manufacture of chandu and madat. I was asked if I would advocate the stopping of the manufacture of madat and chandu. I wish to say I am not here to advocate any policy. I merely express an opinion as to the comparative deleteriousness of certain ways of using opium. When I expressed an opinion as to the clos-

ing of those places of manufacture it had reference to the one thing which is constantly in my mind, that is, that the subject of opium is inextricably mixed up with that of alcohol. If you can close a number of chandu shops without increasing the consumption of alcohol, I would do so; but if there is a doubt that they would take to alcohol instead of opium, I would say, leave them alone.

Mr. J. G. Alexander, L.L.B.

MR. JOSEPH G. ALEXANDER, LL.B., recalled.

3769. (*Lord Brassey.*) I believe you wish to make a statement?—I observe from the evidence given this morning by Dr. Harvey that in my cross-examination I failed to note an important distinction between the suggestions put to me by Sir James Lyall and those put forward by our Society in paragraph 9 of its general memorial to Lord Kimberley, and thus appeared to accept Sir James Lyall's views as to

our proposals. We have never urged that opium should be sold only on medical certificate, which should be going much beyond the law at present in force in the United Kingdom. Our proposal is that the sale of the drug should, in India as in England, be entrusted to responsible and qualified persons, with the additional provision that these persons should have no interest in the sale of the drug.

Adjourned to Tuesday next at 10-30.

At the Council Chamber, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

FOURTEENTH DAY.

Tuesday, 28th November 1893.

PRESENT:

SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D. (IN THE CHAIR).

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B.
SIR JAMES B. LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
MR. R. G. C. MOWBRAY, M.P.
" A. U. FANSHAW.

MR. ARTHUR PHASE.
" HARIDAS VERHARIDAS DESAL.
" H. J. WILSON, M.P.

MR. J. PRESCOTT HEWETT, C.I.E., *Secretary.*

DR. KAILAS CHUNDER BOSE called in and examined.

3770. (*Chairman.*) I believe you are President of the Calcutta Medical Society?—I am.

3771. Are you officially connected with the Government?—I am an independent practitioner.

3772. Are you engaged in private practice in Calcutta?—Yes.

3773. What opportunities have you had of studying the effects of the opium habit?—I have been practising here, in Calcutta, for upwards of eighteen years. I have practised mostly among the people of Rajputana, the North-West-Provinces, the Central Provinces, and Bombay and Madras. I also pay professional visits to Burmese and Chinese people stopping here, in Calcutta. These men are more or less addicted to the use of opium.

3774. How far does your experience lead you to consider that the opium habit prevails amongst your countrymen here?—Amongst the permanent residents of Calcutta only 10 per cent. of the people actually take opium, whilst amongst those who come from other portions of the country, nearly 20 per cent. use opium in some shape or other.

3775. So that the practice is very generally diffused among adults?—Yes, they commence it after a definite period of their adult lives,—probably after they have attained the age of 35 or 36. But such is not the rule of the people of Rajputana, they practise the habit at a comparatively early age. In the lying-in room pillules are given into the mouths of new-born babies.

3776. What is the result of your experience which seems to have been considerable, as to the effects on the health and physical state?—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 influences.

3777. What would you call a moderate quantity of opium?—From 2 to 10 grains I would call a moderate use.

3778. Is there a tendency to increase the dose?—Not the slightest tendency, except in exceptional cases.

3779. Have you noticed that it had any deteriorating effect upon their moral characters?—They do not manifest any symptoms of demoralisation. On the contrary, they are harmless people.

3780. Have you anything to say with regard to their mental acuteness and intelligence?—It does not deteriorate the intellect of the habitual consumers; on the contrary, I should say it acts as a stimulant to their brains. The Marwaris, who are noted for opium-eating, are the most intelligent class of merchants in India.

3781. May I take it that you are speaking from an intimate personal knowledge of the lives of those gentlemen who use opium habitually?—I am.

3782. You have an amount of intimate personal knowledge which is scarcely within the reach of a European?—Exactly so.

3783. No doubt you have seen cases of the excessive use of opium?—I have seen cases of the excessive use of opium—excessive according to my estimation of the dose of the drug, not according to their estimation. I have seen a religious mendicant in my presence take about Rs. 3 as 8 worth of opium. That would be 11 or 12 tolas of crude opium. If you do not doubt my veracity, I may tell you that he is a perfect model of health and vigour; he can walk for miles together without being tired.

3784. You consider that to be an instance of high tolerance for opium?—Yes.

3785. Have you seen injurious effects from opium-eating?—I have not yet been able to trace out any injurious or deleterious effect of opium upon the habitual eaters; especially in the case of my patients, although they are addicted to this vice, if you call it so: I have never seen any injurious effect upon the constitution.

3786. Do you consider that there is a higher tolerance for opium among the Marwaris than amongst the Hindu population?—I do not think so.

3787. What is your opinion as to the effect of opium as a popular remedy in malarious districts against the various ailments of those districts?—Opium and its preparations are powerful antidotes against malarious fever. I have had some experience in the matter, and if you permit me, I will describe it to you. During the autumn every year, people come down from the Tarsi,—from the Darjeeling hills, with malarious fever, and enlarged spleens. They say that because they did not abide by the instructions of the opium-eaters they contracted the disease. The opium-eaters in that place are notably a healthy class of people.

3788. They are not so liable to enlarged spleens?—No.

3789. What is your impression of the way in which the opium habit is generally begun, what induces people to take to it?—On inquiry from patients who have contracted the habit, we find they are almost certain to say that they took it for some physical infirmities—for rheumatic pains, rheumatism or chronic bronchitis. I do not believe this statement; the habit is a fashion; opium is used as a luxury by the people.

3790. You mean much as we take tobacco or wine?—Exactly so.

3791. But there is of course an additional incentive in cases of the opium habit in the way of beginning; because opium is an anodyne and hypnotic, and wine and tobacco have not that medicinal effect?—I should consider opium at the commencement may exert a stimulating effect upon the constitution of the people, and that is the reason why they take to the habit.

3792. We may assume from your observation, that in the habitual opium-eater, the hypnotic effect does not appear?—Sometimes it appears, because the hypnotic effect of opium has been moderate, the man possessing his faculties and energies in first-rate order. Still there is a tendency towards sleep, in some cases I have observed it, especially in elderly people.

*Dr.
Kailas
Chunder
Bose.*
28 Nov. 1893.

Dr.
Kailas
Chunder
Bose.

3 Nov. 1898.

3793. Do you regard that as unfavourable?—No, it does not injure the health; the man can be roused in a moment.

3794. Of course you cannot test the anodyne property unless there is pain for it to quell?—That is so.

3795. What has been your experience with regard to opium-smoking preparations?—There are two methods of smoking opium, one is called madat, and the other is called chandu. The madat is generally taken by the lower class of people, Hindus and Mahomedans; whilst chandu is generally taken by the comparatively higher class of men. Only a nominal percentage of the permanent residents of Calcutta take chandu. Opium-smoking does not interfere with the process of healing of wounds. I have performed serious surgical operations upon chandu-smokers with the most satisfactory results. Amongst the people of Bengal, however, opium-smoking has a tendency to deteriorate the health to a certain extent. Upon close observation, I have come to this conclusion. As I have said before, opium-smokers belong to the low class of people, not blest with a convenient share of prosperity. They have only one scanty meal, and they generally employ their time in preparing the opium stuff, and they neglect their food. That is the only reason why their decay is so notably marked in their appearance. The Chinese who take to opium-smoking at a comparatively early age, do not suffer from any such premature decay.

3796. Reverting for a moment to opium-eating, have you observed whether habitual opium-eaters if they become poor suffer in health in any way, can you say that it is from the opium habit, and not merely from poverty?—No.

3797. Have you any further observations that you would like to make with regard to the effect of opium upon the health and the mental and the moral character of opium-eaters?—Opium-eaters are generally a quiet sort of people, and even when they take opium in very large quantities, they are still a peaceful class of citizens. Opium is in no way destructive to its consumers; it is perfectly inoffensive to their friends, they are less prone to criminal offences. Altogether opium-eaters, as a rule, are a peaceful class of citizens.

3798. There are some questions you might answer as a simple citizen. Do you consider that the people of this country would view prohibitive measures with regard to the growth of the poppy with satisfaction or approval?—It would simply create dissatisfaction. The poppy is taken by some class of people as a vegetable, and they prepare curries and chutnies out of poppy capsules. The people of Marwar are known to take green young poppy plants as an article of food. I have seen people living in Calcutta take curries prepared from opium capsules. Those capsules they procure from their own gardens. They cultivate poppy capsules simply for the purpose of making curries. Besides this, the poppy is generally used by people of all classes in Bengal. Poppy-oil is extensively used in this country by confectioners, and it is also used as an ingredient of green and white paint. The poppy is now extensively grown in every part of the country. You might see a few plants in the Calcutta gardens; but here they are planted for the purpose of bearing beautiful flowers.

3799. Have you anything further you wish to say on the subject?—There are one or two things I should like to say with regard to prohibitive measures. I do not think prohibitive measures are at all needed in this country. If prohibitive measures were to be adopted at all, it would simply encourage smuggling and the surreptitious cultivation of the poppy. Notwithstanding the severity of the law and the vigilant eye with which the officials connected with the Opium Department take care that the Act should not be contravened, smuggling is of daily occurrence. I have seen people at Burrā Bazar get their daily supply from their own native places, as well as opium, which comes into Calcutta quite surreptitiously from Malwa. Most of the gentlemen prefer Malwa opium to Bengal opium. I do not think that prohibitive measures would be effective; and besides that, they are not needed. Opium, of course, is a social necessary and is indispensable in receiving nobles, chiefs and men of rank among the Rajputs, both Mahomedans and Hindus, and the people of Ahmedabad and Surat. I know of an instance where a mound and a half of opium was consumed in celebrating the funeral ceremony of a moderately rich old man. The process of welcoming guests with opium, either in the form of a decoction or high scented extracts, is called Kusumba. Opium is not restricted to men only: it is also given to domestic animals, bulls, camels, and horses. The Kutch people use it largely in their stables; they give it to their horses simply to make them strong.

3800. Is that from your personal knowledge?—I have received information from some friends who came from Kutch, and I have also seen it recorded in a book.

3801. We have heard something about opium being used as an aphrodisiac; you know, no doubt, as a highly educated medical man that in modern medicine we scarcely recognise the existence of any special substance which acts as an aphrodisiac?—I do not believe that it possesses any aphrodisiac powers, neither do the people of Malwa take it for that purpose.

3802. You do not think it is taken for that purpose, so far as your own experience is concerned?—I do not think so.

3803. (Mr. Wilson.) Would you tell us whether the greater part of your evidence relates to smoking or to eating or to drinking opium?—Different sets of people observe different modes of taking opium. Some prefer to take it in the form of crude opium; whilst others prefer to make extracts out of it. They have got separate formulae for preparing it and mixing it with saffron, musk, and camphor and other ingredients to make boluses or pills. Others prefer to take it in the form of a pure decoction. I have seen some of the Marwaris take poppy capsules, soak them in hot water, and then strain and drink the fluid.

3804. I asked you whether the greater part of your evidence referred to smoking or eating or drinking?—Opium-eating and drinking more particularly.

3805. Is it your opinion that the consumption of opium has been daily increasing?—It is.

3806. Do you regard that with satisfaction?—Yes.

3807. You are glad that it is increasing?—I should say that, because I know that opium acts as an antidote to many diseases; it acts as a stimulant, and it wards off the depressing effect of an Indian climate, especially in the lower part of Bengal, where people are so subject to malarious fever and asthma.

3808. Would you be glad to see the general consumption doubled?—Of course I do not like to go so far as to say the usual quantity should be doubled. I should allow it to patients in a hospital; and if I could introduce the system into jail, I would do so. I think it would be economical, as the people would be able to work better under its influence.

3809. Do you consider that the abuse of opium is not in the least destructive to its consumers?—By abuse I mean when opium is taken in immoderate quantities—more than 20 grains. I know people who take one tola of opium every day—some of the higher class men, and they are still healthy and quite peaceful. One tola would be more than 200 grains.

3810. In your opinion does opium-smoking shorten life?—This much I can say, that the Marwaris, who are habitual opium-eaters, and who consume opium in some shape or another, live longer than the abstemious Bengali gentlemen.

3811. Is it your opinion that opium-smoking does not in the least interfere with society?—That is my opinion.

3812. I believe you have performed serious surgical operations on chandu-smokers?—I have.

3813. Do you recommend alcohol for dietetic purposes?—Certainly not. Alcohol is decidedly more injurious than opium. I have some special arguments against the use of alcohol and the introduction of alcohol into this country.

3814. I am afraid you do not understand my question. My question was, do you recommend alcohol in the form of beer or wine or spirits for daily dietetic use?—I do not.

3815. Have you any Europeans amongst your patients?—I have Eurasians, no Europeans.

3816. Do you recommend opium to them for daily dietetic use?—No, I do not recommend it, unless it is urgently required for medicinal purposes, for some special disease, for neuralgia, or something like that, to relieve the patient of pain and suffering. I do not recommend it otherwise.

3817. As far as you know, may I take it that the universal conviction of educated medical men is that for Europeans opium is not desirable for dietetic purposes?—I am prepared to say that opium taken for dietetic purposes exercises no deleterious effect upon the health of the people.

3818. My question was whether in your opinion medical men do recommend opium for daily dietetic use for their patients?—Not unless it is urgently needed. If a European patient were to consult me about his living in a marshy place, I should at once recommend him to use small doses of opium daily.

3819. Would you consider that a medical man who did recommend the regular dietetic use of opium was doing a very evil thing for his patient?—It depends entirely upon the discretion of the medical man who recommended it. If he thought it were indispensably necessary for the health and well-being of his patients, he would be perfectly justified in recommending it. As a medical opinion I should say that a medical man ought to recommend opium, or rather prefer opium to wine or alcohol as a dietetic thing.

3820. Did you ever know a medical man who did recommend it so?—No.

3821. You never did it yourself?—No.

3822. I think you said you regarded opium as a stimulant?—Yes, to a certain extent; not always.

3823. In that sense you would compare it in some degree with alcohol?—As far as the stimulating effect goes I should say we can compare it with the stimulating effect of alcohol, but we cannot compare it as far as the physiological action is concerned. Alcohol, of course, exercises a deleterious effect upon the health of the people who drink it. The intoxication of alcohol is prolonged whilst that of opium is only transitory.

3824. I suppose you have seen a great deal of malaria?—Yes.

3825. Have you ever prescribed opium alone as a cure for malaria?—I have not—not crude opium.

3826. If you had a patient who was accustomed to take opium regularly you would have to prescribe him a much larger dose, would you not, to produce the effect you desired?—No, not at all. Opium is given to relieve pain and check diarrhoea, and when an opium-eater comes to me and complains of diarrhoea I prescribe some other astringents; I should not give an increased dose of opium.

3827. Where a patient has been accustomed to the continuous use of opium, will it not require a larger dose to produce a medicinal or curative effect than in the case of a patient who was not accustomed to use it?—Yes.

3828. Therefore the more opium a man takes, the larger your medicinal doses would have to be?—A medical man is required to use discretion.

3829. If you were living in a malarious district where people do not use opium, would you recommend them all to begin using it in small quantities?—Yes, the poor people; I would at once advise them to use opium.

3830. Generally?—Yes; generally.

3831. I think you told us that the Bengalis commonly begin the habit after they are thirty-five years old or something like that?—Yes.

3832. Are persons of that age more liable to malaria than other people?—No. Malaria attacks elderly people as well as babies and young people.

3833. If people take opium as a precaution against malaria, I do not understand why they do not begin it earlier. Can you explain that?—I cannot explain it. If they commence the habit at a comparatively early age, it will be a perfectly safe and wise thing for them to do.

3834. If it is usually taken in old age, would not you expect that those more liable to malaria would be the greatest consumers?—Not necessarily. It depends upon the preference of the individual. If persons know that it always succeeds in checking malarious fever, they take it.

3835. I was not speaking of individuals. Taking the people of a district, would you not expect to find that where there is most malaria there the most opium is consumed?—I have no experience about malarious districts. I have never been out of Calcutta. I am forty-two years old, and I only once went out of Calcutta. I therefore have no experience. Generally people come from malarious districts for treatment, and I consult their views on the matter.

3836. I think you are President of the Calcutta Medical Society?—Yes.

3837. Can you tell us how many members that Society has?—Two hundred.

3838. Do you know what is the total number of practitioners according to the European system in Calcutta?—About three hundred.

3839. So that you have a great bulk of them in the Society?—Yes.

3840. I think you have handed in the supplement to the *Indian Medical Gazette* for July 1893 as part of your evidence?—Yes.

3841. You were present when Dr. Crombie read a paper before the Calcutta Medical Society and a discussion took place on the subject?—Yes.

3842. I find in your speech you are reported to have said this:—"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"?—Yes.

3843. You speak of "deleterious effects." I have not gathered from your previous evidence that you thought there were any deleterious effects?—No, there are none, as far as I can see from personal observation. Before that time I was under the impression that opium always acted injuriously upon the human constitution; but since I have commenced practising amongst the Marwaris I have given up that idea. In the quotation you have read I simply remarked that if opium was thought to act injuriously upon the system, opium in the solid form would be more likely to do it than smoking. Smokers are generally a weak and emaciated class of people. On inquiry I have made up my mind that these people belong to a low class of filthy men—poor indigent beggars, who scarcely get two meals a day. When they get accustomed to smoking opium, they simply spend their time in preparing their *madat* or *chandu*; and they neglect the regular hours of their meals. That is the reason they get weak and poverty-stricken.

3844. You used the expression that opium-smokers suffer more than opium-eaters: I understand you now to say that you attribute that not to smoking, but to this general poverty?—Yes. But the Chinese who smoke opium constantly in the form of *chandu* or *madat*—I should say 18 hours out of the 24—are not so weak or emaciated as the people of Lower Bengal.

3845. With reference to the physical appearance of the *madat* smoker, I see you said at the meeting I referred to—"His complexion and lips become dark, his limbs waste, his face becomes pinched, his abdomen protrudes, and his voice becomes hoarse"?—Yes.

3846. I want to be perfectly clear. You practically withdraw that now, and you think his condition is owing to his being a poor and low class man?—I do not withdraw that. I have explained later on that that hoarseness is brought on by constant smoking, just as the voice of a cigarette-smoker becomes hoarse by constant smoking. It is a catarrhal condition of the vocal chords induced by constant smoking.

3847. I do not quite understand yet whether you think opium-smoking does the man any harm or not?—I say emphatically it does no harm.

3848. You referred to the *chandu*-smokers of China. Have you been in China?—No; I stated what I knew of the *chandu*-smokers from China who have come down to Calcutta for trading. They are dealers in precious stones. They bring stones from Siam and settle in the Colocotta section of the town.

3849. Further on you said—"The hypnotic effect is more or less seen in all persons who take opium in whatever form and in whatever doses. However active and muscular the opium-eater may be, he is apt to yield to its hypnotic effect, and is drowsy at times"?—That is so.

3850. Further on you said—"During the last epidemic of influenza opium-eaters suffered most severely, and some succumbed to the disease." I suppose that was so?—Yes.

3851. You referred towards the end of your speech to the question of taking morphia, and you mentioned some cases where morphia had been taken in considerable quantities habitually?—Yes.

3852. Do I understand that you quote that with any degree of approval?—No.

3853. You referred to a certain maharaja who took a large quantity every day, and also to a pleader in one of the courts?—Yes, he took an enormous quantity of morphia. I condemn the habit of taking morphia to such an inordinate extent as 90 grains.

3854. There is no condemnation of it in this speech of yours; but I suppose you do condemn it?—I condemn the habit. Taking 90 grains daily is an expensive habit.

3855. (*Mr. Mowbray*.) You told us that you think the consumption of opium is increasing?—Yes.

3856. Is that increase among people over thirty-five, or do you think there is a tendency for a larger number of people to take it at an earlier age?—Diabetes of late has increased in Calcutta to an inordinate extent, and people are addicted to the use of opium as a preventative measure against diabetes. The number of them is daily increasing. I

Dr. Karles
Obsever
Base.

28 Nov. 1893

Dr. Kailas
Chunder
Bose.
28 Nov. 1898.

cannot give you a correct estimate of the percentage of men, but so far as my personal observation goes, I can say that the habit of opium-taking has been daily increasing, at least in this portion of the country.

3857. And as far as I understand for medical reasons?—Yes.
3858. (Mr. Haridas Voharidas.) You have said that the people of Kutch generally give opium to their horses to make them strong. Where is Kutch?—Kutch is just below Gujerat. The people who come from Kutch are called Chulias.

3859. Is the Kutch you mean near Sind?—Yes.
3860. (Mr. Fanshawe.) There is one point I should like to make clear. In speaking of the opium habit being acquired later in life, are you referring to its use as a stimulant, or to its use in connection with malaria?—As a stimulant. That is the purpose for which people take it after a definite period of their lives.

3861. I suppose you admit that madat can be smoked in excess?—No.

3862. Is there no such thing as smoking in excess?—No.
3863. It has not come within your observation?—No.

3864. (Mr. Wilson.) How many medical papers are there published in Calcutta?—There is the *Indian Medical*

Gazette, and very recently another was started, called the *Medical Record*. There are only those two.

3865. Are there any other medical papers in other parts of India?—In Bombay we have the *Bombay Medical News*; and in Madras we have another paper. In Calcutta there are only two.

3866. Do both these papers discuss the opium question?—I do not know.

3867. Can you refer us to any Indian medical authorities—text-books used in the medical schools in which your views on opium are stated as authoritative by the writers?—No. The authorities mostly live in Europe, and they have no personal knowledge or observation about the opium habit in India. The books written are founded on the physiological effects the writers have observed in their own countries. I must say—and I am sorry to have to say—that my views are not supported by medical authorities at home. There is Dr. Christison, however, who does not condemn the opium habit so largely. I am sorry to say I am not supported by the medical authorities abroad.

3868. Is there such a book as Chevers' Medical Jurisprudence?—Yes.

3869. Is not that entirely Indian?—Partly Indian.

3870. Does that support your views?—No.

The witness withdrew.

Dr. Juggo
Bundo Bose.

Dr. Juggo Bundo Bose called in and examined.

3871. (Chairman.) You are, I believe, an independent medical practitioner in Calcutta?—I was in Government service for nearly 25 years. Now I am an independent practitioner.

3872. What opportunities have you had of studying the effects of the opium habit in this neighbourhood or elsewhere?—As a teacher in the Campbell Medical School, I had charge of the second physician's ward, and there I had ample opportunities of studying the effects of opium taken in moderate doses by the patients. Then I had a very large practice among the Chinese, and there of course I had ample opportunities of studying opium-smoking. My native place is a malarious district. I go there almost every year, and there I have had ample opportunities of observing the effects of opium in malarial complaints. I have also had a pretty large practice in Calcutta for nearly 40 years; and there, too, I have had ample opportunities of studying the effects of opium.

3873. What convictions have grown in your mind with regard to the opium habit, as to its effects upon health and morals?—Opium is generally taken by the patients first, not of their own accord, but on advice or of necessity. I am now speaking of the people of Lower Bengal. Then people also take it, because they hear that it has a very good effect on certain diseases. If they suffer from one of these diseases, they take to the opium habit. But independently of these, I do not think the people of Bengal, as a rule, take opium.

3874. In the case of those who use opium habitually, what does do they get to?—Generally speaking, as far as I have known, those who are called opium-eaters take from 2 to 6 grains. That is the general dose among the Hindus in this province. The Mahomedans take it in a little larger dose. The Marwaris, the Rajputs and the Sikhs take it even in larger doses. They generally go up to 20 grains. Their dose is from 2 to 20 grains.

3875. Has it any effect upon the general health?—I think it keeps the people who use opium moderately in very good health.

3876. Is there a tendency to increase the dose?—Those who have commenced it under the advice of a medical man, and those who suffer most from painful diseases such as rheumatism, etc., are obliged to increase the dose. Some of them increase it a great deal.

3877. Then there is not much tendency to increase the dose in those who take opium as we take tobacco or wine?—There is, but not to a very great extent.

3878. You have seen cases?—Yes.

3879. When opium is taken in too large quantities, it does affect the health I presume?—I have seen a great many cases of opium-eaters. Some of them have taken in my presence at least 3 bhuris; I think 2½ drachms make a bhuri. That would be about 5 drachms.

3880. How many grains would it be?—300 grains. The effects have not been very bad. I knew a singer, who after singing for 3 or 4 hours, would take 2 bhuris of opium at once, and then would go on singing again, keeping accurately to time and tune.

3881. Do you think that habitual opium-eaters live as long as anybody else?—That is my impression. It has been an impression from time immemorial that opium conduces to longevity and to the preservation of health. This impression was created by the kabirajis.

3882. Have you come to any conclusion as to whether it is a protective in any way, or a help to people suffering from malarial complaints?—I consider it to be a sovereign remedy for malarial diseases such as fever, malarial cachexia, and all other malarial complaints which people suffer from. It relieves also pains and aches, rheumatism, asthma, and bowel complaints. For all these diseases it is a sovereign remedy, and that is the reason why the people take to it. It is also good for chronic coughs and consumption. It retards the progress of consumption.

3883. We may take it that your experience is that habitual users of opium are not morally deteriorated?—Not in the least. On the contrary, it sharpens the intellect and fortifies the mind. With alcoholic drunkards the case is different. Their brains are muddled. Opium-eaters will talk for hours and keep exactly to the point when they begin a subject. They are very reasonable. Their judgment and reasoning power are in no way affected, even if they take large doses of opium.

3884. Have you seen the effect of opium-eating on the poor people?—Yes, I have seen many instances. In my country, which is a malarious district, many poor people take small doses of opium to keep off the effects of malarial diseases.

3885. Have you seen any effect indicating that the habit leads to any form of crime or lunacy?—No; opium-eaters as a rule do not become criminals. It is the drunkards whose criminal propensities are strong. It is wine which increases the criminal class. They are murderers; they do not care for their wives or their children or anybody, and they dash them to pieces when they are under the influence of grog. But the opium-eater will never do anything of the kind. The only harm the opium-eater does is to himself. But the drunken man is a great nuisance to his family, and to society at large.

3886. What have you to say to the proportion of adults amongst those of your countrymen that you have known who eat opium?—I think is about 2 per cent.

3887. Do you mean 2 per cent. of adults?—Yes, 2 per cent. of adults.

3888. (Mr. Wilson.) Adult males?—Yes, females very seldom take it.

3889. (Chairman.) Do you mean to say only one or two in a hundred adult males use opium in the country?—Yes.

3890. What about the towns?—In the towns the percentage may be higher among the Hindus and Mahomedans; it cannot be more than 4 or 5 per cent.

3891. Have you any suggestion to make as to why some take to opium and others do not: what is the difference?—Those who take it, do so either on medical advice or of their own accord when they suffer from any painful disease. This is the class of people who take opium.

most. Then there are others who take opium after they attain 36 or 40 years of age. There is an impression in the country that after a man is 40 years of age, if he takes opium in moderate doses, it will conduce to the preservation of health and to longevity. Well-to-do people therefore generally take opium after they are 40 years of age.

3892. Have you any further remarks to make with regard to the habitual use of opium-eating?—I have nothing further to say of my own accord, but if I am asked any question, I shall be most happy to answer it.

3893. Do you think if prohibitive measures were carried out, your countrymen would be willing to contribute towards the expense of such measures?—No. My countrymen will oppose such measures to the best of their power; they will say: "we will not bear prohibitive measures." Why should they? What have they done? It is a perfectly innocent thing for the people to take. It is far better than alcohol. It does not increase crime, but on the contrary decreases it. Hindus and Mahomedans who take opium, are not more criminal than are Englishmen and other Europeans who are given to drinking.

3894. Do you think it is necessary to restrict the free sale of opium?—Yes; 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.

3895. I presume by that you mean for the purposes of suicides?—Yes.

3896. I suppose opium is the favourite mode of suicide?—Not necessarily so; another favourite mode is hanging. Opium is one of the means of suicide. There are various means,—drowning, hanging, arsenic poisoning, opium-eating, and many others.

3897. (Lord Brassey.) Do you find it rather difficult to give a general opinion as to the effects of opium? The effect of the opium habit, whether the opium is taken in solid or liquid form, depends upon the quantity?—Yes, it depends entirely upon the quantity. But if it is taken in the solid form, or, as is generally the case, as an infusion in cold water, the effects are not so bad as when taken in the form of smoking, as chandu or gooli.

3898. Am I to understand from you that while a large quantity of opium, whether taken in the solid or liquid form, does undoubtedly do harm, you do not observe any evil effects when taken in moderate quantities? Is that what you wish to tell us?—Opium-smoking in immoderate quantities certainly does harm, but I have not observed any ill-effects in people who have eaten opium in large doses.

3899. (Mr. Pease.) You say opium-smoking always does harm?—That is my conviction. I have seen opium-smoking among the Chinese. Leaving that race out of the question, if opium-smoking is taken to by Hindus and Mahomedans it generally does harm. I do not speak of the Chinese. Leaving the Chinese aside, if you only ask me what effect opium-smoking has on Hindus and Mahomedans, I am bound to say that it does produce very bad and serious effects.

3900. You say the opium-eater does harm to himself, but then you say that the effects were not so bad as madat and chandu or gooli-smoking. Have you met many instances in which opium-eating has done decided harm?—If anything does harm, it is the chandu and gooli-smoking. That does more harm than opium-eating. Even when opium is taken in excess, it does not do so much harm as opium-smoking.

3901. I think you were comparing the effects of drinking alcohol and eating opium, and you said the opium-eater does harm to himself?—Yes; the most he will do will be to injure his own life, by taking a large quantity of opium. He will not be boisterous or quarrelsome; he will not do any harm to anybody except to himself; he will only lie down and be quiet; that is all.

3902. In your opinion, I gather it would be better to abstain from taking any opium except for medicinal purposes?—No; I would allow people to take it of their own accord, as it benefits the health.

3903. Would you advise it?—I would certainly advise it.

3904. Have you seen many instances of excessive opium-eating?—Yes, I have seen some instances.

3905. (Mr. Wilson.) Did you hear the evidence that was given by Dr. Kallas Chander Bose?—Yes.

3906. Do you agree substantially with all he said, or do you wish to express any dissent from any part of it?—He spoke about eating opium capsules as a vegetable; I have no experience of that. Poppy seeds are taken in the form of condiment, but no capsules or leaves are taken by anybody as far as I know.

3907. Do you agree with his general approval of the practice of taking opium, and his desire to see it extended?—Although I would not like to see it extended, I certainly agree with him in thinking that opium-taking does not do any harm.

3908. You think that the use of opium in moderation is not demoralizing, and that its effects are not deteriorating. I want to have it quite clear whether you consider it beneficial?—I certainly consider the moderate use of opium to be very beneficial.

3909. I think you use the expression that it brightens the wits and the intellect?—Yes, it does.

3910. May I ask you whether you take it regularly yourself for that purpose?—I am not an opium-eater. I do not take opium at all, except when I am advised by other medical men.

3911. I want to know if it brightens our wits and improves our intellect?—It does. The effect of opium, when taken in a moderate dose, is to stimulate the brain. It brightens the intellect, and a person can talk and think well and devote his attention to a subject very well.

3912. Would it not be a very good thing for all of us to take it?—That depends upon your own choice. I cannot say whether it would be a good thing or not. I would not like the whole world to be opium-eaters, but I say let those who like it, take it.

3913. If you think it has such a beneficial effect, you must think it is a deplorable thing that only 2 per cent. of adult males should take it?—It is not so much needed when a person enjoys his general health. Although I advise people to take opium to preserve their health, of course I would not advise them to take it regularly for diet.

3914. You have said you think it very necessary to restrict the free sale of opium?—Yes, as it is sold in the towns.

3915. Not in the country?—No; because there are very few people to take opium to poison or kill themselves in the country.

3916. How would you propose to restrict the sale in the towns?—I have not thought over the matter. I leave it entirely to the Commission to find the ways and means of doing it. With regard to the towns, I think the sales should be restricted, and that people should not have easy access to opium generally.

3917. May I ask you whether you are a member of the Calcutta Medical Society?—I am.

3918. Were you present at that discussion to which I referred the last witness?—No, I was not present.

3919. As a matter of fact, do the doctors prescribe opium for malaria, and in malarial fevers?—Yes, I think all the doctors that I have known do it. Men prescribe it whom I have consulted and together with whom I have seen patients. It is even put down in our books, and we were taught, when I came out of college, that opium did increase the antiperiodic effect of quinine.

3920. You would not use it alone: you use it to increase the effect of quinine?—I use it alone occasionally.

3921. Can you give us any reason why so small a proportion as 2 per cent. take opium if they find it is so beneficial?—Why should they take it? Everyone does not take wine because it is very beneficial in moderate doses. There are many people who do not touch wine although it is a very good thing.

3922. I understand you to say that you estimate it at 2 per cent., and they are chiefly the well-to-do classes?—Yes; the rural population of the villages and of the country very seldom take it, except when advised by medical men.

3923. Do you consider the people in the country districts more or less liable to malaria than people in the cities?—The people in the country are more liable to malarial diseases than people who live in towns.

3924. But they take much less opium?—They take much less opium.

3925. I think you used the term non-medical use of opium. Would you explain exactly what you mean by that?—I mean the taking of opium by those who have not been advised by medical men to do so. It is generally the impression in the country that opium does good when a man is advanced in years. After he is 40 years of age he commences to take opium of his own accord.

3926. Do I understand you to say that very few women take opium?—Yes. Why should they take it unless there is a necessity?

3927. Are they not equally liable to malaria?—Yes.

3928. Yet they do not take opium?—No; they do not like it.

3929. In the case of an opium-eater who might be attacked

Dr. Juggo
Bundo Bose.
25 Nov. 1893.

with dysentery, what would you give him?—I would give him medicines which I thought most appropriate in his case. You cannot prescribe the same thing in every case. It would depend upon the sort of dysentery he was suffering from, his general health and the stage at which he called in the medical man. All these things would have to be taken into account. You cannot treat a patient without seeing him.

3930. I am sure with your experience you would have no difficulty in telling me two or three principal remedies?—My principal remedies are ipecacuanha, opium, some preparation of mercury, and what we call coorohee or the bark of *Wrightia anti-dysenterica*.

3931. Do these medicines take effect exactly in the same way on an opium-eater as upon a man who does not eat opium?—In the case of an opium-eater you have to give him a larger dose of opium.

3932. Do you ever give chloroform in cases of dysentery?—I very seldom use it, except for external blistering purposes. I do not give chloroform in cases of dysentery.

3933. Neither to opium-eaters or others?—No.

3934. (Mr. Fumkasee) Kindly tell me what experience you have had in the country districts. Most of your medical experience has been in Calcutta?—As a medical practitioner I have had very frequent occasions to go to Krishnagar,

The witness withdrew.

Dr. Surji
Comar
Surbadhikari.

Dr. SURJI COMAR SURBADHIKARI called in and examined.

3940. (Chairman.) I think you are a medical practitioner in this neighbourhood?—Yes.

3941. You have gone in and out amongst the people very largely in the course of your practice?—Yes, I have.

3942. And you intimately know their ways and habits?—Yes.

3943. Is the practice of opium-eating very much spreading in Calcutta?—The practice of opium-eating is confined to persons of advanced years. After 35 or 40, when the powers fail, people take opium under advice, as nice, and supporting and bracing. It improves their digestion and keeps up their vital powers.

3944. They take it under that impression?—Yes, they take it under that impression.

3945. Is it your professional experience that that impression is correct or incorrect?—Correct.

3946. How many people after they are 40 years of age do you think take it?—4 or 5 per cent.

3947. So that it is not a very widely spread habit?—No, it is not a very widely spread habit.

3948. Is opium taken as a popular remedy besides that?—Yes, for rheumatism. It is very much taken in cases of diarrhoea, dysentery, diabetes and asthma. I have had to give it,—not crude opium, but one of the active principals of opium—narcotine, when quinine was scarce. At Ghazipur, where I was in 1858-7-8-9 when the sepoy mutiny broke out, there was a great scarcity, and disease followed in the wake of famine. We had a large number of patients in our hospital. We had no European medicines, and we had to depend greatly on indigenous drugs. Opium was the great staple remedy. We gave curchi and bacl, but the greatest use of opium was in extracting the narcotine as a substitute for quinine. I found it to be of very great use.

3949. What has been your observation with regard to opium being used as a popular remedy with children: is it used for children?—No, not in our country, nor in Bengal, but at Ghazipur I have seen mothers giving their infants, 5 or 6 years of age, small doses of opium.

3950. What for?—I suppose to lull them to sleep in the first instance, so that they may go to their work, but I have not found any bad effect from it. They grow up fine and healthy children.

3951. Used they to give their children little bits of crude opium?—Yes, crude opium.

3952. To what would it amount?—It might amount to $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a grain.

3953. That would not be much more than a couple of drops of laudanum?—No.

3954. Is it the practice to give it daily?—Yes, in the cases I saw they used to give it daily, one dose in the morning.

3955. Taken without the advice of a physician?—They have no physician. It is a popular medicine.

3956. I think you said opium was consumed habitually as a protective in malarious districts, as a popular

Hoghli, Burdwan, 24 Parganas and several other districts. I have seen how people in those districts take opium, and I know their disposition towards it.

3955. Do you admit that liability to malaria varies very much in different districts?—Yes.

3956. You have expressed an opinion that only about 2 per cent. of the adult population takes opium: you are speaking generally of the whole Lower Provinces?—Yes, Lower Bengal. I say that in the districts of Patna, Bhagalpur, Munshidabad and Gyn, opium is much more consumed than in the Lower Provinces.

3957. You stated that 2 per cent. of the adult population in your country districts are opium-eaters. Have you founded that upon any statistics?—No, not upon any statistics, but upon personal experience.

3958. Would not you admit that it varies very much in each district?—Yes.

3959. (Sir James Lyall.) Dr. Kailas Chunder Bose expressed an opinion that opium-eating was increasing very much in Calcutta: is that your impression?—No; on the contrary I think that opium-smoking, which was very prevalent when I commenced medical studies, in the form of gooli and madak by Hindus and Mahomedans, has not increased at all. Of course among the Chinese it is the same as it was before. Opium-eating generally speaking among the Hindus and Mahomedans has not increased.

3960. Do you think that opium-eating is a protective medicine to preserve health?—Under the belief that they will not have malarious fevers.

3961. As a protective?—Yes.

3962. What dose would be taken for that purpose?—I do not think more than a grain.

3963. A grain once or twice a day?—Once a day.

3964. Taken first thing in the morning?—Yes, taken first thing in the morning.

3965. Are you speaking of country parts?—Yes, of country parts.

3966. I do not know the habits of the agricultural population: do the men and women turn out early to their work in the morning?—Men and women both go to the fields to work.

3967. Do the women take this opium as well?—I have not known that, but I have known women take opium after the age of 35 or 40.

3968. I was thinking whether they took it as well as their husbands as a protective in the morning?—That I do not know.

3969. Have you seen any ill-effects from the use of opium in that way?—In moderate doses I have seen no ill-effects.

3970. But you have seen opium taken in excess?—I have seen it taken in excess, and with of course evil effects.

3971. What ill-effects have you observed?—I mean when they have taken more than their habitual dose, they were under narcotic effects.

3972. Have you sometimes seen that habitual use has been carried to excess?—Never.

3973. In the field of your experience a person that might be called an opium drunkard is unknown?—I have practically not seen any. I have known Eurasian patients who have taken laudanum, but they have been very few.

3974. Are they able to control the quantity they take with perfect ease?—I have seen some Eurasians take laudanum in lieu of other stimulants, but not with evil effects.

3975. You think that the habit of taking opium, either in persons getting on in life or those who take it as a protective against malaria, affects neither health nor morals?—It has not affected their health prejudicially.

3976. Has it affected their health favourably?—Yes, it has.

3977. You have not been able to trace the occurrence of crime or lunacy to the opium habit?—No, not to the habit of eating opium; but I have to the habit of smoking opium,—gooli.

3978. I think your experience has extended over a period of 36 years?—Yes.

3979. Do you think that the habit of smoking opium is more prevalent now than it was at that time?—I think it is diminishing.

3980. You think it is going out?—I think it is going out.

3977. I do not know whether it is a fair question to ask you: do you happen to know what the composition of madak is?—No, I do not know.

3978. So far as your knowledge goes of the feelings of your countrymen, would they object to pay the price which might be necessary to pay for prohibitive measures?—They would object to pay any increased taxation in any shape.

3979. As far as you are concerned, you would not approve any steps that might be taken to diminish the cultivation of the poppy and the production of opium?—There is no necessity to do so whatever.

3980. (*Mr. Pease.*) In the statement before us you say—"Smoking opium is confined to the very dregs of society, and is generally looked down upon by the respectable classes of the community. I had come across some miserable specimens of humanity amongst them. Their lean, lanky appearances were due to want of proper food after indulging in the smoke of opium. Having become addicted to this form of stimulants, and not having sufficient means at their command, they often resort to pilfering, and thus join the criminal classes and become inmates of prisons." Do you think that under these circumstances the Government ought to give licenses for the sale of madak and chandu for the purpose of smoking?—I would certainly not advocate the licensing of any system of intoxication which would lead to crime and increase the criminal classes and the ill-health of the people.

3981. Do you know what care is taken at the present time as to the character of persons who obtain opium licenses, and to the place where the sale takes place?—I do not.

3982. You state also that the abuse of opium has been a prolific source of mischief?—Yes.

3983. Will you kindly tell us in what way?—Opium is a sovereign remedy for disease. When it is taken to destroy life it is a most terrible thing. It can be bought in any locality here, and suicide has rather been on the increase owing to the facility with which opium can be bought. I would, therefore, suggest that some sort of restriction should be placed on the sale of opium. I should say that persons who are conversant with the habits of the people should be entrusted with the sale of opium, so that a young boy failing in his examination and taking it into his head to get 8 annas and buy opium could not get it. That sort of thing should not happen. Of course nobody can help it. They can get it from their servants; but I think the indiscriminate sale of opium should be restricted.

3984. You do not think sufficient care is taken as to the persons to whom licenses are given at present?—I do not know anything about licenses. I cannot say whether sufficient care is taken. I do not know.

3985. But you think there ought to be some care as to the persons who sell, whether they hold licenses or not?—Yes, and that care should be taken as to those persons to whom they sell it.

3986. Do you approve of the places in which it is at present sold,—many I believe are withdrawn from public observation?—I have not seen many. I have seen them on the roadside.

3987. Have you any further suggestions to make as to the restrictions which you suggest should be put upon the sale?—It is very difficult to carry out any suggestions. What I would like to do would be to entrust the sale of opium to men who will be able to use their discretion as to whom to sell and to whom not to sell. Of course you cannot prohibit people from taking it if they are regular opium-eaters. My suggestion is that it should be given to men who will be able to use their discretion in selling it to the proper persons.

3988. You would advise that it should be given to persons who had not a direct interest in the increased sale of the drug?—I would, if I could, prohibit all sorts of intoxicating things, whether it be opium, ganja, wine or anything of that sort; but it would not be practical to exclude opium. It could not be practically carried into effect; therefore such suggestions would be valueless.

3989. I ask whether you would be in favour of giving the sale of opium to persons who are not directly interested in the increased sale of the drug?—Certainly, I would.

3990. (*Mr. Wilson.*) You have referred to Ghazipur?—Yes.

3991. Is there any opium grown in that district?—Yes.

largely; that is the head-quarters of the Benares Opium Agency.

3992. Is it a malarious district?—It was not in my time; it may be now.

3993. Is there much consumption of opium now?—There was a very large consumption while I was there.

3994. I suppose the cultivators probably help themselves to a little?—They may; but if they do, they preserve themselves very well indeed.

3995. Speaking generally, do you disagree in any respect with the first medical man who came to-day?—I do not disagree with him in the main. As regards the minutiae, I have not studied them. My general impression is that opium is not deleterious when taken under advice or in old age.

3996. The first witness desires to see the consumption of opium increased; is that your desire also?—My desire is that no sort of intoxicating thing should be used.

3997. You do not agree with him in that important particular?—No.

3998. You have devoted two or three paragraphs in your printed statement to the medicinal use; you attach great importance to that?—Great importance.

3999. I suppose you are aware that nobody has ever challenged that at all?—So far as I know.

4000. You are aware that what may be called the anti-opium party have always admitted that there must be ample supplies for medicinal purposes?—So much the better.

4001. Therefore you have no necessity to prove what is not questioned, I presume?—There is no necessity for me to prove it.

4002. It would shorten your statement very much?—Yes.

4003. (*Mr. Moubray.*) I rather gathered from you that if you had your way you would prohibit the sale of all stimulants?—Yes.

4004. Opium, alcohol and ganja?—They are not absolutely necessary for the preservation of human life or of health.

4005. If you had your way, which would you begin with, prohibit the consumption of opium or prohibit the consumption of alcohol or ganja first?—Ganja first and foremost.

4006. And after ganja, what?—Alcohol.

4007. May I take it that you consider opium as a stimulant the least harmful?—Yes.

4008. Do you consider that if the consumption of opium were put a stop to without putting a stop to the consumption of alcohol or ganja, there would be any danger of people who had taken opium falling back upon more deleterious stimulants?—I believe so.

4009. (*Mr. Farnshaw.*) In your printed statement you say that suicide by means of opium has considerably increased. Are you speaking of Calcutta, or are you speaking generally?—Of the people of Calcutta.

4010. (*Sir James Lyall.*) When you said that the abuse of opium has been a prolific source of mischief, were you alluding to suicide or to other kinds of mischief?—To suicide, and also to homicide.

4011. Have you formed that opinion from any statistics?—No, from my own observation.

4012. You said that suicide was increasing in consequence of the facilities for getting opium?—Yes.

4013. Are the facilities for getting opium greater now than they were in former times, or are they less?—I have not the means of knowing. When I speak of the facilities for getting opium, I mean that it can be got at the four corners of Bowbazar, Burabazar, and so on.

4014. I believe that the shops are not more numerous now, and that the price is higher than it used to be?—The price is higher.

4015. Do you think that if opium was not so readily available, a certain number of lives might be saved?—That is my belief.

4016. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Do you agree with the witness who preceded you in his statement as to the effect of opium on the mind, sharpening the wits and improving the intellect?—I have no personal knowledge of that.

4017. You do not take it for that purpose?—No, I do not take it.

4018. Do you recommend it to anybody?—I never recommend any kind of stimulant unless it is required medicinally.

4019. Then you do not agree with the last witness?—I do not.

The witness withdrew.

*Dr. Surji
Cowar
Surbadhi-
cari.*

Nov. 1898

Dr. Hira Lall
Ghose.

28 Nov. 1898.

Dr. HIRA LALL GHOSE, called in and examined.

4020. (Chairman.) I believe you are a medical practitioner living in Calcutta?—Yes, I practise in Calcutta and the surrounding districts.

4021. How many years have you practised?—Thirty years.

4022. Is your experience confined to the neighbourhood of Calcutta?—Calcutta and the districts surrounding.

4023. You have been engaged in your work, going in and out amongst the people all these years, so that your experience of their habit has been very considerable?—Yes; I know many opium-eaters.

4024. Speaking roughly, what is the proportion of adults in your experience who use opium?—In Calcutta it may be from 5 to 10 per cent. amongst the adults above 40 years.

4025. Are you speaking of adults who use it in the latter period of life as a sustainer?—Not only as a sustainer but as medicine. Those who are 30 or 35 use it when they are ill of some disease, such as rheumatism, dysentery and diarrhoea; they use it medicinally.

4026. Taking the two classes together,—those who use it as a popular medicine and as a preventive of malaria, and those who take it as a habit, much as we use tobacco,—they would only amount altogether to 5 or 7 per cent. P.—That is so.

4027. What doses do they usually take?—The average quantity would be from 2 to 5 or 8 grains.

4028. I suppose that is regularly from day to day?—From day to day. They come to the dose of 8 grains after using it for some time; they commence with 1 grain, then they take 2, 3 or 4, gradually increasing the dose.

4029. Have many cases fallen under your observation where the quantity has been increased to an injurious extent?—I have seen 50 and even 100 grains taken by a man.

4030. And continued?—Continued from day to day.

4031. For years?—For years.

4032. Many years?—Yes; they continue it for ten or twenty years.

4033. Then there could not have been much effect upon the health?—Yes, there has been a bad effect upon the health.

4034. Still they manage to live on?—They go on living but bad effects are manifested.

4035. In what way?—In the form of jaundice, enlarged liver, dysentery, and diarrhoea. Of course those who are well-to-do and can live well do not show the same bad effects as those who have no such means of living.

4036. Have you observed those effects which you speak of from the taking of excessive quantities in some of the persons who are able to live well?—Yes. I may say that I divide the use of opium into two classes, the medical use and the non-medical use. For medical use poor people go to the vendors' shop; they cannot afford to go to the apothecary's for a prescription, because they are too poor, and they go to the vendors to get cheap medicine to cure their disease. With regard to those who take it for the sake of pleasure, that is a thing that I deprecate altogether.

4037. Those who take it medicinally do not consult the doctor?—Not always.

4038. They take it as a domestic remedy?—Yes, there is a bad impression amongst them generally, spread from their opium-eating friends, that unless, when they are above 40, they take opium, they cannot reach the full period of life. Such persons take it generally for non-medical purposes.

4039. Do you believe that there is any truth in that theory?—No.

4040. When it is taken for that purpose in the after part of life you say that the quantity taken is from 2 to 7 grains?—From 2 to 7 grains, and in some rare cases more.

4041. Do you recognise that there is a difference, a constitutional difference between those people and others?—Yes. The general complaint is costiveness. Whether they live well or not, they all complain of costiveness, and some of uneasy sensation in the abdomen. For that there is a medicine generally known among Bengal opium-eaters, a decoction of the *Convolvulus repens*.

4043. I think you said that, speaking generally, the opium-eating habit under the conditions that you mention does not generally affect the health?—When it is used

non-medically when there is no disease there is a deleterious effect on the health no doubt.

4043. Under what circumstances do you say?—When it is not taken for any disease, it acts on the health deleteriously.

4044. Even if those who take it as a sustainer in the latter portion of their lives?—Yes, there is a deleterious effect.

4045. I think you said that you thought that it had a sustaining effect, in some cases at any rate?—Not if there be no disease.

4046. Have you noticed that the use of opium affects the moral character?—Hardly.

4047. It does not lead to crime or lunacy?—No.

4048. Then I take it from you that your view distinctly is that the habitual consumption of opium, except as a preventive of disease, is deleterious to health?—Yes.

4049. I think you also said that these opium-eaters live long?—Those who do not take it live longer. I have many instances before me of people of 80, 85, and 70; they do not take opium at all, but they smoke tobacco.

4050. As a matter of fact, have you known whether persons who have taken opium as a luxury have shortened their lives or not?—I cannot say positively; because I have seen persons of 80 and above that age taking opium.

4051. Have you any further information you would like to give us from your experience?—I have asked many opium-eaters whether the opium has acted prophylactically against malarious fever, and they have all told me that just for 5 or 6 or 8 months after taking the opium they were well, but not afterwards.

4052. You distinguish between the prophylactic effects in the case of malaria and the effects on rheumatic pains, diarrhoea and so on?—In all cases they take opium, and if they leave it off after the cure of the disease, it is all right, but if they continue the habitual use of it there is a relapse of the disease.

4053. That is it does not act as a continuous prophylactic?—No.

4054. From year to year?—No. A year ago two persons came to me living in a malarious village in the district of Hughli who had taken opium for 20 years. They complained to me of the bad effects of the opium, and I told them to leave it off. They were two brothers; one of them took about 8 grains, and the other 20. They both left off the use of opium, and they are now quite hale and hearty. Then there is another man who used it for six years; he had repeated attacks of fever for which he took opium. He left it off, and after eight or ten months he was quite well.

4055. None of these three seem to have had much difficulty in leaving it off?—There was some difficulty, but for a few days only; want of sleep, a chewing and aching pain; and for fear of these symptoms they could not leave it off easily.

4056. Does that complete what you have to tell us?—Yes.

4057. (Lord Brassey.) Have you anything to say with reference to the regulations for the sale of opium? Do you think that it is desirable to be more stringent in those regulations?—Yes.

4058. Do you think that there should be more stringency in granting licenses for the smoking of madat and chandu?—I wish that the madat dens were closed for ever. With regard to chandu I have no knowledge.

4059. (Mr. Peart.) Have you any statement to make with regard to gooli?—There is a preparation of opium (mixed up with fried bits of guava leaves) called gooli or madat, which some of the low and poor classes of Mahomedans and Hindus are in the habit of smoking. They are generally ill-fed, unclean, averse to bathing, and look like skeletons. Having contracted this bad habit for a long time, they cannot avoid it, and, when out of pocket, piller at home and abroad. They are the most useless members of society, and are a bane to their family and neighbours. It would be a beneficial act of Government if gooli addas or "dens" are closed for ever. This is generally used by the Chinese. Very few of the Bengalis take chandu.

4060. You say in your printed statement "There is a general impression, though wrong, that unless a man takes some sort of stimulant at the age of 40 and above, he

cannot reach the full period of life with vigor and energy. This impression has taken such a deep root in them that it is hardly possible to remove it, although they see many persons of seventy, eighty and above are enjoying good health without the use of a single grain of opium or other stimulants except tobacco."—Yes.

4061. That is a clear expression of your views?—Yes.

4062. You further say that you are of opinion that the use of opium for truly non-medical purposes is not only not necessary but injurious?—Yes.

4063. I believe you would be in favour of the sale of opium being placed in the hands of persons who knew those to whom it was being sold, and had power to refuse it?—Yes, some one who knew the neighbourhood and the opium consuming people in the neighbourhood. My suggestion is that they should not sell opium to a new man—in a poisonous dose I mean.

4064. They should have power to exercise discretion as to whom to sell it to?—Yes; and in a town there should be one vendor selected for each ward who knows all the consuming people. In the case of new-comers after inquiry he might sell opium to them.

4065. Do you think it well that the person who sells the opium should have a direct interest in increasing the sale of the drug?—No.

4066. (Mr. Wilson.) Do you know any European practitioners in India who recommend opium to their patients for dietetic purposes as distinguished from medicinal?—I do not.

4067. Do you know any Indian practitioners who so recommend it?—Yes, Kabirajis, native physicians.

4068. Not those educated and practising according to European methods?—No.

4069. Kabirajis do recommend it?—Yes, of course for disease, not as a dietetic. I do not know any person who recommends it for non-medical purposes.

4070. Do you know any practitioners who recommend it to persons who are in no way diseased as a prophylactic against fever?—No. I have seen in books that opium is recommended as a preventive of disease.

4071. You have heard the evidence of the witnesses who preceded you?—Yes.

4072. I take it that you do not agree with the first two?—In general points I do not agree with them.

4073. You differ widely from them?—Yes.

4074. You have alluded in your printed statement to "respectable Mahomedans"?—Yes.

4075. Do you mean that taking opium implies that they would not be regarded as very respectable?—No. I mean those who are in a higher state of society.

4076. Have you been speaking chiefly of opium-smoking, or eating, or drinking; or do you include them all?—Eating of course in some cases of disease I recommend; smoking I do not recommend at all.

4077. Do you know anybody who recommends it for malaria without other medicines?—I do not know; I recommend other things than opium.

4078. May I ask where you received your medical education?—In the Calcutta Medical College.

4079. Did any of your professors ever recommend it for that purpose?—I do not know.

4080. (Mr. Mosby.) Do you agree with the last witness that of all stimulants in general use, opium is the least injurious?—Yes.

4081. Would you propose to give discretionary power with regard to the supply of alcohol, just as you would in regard to the supply of opium?—No, not at all.

4082. What is the difference in the case of alcohol?—My recommendation is to use opium not for non-medical purposes, but for medical, for diseases only.

4083. You would give discretionary power in the supply of opium for medical purposes as I understand?—Yes; for medical purposes I would recommend opium as well as alcohol.

4084. You recommend both for medical purposes?—Yes, but not for non-medical purposes.

4085. Would you prohibit both of them absolutely for non-medical purposes?—Yes, opium as well as alcohol.

4086. Absolutely?—Absolutely.

4087. You have told us that you would allow people to supply opium to persons whom they knew?—To persons whom they knew—persons who are ill, not otherwise. Of course there are persons in the villages who are very poor,

who cannot go to the apothecaries' shop. One pie of *Dr. Hira Lall Ghose* opium will answer the purpose of 8 annas worth of medicine. For that I recommend the use of opium.

28 Nov. 1898.

4088. You would require a large number of people to distribute the opium in this way?—Not a large number of people. When the cultivation is decreased, and when it is only used for medical purposes, the sale of opium will be less, and more vendors will not be required.

4089. Do you think that the number of people required to distribute opium with these discretionary powers would be larger or smaller than the number at present?—Smaller.

4090. It is part of your idea that they should be sufficiently numerous to have a personal knowledge of the persons who apply to them?—There should be a vendor in each ward. There are only eighteen wards in Calcutta.

4091. Would it be possible for one person in an eighteenth part of Calcutta to have a personal knowledge of everybody who came to him?—He would gain the knowledge gradually; that is my suggestion.

4092. What is a poisonous quantity of opium?—More than two grains.

4093. Do you know how many places there are for the sale of opium in Calcutta at present?—I do not.

4094. (Mr. Fanshawe.) You admit, do you not, that amongst the people in this country opium is used as a domestic remedy?—Yes.

4095. I think you will admit that a large part of the population is necessarily cut off from any medical advice, either from gentlemen educated according to the European methods, or according to Native methods?—Yes. There are many villages where there is no qualified medical man, and for these poor people I say that these vendor's shops should be kept.

4096. But have you had any personal experience amongst the Marwaris, whom you have mentioned as living in Calcutta?—Very limited; I see them now and then, but my experience is very limited.

4097. May I take it as a fact that opium-eating is a habit in moderation among them?—Yes.

4098. Does it affect their health so far as you know?—It affects their health, but they are prospering tradespeople, and they can live well.

4099. Let us stick to the Marwaris. Does it affect their health?—In the case of those who take a large quantity their health is affected.

4100. Do you say that the habit of opium-eating in moderation exists among the Marwaris, who are, I believe, a prosperous community?—Yes, and they can live well.

4101. Then does it affect them injuriously?—Not so much as the health of the Bengalis is affected.

4102. (Sir James Lyall.) The opium-vendor whom you recommend would have to be a medical man, would he not?—Of course not.

4103. If he was not a medical man, how could he tell whether the person who wanted to buy opium required it for medical purposes or not?—Of course he would have to believe the patient.

4104. If the patient said he wanted it for his health, he would have to give it?—Yes. There are many persons that we do not know. Sometimes a person comes who says he takes opium. He looks pretty well, but he says he has got colic, or pains somewhere; but pain is a subjective symptom, and it cannot be detected easily.

4105. What improvement would there be in your suggestion as compared with the present system?—Because a person who wanted to buy opium would, if he thought it necessary, say that he wanted it for his health?—The vendor should be a resident of the locality, and being a resident of the locality, he would know all the families residing in it, and he would know who was ill and who was not.

4106. I believe in the country districts there is only one opium shop of any sort for fifty square miles in about ten villages, or perhaps five or six villages?—It may be six or seven or eight villages, but a member of one village knows the families of the others. That is not so in Calcutta.

4107. You must get a very honest man?—Of course.

4108. He might get some inducement offered to him to give the opium?—That must be guarded against. I cannot make any further suggestion.

4109. You have said that persons who have been ruined by alcohol have been cured and made useful

Dr. Hira Lall members of society by taking opium?—Yes, I know many. I knew a beggar in the street who would beg pice to buy alcohol. He has left off alcohol, and he now takes twenty-four grains of opium. He is a clerk in an office, and can do the work of an ordinary man.

28 Nov. 1898.

4110. Then in some cases opium is a very good thing?—In those cases of course. It is better than alcohol. My meaning is that the use of opium in that case is better than alcohol.

4111. Is it not very difficult to draw a line between the medical and non-medical use of opium?—Yes. When people come to take our advice as to the use of opium, we ask them, and they say they have some disease, but apparently they are looking well.

4112. (Mr. Wilson.) Am I right in understanding that the Marwaris are among the wealthiest men in Calcutta?—

The witness withdrew.

Miss L.
Hamilton,
M. D.

Miss LILLIAS HAMILTON, M.D., called in and examined.

4118. (Chairman.) I think you are a doctor of medicine?—Yes.

4119. Practising in Calcutta?—Yes.

4120. Will you kindly tell us in what way you have had opportunities of observing the opium habit?—I have been three years practising amongst the natives, chiefly among the upper classes of natives; I have also seen the lower classes in the hospital, but as our hospital is a zenana hospital, even there I chiefly see the upper classes.

4121. Have you also a dispensary?—Yes, I have a dispensary where we see from sixty to one hundred and eighty patients every morning.

4122. In that way you acquire considerable knowledge in the use of opium?—We do not have a great many cases of opium-eaters who eat it to such excess that they suffer in any way. I have never seen anybody in this country who has come to me really suffering from opium-eating.

4123. Only incidentally?—Yes. In prescribing I have found that patients for whom I have prescribed are in the habit of taking opium, and I am therefore obliged to prescribe opium in larger quantities if I prescribe it at all.

4124. Have you formed any estimate of the proportion of adults who use opium habitually in smaller or larger quantities?—No, I have not. I should say that among the upper classes it was comparatively rare.

4125. Does it exist among the lower classes?—Yes, it is more common among them.

4126. Would you say that half the adults consume opium?—Perhaps in the lower classes, but not if you include the upper classes.

4127. As far as you have observed, is the result confined to adult males; do the women and children indulge?—I have never seen a child who has taken opium. I have no experience among men; but among women in the upper classes I do not think I have seen more than half a dozen who I could distinctly say took opium in such a way as to interfere with treatment.

4128. Are you speaking of children now?—I am speaking of women in the upper classes.

4129. In the zenanas?—Yes.

4130. There it is comparatively rare?—I think it is.

4131. You have seen a little of the practice of giving opium to infants, have you not?—I have not seen it given, but I have ascertained that it is done.

4132. Does it get into a confirmed habit?—No, I have never seen a child of ten or twelve take opium at all.

4133. So that the habit amongst women, so far as you have observed, is not commenced until adult life?—No; generally speaking in the upper classes of women it dates from some illness that they have had.

4134. And it is continued even after the illness has been cured?—Yes, it is.

4135. Do you think that in that class there has been a deterioration of health or morals?—I have never seen any such thing in this country.

4136. So far as you have seen, the opium habit amongst the ladies in the zenanas and other women has been commenced first for the relief of some ailment and continued afterwards?—Exactly.

Yes. The Marwaris are residents of Rajputana, Jodhpur and other places, and they come here to trade.

4113. They are amongst the wealthiest men in Calcutta?—They are tradesmen, and doing well with their work.

4114. Are many of them poor?—There are poor among them, and many of them are well-to-do.

4115. If I understand you rightly, in reply to Mr. Fanshawe you said that if they are well fed they do not suffer much?—They do not suffer much, but I cannot say that they do not suffer at all.

4116. But if they are poor and badly fed they do suffer?—Of course.

4117. (Sir James Lyall.) Do you mean in all cases, or when they take it in excess?—Almost in all cases. Of course when they take it in excess they suffer severely; and in some cases when taking a small quantity, some may suffer and some may not.

4137. But continued in moderation?—Yes.

4138. And you have not really seen deteriorated health from this habit?—Never.

4139. Nor deteriorated character?—Never.

4140. Have you any idea how much opium would be used in those cases?—I have had a few cases in hospital, and in those cases a pice worth (a pice is about a farthing) would last about two or three days.

4141. That would be only four or five grains?—I am not quite sure. I only know how much they send out for.

4142. It is a very small quantity?—Yes.

4143. It would be not more than a grain or two?—No.

4144. And is there any tendency to increase the dose?—They do increase it; they begin with a smaller quantity than that originally, and no doubt when they are older women they take more. Many natives I know do take a great deal more, but they have not come into my practice.

4145. Is the habit of taking opium regarded as disgraceful in the circles in which you move?—They will never admit taking it unless you press them. Generally, you are drawn aside, and it is confided to you that they do so. I do not think that the taking of opium is considered disgraceful, as I think smoking is, but I have never seen any opium-smoking at all.

4146. I suppose it is something like cigarette-smoking by ladies in our own country. What reason have you heard given by natives who are opium consumers?—I do not think they look upon it in any favourable light. I have heard people say that it makes them more intelligent for the moment.

4147. Has it not a deleterious effect upon them physically or morally?—No.

4148. But you think there is a tendency gradually to increase the dose?—Yes.

4149. The deleterious effect is increased?—I have seen no deleterious effect in this country.

4150. How would the absolute prohibition of the consumption of opium be regarded by the consumers and the public generally? What opinion have you arrived at on that point?—I think they would look upon it as a very great hardship. They would think it unwise.

4151. You have not observed any public intoxication in connection with opium?—Never.

4152. Does any portion of the population consume spirits or hemp drugs?—They consume hemp drugs. A large number of natives consume bhang, that is, the leaves, but I am not aware of that being intoxicating, except in large quantities. It is somewhat exhilarating, and even children take it.

4153. Have you seen much alcoholic drinking among Native women?—Never among the women. I have seen it among the men.

4154. Would the prohibition of opium, do you think lead to the enlarged use of these other stimulants?—I fear it would certainly.

4155. You would regard that as an unfortunate occurrence?—Yes, because I have seen evil effects from the others, and I have never seen any from opium.

4156. As far as you have studied the question, do you consider that the granting of licenses for the sale of opium

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

for other than medical purposes should be abandoned?—No; I do not.

4157. You think that the present system is, on the whole, the best?—I think so.

4158. (*Lord Brassey.*) From your experience, would you say that the use of opium for medical purposes was more necessary, and that its effects were more valuable, in this country than in England?—Certainly, it is more necessary in Indian complaints; in certain complaints nothing will replace it. I have seen much more taking opium with evil effects in England than I have ever done in this country.

4159. Do you think there is anything in the climate of India which would make the use of opium as an indulgence and a luxury more innocuous than in England?—I can hardly say. But it is so much taken here that I fancy it must be so. There are diseases here which require the use of opium very much more than is the case in England.

4160. (*Mr. Pease.*) I should like to ask whether you would advise people in England to take opium for dietetic purposes?—No, I should not.

4161. Would you advise it here?—No, I should not advise it in England or here.

4162. You think it is a practice better avoided?—Yes.

4163. (*Mr. Wilson.*) What is your practice in regard to recommending alcohol?—Do you in certain cases recommend it in the form of beer or wine or spirits as a dietetic?—Yes. I order spirits and very occasionally wine. I do not order much of any. I find that the ladies here especially are very disinclined to take either.

4164. You do not regard opium from the same dietetic point of view as you do alcohol?—No.

4165. As far as you know, would that be the general opinion of your European colleagues in this country?—I should think that is so except up country, and I have no experience of that. I have heard it urged that it was much more necessary in the more malarious parts of the country, but I do not personally know about that.

4166. You would never recommend it for dietetic purposes to anybody?—Never.

4167. Did you ever hear anybody that did?—I only know from what I hear. I should not like to say so. I have heard it said that it is done, but I do not know.

4168. Would you consider that a medical man who did recommend opium for dietetic purposes was doing a very safe thing for his patients?—I should not do it.

4169. You would be afraid that it was a rather seductive habit?—I do not see the necessity for it.

4170. You are not a total abstainer yourself?—No.

4171. And would not personally recommend any of your patients to refrain entirely from alcohol?—Certainly not, unless it was necessary.

4172. Would you advise an European patient to break off the opium habit?—Yes, if it had become excessive.

4173. If it was moderate?—I should still think he was wise not to take it.

4174. Have you recommended it as a prophylactic against malaria?—I have never done so.

4175. Do you know any European practitioner of your own knowledge who has done so?—I have never seen it prescribed. I have heard it stated at the Medical Society that it is prescribed in that way. I allow any patient who comes to the hospital to continue the opium she has been

in the habit of using, because if she does not take it she does not get better.

4176. Do you in the case of malarious fever give opium alone as a medicine?—No.

4177. Is the dispensary that you mention a public dispensary or a private one?—It is the Dufferin Dispensary.

4178. Are the women who come there mainly of the poorer classes?—No; we have some of all classes, most of them are purdah women.

4179. In reference to infants and children, I understand you to say that you have not seen them taking opium?—Never infants.

4180. Do you mean that you have not actually seen it, or that you are not acquainted with the fact that they do take it?—I have seen children who appear to have very bad digestions, and to be generally upset; and knowing that it is popularly believed that they do give the children opium, I have constantly asked the question. I think it is only done among the lower classes here, but I think it is also done in England. Syrups of various kinds are given by mothers to keep their children quiet while they are at work; that is all. I have never seen a child suffering from the slightest symptoms of opium-poisoning; it is only that the digestion may be upset by the opium.

4181. Have you known or suspected cases of European children having had opium given to them by ayahs?—I know of one who had opium given, not by an ayah, but by a European nurse.

4182. Is it a common impression that it is so given?—I believe so; but I have never come across it.

4183. You consider that in the case of your patients you have not seen either moral or physical deterioration from the opium practice?—That is so.

4184. I do not know whether you come sufficiently in contact with them, or know sufficiently of their history and progress, to be able to form a definite opinion about their moral deterioration?—I know them very well. I know a good many families in the zenanas.

4185. Not those who come to the dispensary so much?—I do not know those at all, or very slightly.

4186. You have been practising for three years?—Yes.

4187. So that you have not had longer than that time to watch their progress?—No, but I have seen women who have taken opium for ten years, and they have been quite as intelligent as anybody else.

4188. I do not understand why they draw you aside and confide it to you?—The upper class ladies do not appear to like you to know it; they do not like to talk about it publicly; that is all I mean. I was asked whether it was considered disgraceful: I do not think so, but it is not a thing that they do publicly.

4189. I gather that they would tell you about most of their symptoms in the presence of other persons?—Yes.

4190. But when they get to this they hesitate?—They are little shy about it. I do not think it is considered disgraceful.

4191. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) Is this reluctance that you speak of in confessing the truth about opium only in the case of women, or is it a disgrace in the case of men?—I do not know anything about men professionally. I see them in their houses, and I ask them the question, and they have told me that it is not considered disgraceful, but that they consider opium-smoking rather disgraceful.

4192. Your remark applies to women?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

RAI RAHADUR KARRY LALL DEY, C.I.E., F.C.S., called in and examined.

4193. (*Chairman.*) Are you a medical man?—Yes. I am a graduate of the Medical College, Calcutta. I was over 30 years in the service of Government. For the first ten years I was Assistant Professor of Chemistry and Chemical Examiner to the Government. For the next nine years I was a teacher of practical chemistry in the Medical College and additional Chemical Examiner to Government. For one year I was officiating Professor of Chemistry, and Chemical Examiner to Government, and for the last ten years of my service I was teacher of Chemistry and Medical Jurisprudence in Campbell Medical School. I am an Honorary Member of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain.

4194. What opportunities have you had of studying the effects of the opium habit from personal observation?—As a medical practitioner I have had occasion to visit families, and among the higher classes I have a large practice, and among them I have known the elderly people, even among the ladies, taking opium with advantage in cases of illness rheumatism, pain or any other chronic disease, such as asthma.

4195. Amongst the people that have fallen under your observation during this long period, would 5 or 6 per cent. of the adult males use opium habitually?—I believe so. I cannot give it accurately. It is somewhere about 5 or 6 per cent.

Miss J. Hamilton.
M.D.

26 Nov. 1898.

Rai Bahadur
K. L. Dey,
C.I.E., F.C.S.

- Eai Bahadur* 4196. And the dose would be from 5 to 7 grains a day?—
I suppose so. They commence it from half a grain to a
grain, then gradually increase it provided the ailment is not
properly cured. Generally they do not exceed 4 grains as
far as I know amongst the aristocratic classes. It is only
in exceptional cases that they take larger doses medicinally;
4 grains is always sufficient.
4197. Four grains per dose or 4 grains per day?—Four
grains per dose. People take a dose once or twice in the
course of the day.
4198. Then that would mean 8 or 10 grains per day?—
Perhaps it would.
4199. Altogether I dare say you have noticed a large
number of these habitual opium-eaters?—Yes, a great
many.
4200. What effects have you noticed on their health
and morals?—Generally they keep in good health. Those
who are ill-fed or under-fed may lose flesh. Generally
when they are under-fed they fall back in weight. 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 he may get bowel complaints, diarrhoea and
so on.
4201. So that in the case of a poor man he would be
better without the opium?—Yes.
4202. He had better spend his money on additional
food?—Yes.
4203. In the case of persons who are well fed, you
have not observed any disastrous effect on their health and
morals?—I have not had many opportunities.
4204. Do they continue in health for an indefinite
period?—Yes.
4205. Have you traced any crime or lunacy to the
use of opium?—I have never observed any opium-eater
who has done any criminal act, nor any opium-eater who
has become a lunatic.
4206. What has been your experience with regard to
the effect of opium-eating in malarious regions?—I
have had an opportunity of seeing various people
coming from malarious districts; and I know that many
of them have taken opium and have got well. There are
many persons who have become opium-eaters on account
of the malarious state of the country.
4207. And is it your impression that they would be
worse if they did not?—They would certainly be liable
to fever, and the fever would carry them off. The opium
arrests molecular change and the wear and tear of the body,
so that they can continue their work for a long period
by the use of opium, but they will fail to do so if they
are deprived of their quantity.
4208. Speaking generally I suppose that skilled medical
relief is quite outside the reach of large portions of the
population?—That is perfectly true. There may be one
per cent. who can obtain medical relief. A large portion
of the community in the mofussil cannot get it; and
even in Calcutta there are many who cannot get medical
relief if they do not go to the hospital.
4209. So that as a popular domestic medicine it is in
great request?—Yes.
4210. So far as opium is concerned, you think that on
the whole measures taken to prohibit it would be injurious
to the population?—Certainly.
4211. You think that?—Yes.
4212. Comparing the opium habit with the alcohol habit
or the habit of using bhang, you think it less injurious?
—Opium is decidedly less injurious. In cases of alcohol
drinking the liver will generally be upset, the heart will be
diseased, the brain will be muddled, and many complications
will ensue; whereas if opium is taken to excess, it
seldom produces any disease except emaciation and diarrhoea.
4213. I think you have made some interesting observations
with regard to the composition of opium. Will you
kindly mention it?—When I was Chemical Examiner I
had the opportunity of examining the contents of the
stomach in the cases of people who had died from the
effects of poison. In every poison case, I always tried the
Reinsch's test to detect the mineral poison; whenever there
was any Indian opium in the stomach, it was sure to show
purple color, owing to the presence of hydrochloric acid.
This purple color is due to one of the ingredients of the
Indian opium, viz., porphyroxine. In examining the
opium from other countries I found in the Malwa
opium a very minute trace of it, but in the Turkey opium
I did not find a trace. This is one of the trial tests for the
presence of Indian opium in the stomach. One-third of the
of a grain can be detected with hydrochloric acid, after
being treated with modification of Stast's process.
4214. Is there any other statement you would like to
make?—I think the presence of this ingredient porphyroxine
is the reason why the Indian opium is preferred in China.
It is not to be found in the opium of any other country.
Perhaps it tempers the quality of the opium, and that is
why the higher classes among the Chinese like to have it,
just as the higher class Europeans prefer champagne to
any of the inferior qualities of alcohol. That is my im-
pression as to why the Chinese so much like the use of
Indian opium.
4215. That is only hypothetical on your part?—Yes.
4216. (*Mr. Pease.*) You have stated that under the in-
fluence of opium the labouring classes are capable of pro-
longed exercise?—Yes. Opium arrests wear and tear of
tissues and so tends in many conditions to sustain or prolong
life.
4217. How long will that last?—The effect will last a
much longer time than the effects of alcohol. I think it will
last 8 or 10 hours.
4218. What is the state of the man at the end of that
period?—In 24 hours the whole effect is exhausted. There
may be a certain amount of languor, when they are
incapable of work.
4219. You look upon it as a stimulant to which there
is attached a certain amount of depression?—Yes. There is
more depression in cases of alcohol.
4220. Do you think that the continued practice of
taking opium as a stimulant has an injurious effect
upon the constitution?—I do not think so. After a certain
age the force is restored and the digestion improved.
Those who suffer from various chronic diseases get over
them, because they can digest their food; their food is re-
tained.
4221. Have you known many cases in which persons who
have taken considerable quantities of opium have given it
up?—Very few. They have diminished the quantity, but
not entirely given it up.
4222. Does it require much effort?—A great deal of
effort.
4223. What effect has it upon the health?—The nervous
system would become irritable, and then the person will
become sleepless, and there will be a general waste; he will
not be able to take his food properly.
4224. After that is there a full restoration to health?—
Not in the case of elderly people, but the young may
recover.
4225. So that your view is that they suffer from having
indulged in the practice in earlier life?—Yes.
4226. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Where did you receive your
medical education?—In the Calcutta Medical College.
4227. Where have you resided?—In Calcutta.
4228. How long?—Since my birth. Nearly 62 years.
4229. Were you in the Opium Department?—No. I was
in the Chemical Department of the Medical College as Che-
mical Examiner.
4230. Were you Opium Examiner?—No. Whenever
opium used to come from Government I had to examine it.
4231. It comes once a month, does it not?—No. No.
Generally in the opium season.
4232. I believe you have retired from that now on your
pension?—Yes, for nearly ten years.
4233. In reference to your views about the special pro-
perty of porphyroxine, are you supported or corroborated by
other scientific men?—Yes.
4234. Is it your own view?—The tempering of Indian
opium is my own view, but with regard to the presence of
porphyroxine, Dr. Macnamara, Palmer and others have al-
ready tested it.
4235. Can you tell me why milk is taken by opium-
eaters so much?—Milk being assimilated thoroughly by the
opium-eaters, it becomes conducive to their health. The
opium-eaters who take preparations of milk with sugar,
Indian sweetmeats, cream and the like, are always found
in a healthy condition, like the alcohol drinkers who take
meat. The opium-eaters will generally suffer and fall back
in weight, if they are deprived of milk food, like the ganja-
smokers who are deprived of oleaginous food.
4236. Their stomachs are not in a very good state?—
When they do not take opium. Those who take milk are
always in a good condition; they assimilate it much
better than any other food.

4237. Milk is one of the easiest things to digest, I suppose?—Yes, particularly by the influence of opium it is retained in the stomach. Those who cannot take milk can by means of opium retain it and assimilate it properly.

4238. Are there many who cannot take milk?—Many. It ferments in the stomach, and they do not take it.

4239. Do they take opium in order to help them with the milk, or do they take milk in order to help them with the opium?—Milk is taken by the opium-eaters, not so much for assimilating milk as for counteracting the evil effects of opium.

The witness withdrew.

MR. KHURGESHUR BOSE called in and examined.

4244. (*Chairman*) I believe you are Medical Officer to the Eastern Bengal Railway?—Yes.

4245. What have been your duties?—I have only been there a year.

4246. I believe your official work is done at Sealdah?—Yes.

4247. Where is that?—Near the Railway Station.

4248. I believe you are Medical Superintendent of the Hospital?—Yes, I am in charge of the dispensary.

4249. Are you also engaged in practice?—Only see a few patients between 11 and 3.

4250. Is your experience as to the opium habit confined to your district about Sealdah?—No; I have always lived in this country among the people.

4251. And what has your impression been as to the effect of the habit of using opium upon the people whom you have observed?—The effect of a moderate dose of opium is not very marked.

4252. Do you mean by that, that you cannot tell whether it does harm or good, or is it indifferent?—It is indifferent.

4253. You say in your printed statement that you believe it retards physical decay and death in those whose health had already been undermined by diseases, that in those cases, therefore, its effects are salutary?—Yes.

4254. When healthy people take opium, you do not think it does good or harm, that is your view?—Yes.

4255. Does it affect the moral character in any way?—It does not.

4256. What do you call the moderate use of opium?—One grain to eight grains.

4257. Is there a tendency to increase the dose?—Yes, they generally increase the dose.

4258. Does that increased dose act deleteriously?—No.

4259. You think that there is an increasing tolerance as people grow older?—They become gradually accustomed to it, and increase the dose.

4260. Still it does not do them harm?—No.

4261. Have you noticed much difficulty when people try to give it up?—Only for a few days. I have known persons give it up all of a sudden, and there has been a difficulty the first few days.

4262. Have you also seen the same effect in the case of alcohol and hemp drugs?—Yes.

4263. You say in your printed statement that opium is used for medical purposes by about 25 per cent. of the middle and upper classes; do you mean of adult males?—I mean those who have attained forty years and upwards.

4264. People in towns?—In the country too. It is used by the shopkeepers, weavers, tailors, and those who follow a sedentary life. The cultivating classes, as a rule, do not take opium. The non-medical use of opium is rather prevalent among the artisan classes, particularly the mill hands and menials. Among the upper and middle classes, this vice is only noticed among those whose education was neglected. The non-medical use of opium generally begins in the shape of smoking, and at an early age, say twenty or so; and this habit is invariably contracted from bad company. In time these smokers of opium, losing all their energy, turn into idlers of society, and are hated by all, even by their dear and near relations. The poorer class, as may be expected, gradually take to stealing in order to provide themselves with their usual dose, and thus become a constant source of annoyance to society. Starvation in their family is inevitable in most cases.

4240. (*Mr. Fanshawe*) I understood you to say that the habitual use of opium in moderation generally grew out of some disease?—Generally so.

4241. Did you not say that the habit of eating opium in moderation has had its origin generally in disease?—Generally, opium is first prescribed when a person is suffering from any malady, and that leads to its habitual use.

4242. Apart from that, has it come within your professional knowledge that there is a habit of taking opium in moderation as a dietetic stimulant late in life?—Yes.

4243. You mean us to understand that you know both?—Yes.

*Eai Bahadur
K. L. Dey,
C.L.E., F.C.S.
28 Nov. 1893.*

*Mr.
Khurgeshur
Bose.*

4265. Have you observed those consequences from opium-eating?—Yes. As a rule people begin after 40 in consequence of some ailments. Smokers generally take it for luxury or intoxication, and they begin very early. They become indolent, and do not like work. Sometimes they give up smoking, but they eat opium in large doses.

4266. From opium-smoking, arising from bad company and so on after a certain time, they go on to opium-eating?—Yes. The use of opium is also to be found among another class of men, who had been in the habit of hard drinking in their younger days. To this class opium has often proved beneficial, both mentally and physically; and this change of habit has often saved them from untimely death, and their family from starvation and ruin.

4267. Do you believe that opium is used as a popular domestic remedy?—I refer to those who begin to take opium on account of disease.

4268. Not under the advice of the doctor?—As a rule they do not consult the doctor. The medical use of opium, I believe, is more prevalent in the districts of 24 Parganas, Nadia, Hooghly and Howrah, Jessore and Khoosla, Baridpur, Birbhoon, Gya, Shahabad, Patna and the Southal Parganas, than in Furness, Bungalow and Mymensingh, where ganja takes the place of opium as far as my experience goes in the province of Bengal. I noticed the prevalence of non-medical use of opium (smoking) in the districts of Akyab and Kyonkhyoo in Burma. I also noticed opium-smoking in Naini Tal, in the North-Western Provinces, among the Mahomedan menials chiefly, who accompany their masters from the plains during the summer months. The inhabitants (natives) of Kumaun are not fond of opium. They prefer hemp (bhang and oharas). In Deoghur, in the Southal Parganas, almost all the children of the proper inhabitants of the place are given a small dose of opium, almost from birth, at night, in order to keep them quiet, up to the age of 5 or 6, when the habit is gradually eradicated by substituting bhang. The Southals, I believe, are not addicted to opium. A few confirmed opium-eaters or smokers I found in all the jails among the prisoners with which I had any connection during my service extending over 23 years, but the proportion was small, say 2 or 3 per cent., except in the Kyonkhyoo Jail, where the proportion was about 10 or 12 per cent. of the jail population.

4269. What do you think is the opinion of the people of Bengal as to prohibiting the use of opium for non-medical purposes?—The people of Bengal are generally against the use of opium for non-medical purposes, but they are not willing to bear any cost of the prohibitive measure.

4270. What is your opinion as to the prohibition of the growth of the poppy?—The growth of poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in British India should not be prohibited. I think prohibition is not possible. No change in the existing arrangement is necessary. If prohibited, the poorer classes will take to ganja and the richer to alcohol, which change is not desirable.

4271. You think that the growth of the poppy and the manufacture and use of opium promote the commercial prosperity of the country?—Yes, the poppy is largely cultivated in Gya, Patna and Shahabad as far as my experience goes; it brings into the pockets of cultivators and landholders about double the amount that they could expect otherwise from the same land. Neither the landholders nor the cultivators are willing to give up the cultivation of the poppy.

4272. (*Mr. Poesse*) You have spoken of persons taking a moderate quantity of opium. Is not four grains a fatal dose to a person not habituated to opium?—Habitual eaters generally take much more than that.

*Mr. Klaw-
gohar Bose.* 4273. What would you consider a fatal dose to a person not used to taking opium?—Six grains.
8 Nov. 1893. 4274. You consider a moderate allowance eight grains, while six grains would be fatal to a person who had not become tolerant of opium?—I refer to those who take opium gradually. They begin with one grain or less, and then gradually go on to eight grains or more.
4274. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Will you tell me who in your opinion

suffer most in Bengal from malaria, the ryots or the well-off people in the cities?—The villagers suffer most.

4276. Yet you say that those people rarely have recourse to opium?—Yes.

4277. So that where they suffer most they take the least?—A very few people know that opium is a preventive of malaria.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 10-30.

At the Council Chamber, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

FIFTEENTH DAY.

Wednesday, 29th November 1893.

PRESENT:

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B. (CHAIRMAN, PRESIDING).

SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D.
MR. R. G. C. MOWBRAY, M.P.
" A. U. FANSHAW.

MR. ARTHUR PHASE.
" HARIDAS VISHARIDAS DESAI.
" H. J. WILSON, M.P.

MR. J. PRESCOTT HEWETT, C.I.E., *Secretary.*

DR. DONALD MORISON called in and examined.

*Dr. D.
Morison.*

29 Nov. 1893. 4278. (*Chairman.*) Kindly state your position in this country, the nature of your duties, and the length of time you have been here, and the parts of the country in which you have resided, and generally the circumstances which have given you experience with reference to the question with which we have to deal.—I have been a medical missionary in the town of Bampore Bauleah for about sixteen years. I have taken a deep interest in the social, moral, temporal, and spiritual condition of the people. I was for years a member of the Municipality and District Board. I mention this to show that I was not indifferent to their temporal welfare, and I endeavoured to aid the Government and local bodies in every attempt made to improve the condition of the people, or to alleviate their sufferings. I have had two dispensaries under my charge for nearly all these years. I also itinerated all over the District of Rajshahye twice a year in the rainy season, and during the cold weather, and visited the adjoining Districts of Malda and Purna occasionally. During the rainy season, when the rivers were in flood and the rice fields inundated, I itinerated among the villages. I may say that I have during those itinerations visited more than once most parts of the district. In my double capacity as physician and missionary, I have been brought into the closest contact with all classes of the people, especially the poor. During those years from six to ten thousand patients annually were treated by me.

4279. Will you inform us whether the districts with which you have had experience were of a malarious character?—Rajshahye District is everywhere malarious, in some parts intensely so. When fever is very severe, as during September, October, and November, I have found sixty to eighty per cent. of my patients suffering from malarious fevers or their complications.

4280. Is the use of opium common in the Rajshahye District?—The use of opium is by no means common among the ryots of Rajshahye. I should say it is quite exceptional to find an agricultural labourer an opium-eater. In the towns, smoking opium is prevalent among day labourers and

other workmen who are disreputable, and some of them are very young men. Opium is not used by the people of Rajshahye either as a prophylactic or for the cure of fever. This remark applies to the districts of Malda, Purna, and indeed I may say to Lower Bengal.

4281. Have you anything to say as regards the view that is taken among the people with whom you have been in contact in Lower Bengal as to the opium habit? Is it regarded as a discreditable habit?—The habit of using opium in young people is always considered a disgraceful thing; in elderly people it is excused on the general ground of failing powers.

4282. Would you say that the opium habit is common?—It is by no means common in the districts I speak of, or in Lower Bengal generally.

4283. What do you say about other classes? Take the Mahomedans?—It is by no means true to say that as a rule elderly people take to opium. Among Mahomedans, a few headmen in villages, a few shop-keepers, tailors, merchants, and house-servants generally in European employ take to the habit; and among Hindus a few elderly people. That it is considered disreputable in most cases is manifest from the secrecy with which they eat it, and the fear they have of being branded as "opium-eaters."

4284. Have you any explanation that you can suggest as to the circumstances under which the opium habit is first contracted?—Young men begin it from vicious habits or from seeing others take it. Old men or middle-aged men from 40 to 50 years begin the habit by taking it to restore or revive the failing natural powers.

4285. Is opium in your opinion used as a domestic remedy?—It is used very little, if at all, as a domestic remedy in Rajshahye; but I have seen men who began it on account of chronic rheumatic pains—pains of various kinds common to the labouring classes in all countries. Some begin it for pleasure, some for pain, others from curiosity, most from the contagion of bad example; but I never heard of it being recommended by any doctor, European or

Native, either to ward off or cure malaria; and, as I have already stated, the people themselves never take to it as a prophylactic.

4286. Do you consider as a medical man that the use of opium is necessarily injurious?—I consider that no one can take to eating it without increasing the dose, and suffering deterioration of bodily vigour. The progress may be slow and undoubtedly is so in some cases; but in the majority of cases emaciation is speedily manifested, and the bodily vigour deteriorates. The opium-smoker is so demoralised that his very surroundings suggest how low he has fallen; but the opium-eater with ample means keeps up a fair exterior for years. The poor man cannot afford suitable food to counteract the injurious effects of the opium, but must encroach upon his already too scanty meal to supply his unnatural craving.

4287. Have you anything further to say with reference to the use of opium from a medical or scientific point of view?—I should like to say something in regard to the tolerance created by the drug in the system when it is either taken in the form of smoking or eating; and I do not think I could bring forward a better authority or one that is more universally assented to in his general statements by the medical officers of the Government than Dr. Russell, who has been before you here as a witness, in his book on *Malaria and Injuries of the Spleen*, which was published about thirteen years ago. As far as my experience goes with regard to the use of opium, I might say that from the day I was instructed by the Professor of *Materia Medica* in the Glasgow University to the present day I have not found that any one can begin the use of opium and limit himself to a small quantity. If he uses opium at all for pain or disease he must of necessity increase it gradually until he comes up sometimes, as you have heard, to enormous quantities. As to the cause why with such unanimity people say opium-eaters must take milk if they are to resist the debilitating effect of opium, I would quote from a book. My own opinion is of very little consequence, but I quote from a book by Sir William Roberts on "Dietetics and Dyspepsia," at page 63.

4288. (*vis William Roberts.*) I do not see what relevancy that has to the question before the Commission?—If you will allow me, I will connect it. The opium-eater is known to be a great drinker of milk. He cannot resist the influence of opium, unless he takes large quantities of milk. That is the universal testimony of the opium-eaters themselves; and every one who investigates the matter will find that it is so.

4289. (*Chairman.*) I do not think we need detain you further on that particular point. What have you to say as to the influence of opium-eating upon physical energy?—With regard to the influence of opium-eating on the physical energy, I may say that there is a common fallacy, when speaking of the stimulating effects of opium. It is stated that the opium-eater can do a great deal of work when he has taken his opium. In speaking with two men, who were utterly opposed to my views on this matter and who were employers of labour, and among the labourers were a good many opium-eaters, I put the question to them; given two men with equal physique, one an opium-eater and the other not, would you find in your experience that the opium-eater would do more work and sustain more fatigue than the healthy man, with equal physique, who did not take opium? One of the men to whom I spoke was the Captain of a ship, and the other was an agent of a steamer going to Orissa. They both said they could not say so, and the Captain distinctly stated that his experience of opium-eaters on board his ship was, that they do not and were not able to perform the same tasks that healthy men of the same physique would do.

4290. Have you any remarks to offer with reference to the difficulty of giving up the habit of taking opium when it is acquired?—I have experience of attempts that were made by my orders with opium-eaters. I find in my notes I have these cases. The first case was a native Christian who was suffering from disease of the bones of the legs, the tibia. He was recommended to begin opium-eating by a doctor in Calcutta. I saw him some years after, and found him emaciated and weak. No doubt his disease had some share in the debility, but he, of his own accord, wished to give it up. I tried by reducing his dose, and giving him another anodyne instead of opium. He suffered such agony, chiefly from the want of the drug, not on account of the pain in his leg, but from the general craving for the drug, that he could not endure it, and went back to his habit, and died a confirmed opium-eater. The second case, a native of Orissa, was a young man whom I engaged as my dispenser. I found out that he was an opium-eater. He had no disease whatever. He was a

walking skeleton. As long as he could get his opium he could do his work, but not at all satisfactorily. I found these two men in the employ of the mission, and both of them I urged to give up the habit, but with no effect. They threw up their situations rather than undergo the agony which would follow the giving up of the drug. The third case was an opium-eater in Cuttack, named Rudo, forty-five years of age. He was a day labourer; he became feeble, and could no longer work on account of the opium. His wife tried to help him for a time by working; but she found she could not support her family and give him money for opium. Others refused to give him money to buy opium. In desperation for want of the opium, he committed suicide by hanging himself. The fourth case I would like to refer to is that of a gentleman in Glasgow. A few years ago he consulted Dr. Yellowless; and he told me of the incident. This Glasgow merchant felt that he was enslaved by the habit of injecting morphia into his system. He had endeavoured again and again to give it up, but had failed. He at length delivered himself up to Dr. Yellowless to be cured. The doctor locked him in a padded room, where dangerous lunatics are confined, took from him his morphia, and kept him for a week or ten days till he was cured of the habit.

4291. Have you any remarks to offer with reference to the effect of opium upon children?—The result of dosing children with opium is most injurious. The fatal case of a child of a high official of the Bengal Government comes before my mind. The mother of the child told me of this case. She said:—"The medical officer of the Bengal Medical Service gave my child an over-dose of opium, and it died." I think that we, medical men, ought not to depart from the instructions we have received from our Professors of *Materia Medica*, that opium given to children is always risky and dangerous. No doubt some do give opium to children in very minute doses, but that heroic treatment cannot be carried on for any time without the medical officer regretting that he has ever begun it. There was another case of poisoning a child. I saw the photograph of the child, and it was probably from 4 to 5 years of age. The ayah gave it opium in minute doses; the child withered away, and when it was very ill, in fact nearly dying, the medical officer discovered it was through opium. This woman was charged before the magistrate with chronically poisoning this child, and was punished with three years' imprisonment, but I understand if it had been her own child she might have gone quite unmolested, because it would not be known that she had done it.

4292. Does that complete what you wish to say with regard to the effect of opium upon children?—I think there should be some control exercised over opium, so that women could not possibly obtain it in order to drug their children. I learn, although it does not occur in my own district, that in other parts of India there is a heavy mortality from this habit.

4293. Have you anything to say with reference to the facilities that now exist under the system of licenses for the sale of opium? Do you consider the facilities are excessive?—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. Only two months ago the little town in which I labour was thrown into excitement by the news that a boy 16 years of age reading in the Government Collegiate School had poisoned himself by swallowing opium because he was unable, or thought he was unable, to pass an examination. The next case, which occurred only quite recently in this little town I am speaking of, was that of a young widow, 18 or 20 years of age, who for some domestic trouble or other took opium and died. The third case was that of a married woman, who, on account of a quarrel with her husband, took opium and died. I think the sale of opium should be controlled, and that the quantity which an ordinary person should be allowed to purchase should be very much reduced.

4294. Have you now said all that you wish to say on the subject before us in its general aspects?—Yes.

4295. I understand that you have recently visited Orissa?—I have.

4296. How long were you there?—I was there for about one whole day, in Cuttack.

4297. Do I understand that you visited that place with a view of obtaining information, so far as the length of time permitted, with regard to the subject which has been referred to this Commission?—That was my object.

4298. And you desire, I believe, to make a statement which will represent the results of the enquiries you made at Cuttack?—On my way to Orissa by steamer is

Dr. D.
Morrison.
29 Nov. 189

Dr. D.
Morison.
Nov. 1898.

November 1893, I met on board a number of native gentlemen (Hindus) returning to Orissa. All except one were connected with the Government. They were all men of intelligence and education. Two of them were M.A.'s and two had read up to the B.A. of the Calcutta University. I explained to them in a few words my object in going to Orissa. These young men acquiesced in the following statement in the presence of a witness: "We deliberately state that our experience of Cuttack, and generally over most parts of Orissa, has led us to consider Orissa peculiarly free from malaria with spleen and fever, as compared with Calcutta, Burdwan, Nadya, and other parts of Lower Bengal with which we are acquainted. We even know some friends of ours who have settled in Cuttack, Orissa, on account of its freedom from malaria. We know that in Angul and other parts there is fever, probably malarious, but Orissa generally is not considered by us to be malarious. We are decidedly of opinion that the habit of taking opium in Orissa is not due to malaria, as the people themselves do not attribute the habit to that cause." The witness in this case was Babu Hari Das Banerjee, 65, Nimitolla Ghat Street, Calcutta, who stated—"I am a zemindar and have estates in Orissa. The above evidence was taken before me on 15th November 1893." I would state that one European Government official, also one native of Orissa, a zemindar and manager of a large estate, gave me similar evidence to that recorded above. I was at Cuttack on the 17th November, and I was taken to see a retired Deputy Collector, who is interested in this question. I learned from him that a few days before he had prepared a statement on ganja and opium in Orissa. He said in answer to my questions:—"I am a Hindu, a native of Orissa. I have been for many years Deputy Collector, and have had occasion to reside in Balasore and Cuttack. I never heard of opium being given to cure or ward off malaria, for here in Cuttack we have little or none. I have known families come to Cuttack from Bengal with their members suffering from spleen and fever, and after residing here for some time without taking medicine, they have been cured of their malarial ailments." "Were you aware that opium was cultivated in Balasore or in any part in Orissa in the time of Warren Hastings?" "No, I was not aware of that; that may account for the prevalence of the habit. At Balasore a friend of mine, a Government official, complained to me that he could not get his clerks to work after 5 P.M., however great the pressure of work. He said all his clerks took opium, and as that was the hour when they took their opium, they could not go on without it." "Had you any experience of the Orissa famine (of 1866)?" "Yes. I was on relief works and gave the starving food." "Did you ever hear the starving people ask for opium to allay the pangs of hunger?" (Laughing.) "No, I never heard of that; their one cry was 'Rice! Rice!'" "So you do not think the people could buy opium (as a dearer article than rice) when they had no money to buy rice?" "Certainly not." I quote from the note prepared by this gentleman on opium and ganja, above referred to. He says:—"I know of many instances in which heirs to large estates brought ruin upon themselves by smoking and eating opium; not that the expenditure attending the habit was great enough to cause the ruin; but that the vice made the men on the one hand so lethargic, and weakened their intellects so much that they almost entirely neglected the management of their estates, leaving them in the hands of their servants, who robbed them right and left; and on the other hand, they were made exceedingly fond of carnal pleasure of all sorts, in which they indulged freely and most extravagantly. I have known the want of means to buy the drug turn men into thieves and burglars in numerous cases, which came before me officially. People have let their wives and children starve rather than do without the drug. The drug is used by men of all classes everywhere in Orissa: that is to say, the use is not confined to any particular race, class or district. It is regarded as a curse by all, except, of course, those who are eaters or smokers of the drug. Anything short of total prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy, except for medicinal purposes, would be a partial measure ill calculated to save the country from the destructive effects of opium. As regards the Native States, those in Orissa draw their supplies from the Government stores; in none of these States is the poppy grown or opium manufactured. I think the sympathies of the rulers of these States could easily be enlisted in the noble cause of abstinence from this drug. There need be no special police force to detect smuggling in the case of opium in this part (Orissa) of the country. It would not be easy to grow the poppy or manufacture opium without being noticed by the ordinary police. The existing police force, considered sufficient to prevent illicit preparation of the drug in districts under the Government, would prevent its being smuggled into them from Native States, where it is freely grown with-

out any restrictions. Should the rulers of these states be induced, as they easily could be, to prohibit its growth in their territories, the need for providing against smuggling would be reduced. The prohibitive measures recommended are not, therefore, likely to increase the charge on account of a detective force, as far at least as Orissa is concerned. One of the grounds of objection is the loss of revenue to Government, which would certainly result from it, supposing that such measures are enforced. I would simply answer that, where body and soul are at stake, as they undoubtedly are in the case under notice, no pecuniary consideration should stand in the way of reform. If opium-eating and smoking is a vice, as it is on all hands admitted to be, the traffic in the drug cannot but be considered immoral. This being so, there can be no justification whatever for the Government continuing the trade for the sake of filthy lucre. The revenue derived from it every righteous man would look upon as ill-gotten money; as the gain from gambling houses and those worse than these, would be. It is for the statesmen who are at the helm of Government to devise means by which the charges of governing the country could be met from legitimate sources, without having recourse to measures so immoral and so unrighteous as the opium traffic."

(Signed) JOGON MOXON ROY,
Deputy Collector (retired).

My next visit, in company with Mr. A. C. Das, was to the head teacher of a Government Normal School. He testified to the fact that opium was not taken in Orissa to ward off fever, or to cure fever, and that most parts of Orissa were not malarious. His name is Babu Modhu Shudhan Rao. I was referred when I was in Cuttack to Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, who lately retired from the position of Judge of the High Court in Calcutta. That gentleman has on several occasions gone to Cuttack to improve his own health and that of his family. On my return to Calcutta, I had an interview with him, and I spoke to him with regard to this point. In a letter to Mr. Alexander, dated Bhowanipour, 26th November 1898, after speaking of his visits to Cuttack, and the benefit he and his family always derived, he says:—"Having a very favourable opinion regarding the salubrity of Cuttack climate, I advised a relative of mine, who had been suffering here from the affection of the liver accompanied by high fever to try Cuttack. He took my advice, and went there. He shook off the fever in a short time and, after staying there for about four months, returned to Calcutta completely restored to health. During my stay on these occasions, I heard from several gentlemen that residents of Lower Bengal suffering from repeated attacks of malarious fever, get well there within a short time. Cuttack is much drier than Lower Bengal, and, I believe, is free from malaria. Would you be kind enough to hand over this note to Mr. Morison."

4299. In what way do you connect the letter which you have read from Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter with this enquiry?—As corroborating the evidence that I have read to you that Orissa generally is not malarious. That is the point. It has been asserted again and again that Orissa is intensely malarious, and that the excessive consumption of opium there is due to its malarious climate. I have also the evidence of Mr. Macmillan, who was for over thirty years Executive Engineer of Orissa. In answer to my questions, he said:—"I was Executive Engineer of Orissa for over thirty years; but I am now retired from Government service, and living in Cuttack. I have travelled over every part of Orissa, at all seasons, and along the low-lying coast line as well as in the higher plains towards the hills. I had charge of all the Public Works in the District, and many of the roads and bridges were designed and executed by me. I constructed that large break-water you saw on the river as you approached Cuttack in the steamer. I have come to know the people and their habits well. I know the malarious parts, but Orissa is not considered malarious by those who live here. During all these forty years I have never had fever except once, and then not very severely. In all my intercourse with the people I have never heard them say that they took opium as a prophylactic, and I am sure they do not use it either to cure or ward off fever. I have heard some say that they began it for rheumatism. The habit here is merely a vice. I can remember two instances when the habit, after long continuance, was abandoned. One, a good workman, a mechanic, who was called 'pagol' or fool by the others on account of the effect of opium upon him. He was unreliable, although naturally a good workman. He dreamt a dream and on that account, so he said, gave up the habit. Soon after leaving off the habit he became a steady and industrious workman, and began to look quite different in appearance; even the very color of his face was changed; he looked fairer and became sensible and

reliable. The second man was a merchant, and was also called 'pagol' or fool on account of his manner from excessive opium-eating. He had neglected his business, and things were going to the bad; but he left it off and became a competent and prosperous man."

4300. I may also state that while I was in Cuttack there was a meeting of the Total Abstinence Society of Cuttack. I happened to be present, and I was asked to speak a few words. The meeting was a crowded one. I should say there were between eight and nine hundred people present. I put the following resolution to the meeting, and it was unanimously adopted:—"At a public meeting of the Total Abstinence Society of Cuttack, convened on the subject of Total Abstinence from intoxicating liquors and drugs, we hear with surprise that the cause of opium-eating and smoking, so prevalent in Orissa, is due to malaria. We believe the habit to be due to bad example, so contagious in evil, and we have never heard of opium being used either to prevent the influence of malaria or to cure an attack of malarious fever in Orissa." Then, again, the Baptist Missionaries, who have a very large Mission in Orissa, happened also to be assembled at the time of my visit. I naturally looked to them to give some expression of opinion in regard to this point. The following Resolution was passed:—"We, the Baptist Missionaries from various parts of Orissa, at present in conference assembled, hereby re-affirm what we have hitherto acted upon, that opium-eaters or smokers are not eligible for baptism or admission into Church Fellowship in any of our churches scattered throughout Orissa." The conference really represented a Christian community of three to four thousand members.

4301. You have dealt with your experience in Lower Bengal and your visit to Orissa; is there any other point you would like to bring before us?—I should rather like to discuss the question as to whether malaria is a real cause of the excessive consumption of opium in Orissa. That this theory has been accepted by the Government of India will be proved from the following extract from the Blue Book "*Consumption of Opium in India*," which is known to the members of the Commission.

In a Despatch, dated 14th October 1891, the following sentence occurs:—"We regard the general facts about Bengal as on the whole satisfactory, when the enormous area and population are considered, and when further it is recognised how large a proportion of the area consists of alluvial, malarious tracts in which the use of opium by the people is not a vice, or even a luxury, but to some extent a necessity of life."

4302. (*Mr. Fanshawe*.) Does that include Orissa?—Bengal generally.

4303. (*Chairman*.) Have you anything further to say?—I should like to mention that I had occasion to bring this matter before the Anti-Opium Society. A discussion was held on "The Medical Aspects of the Opium question" on the 31st May, 1892. I wish to put in the pamphlet in which that discussion is reported as evidence, and I will quote from it in order to show what I consider to be the weak points of this theory of malaria accounting for the excessive consumption of opium in certain districts in India. In that discussion I stated:—"The first assertion affirms that the excessive consumption of opium in Assam and Orissa is due to the fact that these parts are more malarious than other parts of India, and that it is taken as a prophylactic by the poor ryots. There are three outstanding facts which prove, to me at least, that the above theory is not the true one. Many districts in Bengal, which are more malarious than Orissa and Assam do not consume opium in anything like the proportion of these oft-quoted districts. I instance the district of Rajshahy, some parts of which have been depopulated by malaria; yet opium, though known, is not largely consumed in that district as a whole. The excessive consumption of opium is not confined to malarious tracts, which it would be if the malarial theory was true, either as regards India or China. In both these countries people, living in parts comparatively free from malaria, are excessive consumers of opium. High above the malarial zone, in China and India, where malaria is endemically unknown, opium is consumed to excess. In such places as Simla—the highest town in the Himalaya range—we find the habit established, and the drug consumed to excess. It seems clear from these facts, which I can only merely mention, that whatever cause or causes have brought about the excessive consumption of opium in Assam and Orissa, it is not malaria alone. We must look a little more closely at these malarious tracts, and find a cause or causes, which are equally applicable to other parts of India, very different in climate, race, social habits, and religious restrictions. If we glance back

over the history of opium cultivation, we learn that it was formerly cultivated in these very districts of Assam and Orissa, where it is now so excessively consumed."

Dr. D. Morrison.

29 Nov. 189

In the "Return of an article on Opium, by Dr. Watt, Reporter on Economic Products with the Government of India, recently written by him, and intended to be published in the 6th Volume of the Dictionary of Economic Products of India," (which I believe has been handed in to the Commission), Dr. Watt states, at page 22:—"At length, in 1873, an end was put to all disputes by the Governor of Bengal (Warren Hastings), who assumed, on behalf of the English East India Company, a monopoly of all the opium produced in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa." On page 20 this sentence occurs:—"That it was once on a time cultivated there" (that is on the Coromandel Coast) "as well as in Orissa and Bengal generally, there can be no doubt, for we have the East India Company's orders that its cultivation should be restricted to Patna and Benares. Doubtless the danger to the community, and the difficulty in preventing illicit transactions with a widespread, almost promiscuous, cultivation, must have forced on the Directors of the Honourable Company the necessity for confining the traffic within narrow limits, where fiscal restrictions could be brought to bear on it." In my speech in the discussion I have referred to, I further say:—"The dangers to the community which they dreaded were real dangers—dangers with which the cultivation of opium have ever been associated in India—the demoralisation of the ryot, and the forming of habits of opium-eating by the community." I do not wish to quote any more from this pamphlet which I put in. I will conclude by saying that my experience and my evidence from Orissa enable me to say that the following points, so far as Orissa is concerned, have been proved:—That Orissa generally, instead of being a hot-bed of malaria, is a kind of sanitarium for Bengal, where those who can afford to do so go to get rid of Bengal malaria, and are not disappointed. That opium is not taken in Orissa as a prophylactic, for the people do not know the antiperiodic properties of the drug, nor do they need it for malaria. That opium is never taken by the people themselves to cure fever. That the opium-eaters, who are saturated with the "prophylactic," are at least as liable to fever as others. That the use of opium is looked upon as a curse by all intelligent natives of Orissa who have the welfare of their people at heart. That the Balasore District, where the cultivation was carried on, as might be expected, is the most deeply tainted with the vice.

4304. (*Mr. Wilson*.) You have mentioned that you were a member of the municipality of the town in which you reside?—That is so.

4305. How were you appointed to that position?—I was nominated by the Government of Bengal.

4306. Are you acquainted with a book on malaria by Dr. Russell, who has been a witness before this Commission?—I am.

4307. Is there anything in that book which either confirms or contradicts the views you have put before us?—I think there are passages in that book which confirm my views.

4308. Will you refer to them, and give us your opinion about them?—In speaking of the opium-eater, he says, at page 37: "The opium-eater enjoys considerable immunity from malarial affections in the early stage, the first few years of indulgence in the habit, before the organic visceral changes are set up, and the general shattering of constitution results, which prematurely break down the consumer of opium and render him an easy prey to diseases of every kind." He then goes on to say: "In the plains of Assam this habit is almost universal. In this district the writer has made a series of exact observations on the prevalence of this habit, among the large circulating population of the jail. He finds that nearly four-fifths of the men of the plains, who enter jail, are more or less addicted to this habit, consuming from five grains to three drachms of the drug daily. On the other hand, he has never yet in seven years met with a hill man who was an opium-eater. They are usually spirit-drinkers. The prevalence of this habit is the curse of our jail populations in Lower Assam. No work can be got out of the long confirmed opium-eater. He can digest nothing but light food, milk or soup. On ordinary diet he suffers from diarrhoea, tending to rapidly run to dysentery. His system has very slight heat-making power, he is extremely susceptible to any changes of temperature, and cannot stand cold; he is thus especially liable to both chest and bowel disorders. Again and again he may be nursed, by a system of milk diet, gradually on to ordinary food, again and again he recurs to hospital, suffering from diarrhoea, dysentery, or dyspepsia. The emaciation of the opium-eater is characteristic and extreme. Eventually, after

Dr. D.
Morison.
Nov. 1893.

having been a source of infinite care, after repeated courses of medical and dietary treatment, after having caused large expenditure in sick diet, extras, etc., he perishes, usually of a chest or bowel disorder, or perhaps from practical starvation, from eventual inability to digest any kind of food, even the lightest and most delicate. On *post-mortem* examination, all the viscera are usually found wasted and anemic, except the liver, which is commonly large, pale, and very fatty."

4309. Do you think that supports your view?—It does entirely.

4310. Do you wish to say any more with reference to that book?—There are other passages I might quote from it, that go to support my views in the matter.

4311. Were you present when Dr. Russell gave his evidence?—I was.

4312. Did you hear his explanation of that?—Yes, I heard him state that he referred to the "opium sot," but the word here is "opium-eater." Four-fifths of the people in jail could hardly be opium rats. He says "Nearly four-fifths of the men of the plains who enter jail are more or less addicted to this habit, consuming from five grains to three drams of the drug daily."

4313. Is there anything in the context which would lead the ordinary reader to suppose that it relates to opium sots?—I think not, because he calls opium "the curse of the Assam jails."

4314. Can you give us the date of the memorandum which you quote here, signed by Jozon Mohon Roy, the retired Deputy Collector?—It was written two or three days before my arrival, with the object, as I understood, of being presented to this Commission, in some form or other.

4315. You have given us the account of several statements and conversations which you had on a recent occasion on your way to Cuttack, with reference to this matter. I must apologise for asking you this question, but I think I must do so: did you hear any evidence of a contrary character?—I did not. I heard expressions from Europeans on the steamer that the difficulty of revenue was the great question, and that they had no sympathy whatever with this agitation against the opium traffic.

4316. You have been strenuously combating the doctrine of the connection of malaria with the consumption of opium?—Yes, I have.

4317. Can you give us any information as to the time that doctrine first arose?—I cannot exactly state who first started the theory; but it is only within recent years that it has come before the public: I think it was coincident with the agitation against opium.

4318. (Mr. Mowbray.) I understand that you have been in Bengal for sixteen years?—Yes, excluding my two visits to England.

4319. What sized place is Rampore? What is its population?—It is a town of 20,000 inhabitants, and it is the administrative head-quarters of the district of Rajshahye.

4320. Are you speaking from your experience of the town, or of the town and surrounding districts?—Of both; my experience extends to the whole district.

4321. What would be the population of the surrounding districts?—The population of the whole district of Rajshahye is somewhat about one million five hundred thousand, but I cannot give you the exact figures.

4322. Rampore is in the same part of India as Murshidabad, is it not?—Yes, on the opposite side of the river.

4323. Will it be described as being in the same district as Murshidabad?—No.

4324. Adjoining?—The Ganges separates them.

4325. Since you have been there, have you devoted your attention largely to this subject of opium?—Only within the last four years.

4326. Then the evidence which you have given us to-day from your own personal knowledge is based on four years' experience?—It is not: it is based on the experience extending over my whole term of service in Rajshahye.

4327. I thought you told me that your attention had only been directed to this subject four years ago?—I should have said that it was specially directed to it about four years ago.

4328. Do you remember your friend Mr. Donald Matheson, the Chairman of the Committee of the Anti-Opium Society, writing a letter to the *Times* in 1889, in which he referred to some letters which he had had from you?—Yes.

4329. This is what he says—"I write to Dr. Morison, the excellent medical missionary, who has been in charge of the

station for the last twelve years. His first reply was to the effect that he knew very little about it, but would make enquiries;" that is what you now substantially say, that it is only about four years ago that you began to make enquiries?—That is so.

4330. You have told us also that some further control should be exercised over the sale of opium: I should like to know what you mean by further control than what exists at present: in what direction do you think that control should be exercised?—I think it would be for the interests of the community at large, that the quantity of opium procurable by any person should be very much reduced, I should say, to non-poisonous doses.

4331. What would you call a non-poisonous dose?—Under four grains.

4332. What is the present amount that anybody can purchase in Rampore?—I understand that it is about five tolas: I am not quite certain, but I think that is the amount.

4333. Is it the case that within the last twelve months, the amount has been reduced from five tolas to one tola?—No, I am not aware of that.

4334. You would wish to go a good deal further than that?—Yes, I would make it difficult for a person to obtain opium, except for very necessary purposes.

4335. How would you define "very necessary purposes"?—Medicinal to begin with.

4336. How would you define "medicinal"?—Opium taken for the alleviation of bodily suffering.

4337. We have been told in evidence, by some witnesses who have appeared before us, that a large number take opium as a domestic remedy, for the alleviation of pain: is that in your view a medicinal taking of opium?—It is.

4338. With that you would not interfere?—I would not. I would simply guard against the abuse of that.

4339. From the evidence which other witnesses have given, you are no doubt aware that the amount taken by these people medicinally, in that sense of the word, is far larger than two grains?—Yes, because they are opium-eaters. They have become accustomed to it.

4340. In your opinion, we may take it, that for medicinal purposes, as a domestic remedy, a dose of two grains would be sufficient?—Yes. To begin with, that certainly would be a large quantity. I should say, to begin with, a half or a quarter of a grain would be the proper amount.

4341. I am not speaking of beginning. I am speaking of the maximum limit you would propose, with regard to the restriction of the sale?—I would guard it in this way: that those who are eating opium at the present time should not be deprived of it, and in order that they should receive what is necessary for them, they, of course, should be allowed to have larger quantities; but it should be known by those who are in charge of the shop that those persons are habitual consumers of opium. For those people there should be an exception made undoubtedly.

4342. Do you think, from your practical experience of the country, that it would be possible to vest that discretionary power in any persons selling opium?—I think it would be quite possible. I cannot go into details, but I see no difficulty in it. I think the Government could do it quite easily if they chose to give their attention to it.

4343. In order to apportion the amount of opium that any person was entitled to buy to the quantity which he had been in the habit of consuming, you would require, would you not, a very large number of people to be employed in that distribution?—I think not.

4344. Would it be possible for any small number of people to have sufficient personal knowledge of the applicants?—Yes, if certain shops were placed at certain centres, in a very short time the shopman would be able to know all his customers. I do not think there would be any difficulty in that. I am speaking of Bengal.

4345. I do not wish to ask you anything except with regard to your own personal experience. How many shops are there in Rampore?—I think there are three or four.

4346. Do you think that it would be possible for three or four people to have a sufficient knowledge of their customers to be able to say to one man, "you may have one grain," and another man, "you may have two grains"?—I think so.

4347. Without risk or serious abuse?—I think there would be no difficulty in a man recognising and knowing his customers if they were first registered. If they came to him to be registered, he would have no difficulty in knowing them.

4348. Now you have put in something you never suggested before: you mention a register?—I am not prepared to go into details; but I think in some parts of India a register would be necessary.

4349. Is not the difficulty in dealing with this matter, really a difficulty of detail?—It is entirely a difficulty of detail, therefore I do not wish to go into detail.

4350. It is very easy to say generally that a thing should be prohibited, or that more control should be exercised, but is it not necessary, before you say that, to think out the details before that could be controlled?—That is true generally. Undoubtedly one should think out as many of the details as one can. I have thought out some, but I am not prepared to lay them before the Commission, because I do not think that stage has arrived; but generally, I think that there would be no difficulty in manipulating the details of such a system of controlling opium-selling in Lower Bengal.

4351. Your view is that the maximum limit which should be provided for any person should be reduced to a very small quantity?—Any person who is not accustomed to opium.

4352. That it should be reduced to a very small quantity, and that discretionary powers should be vested in those who distribute the opium, and that they should know in some way who was a habitual smoker, and who was, therefore, entitled to have a larger dose: is that a fair summary of your recommendation?—I think that is what I mean.

4353. (*Mr. Fanshawe.*) Speaking from personal experience, you have said that there was no knowledge in Rajshahye of the use of opium as a prophylactic?—None whatever.

4354. You say that it is known as a domestic remedy?—Yes.

4355. Is it not so known in connection with fever (without using the word prophylactic) as enabling a man to withstand chills or pains caused by chills?—I have never heard of it used in that way. I have known it used sometimes for rheumatism and other pains that might arise.

4356. Not connected with chills, ague or fever?—Not with chills. For rheumatism I have seen and again heard it spoken of, and very often for syphilitic rheumatism.

4357. You have not heard of it being used in connection with fever?—I have not.

4358. You said that opium is always considered dangerous; is that quite what you intend to say, even when it is used by elderly men?—I do not think I made that statement in regard to elderly men.

4359. You do not mean it to apply to elderly men?—No, because public opinion among Hindus and Mahomedans is that elderly people who are failing in health from various causes may take opium without being considered to be addicted to a very demoralising habit.

4360. You also mentioned the habit of taking opium among the young men in the Rajshahye district. Did I gather that that was very unusual?—I think that is very unusual. I meant rather in regard to smoking.

4361. Is there now any shop in Rampore for the sale of chandu and madat?—I am not aware of any chandu shops; there are three for the sale of madat.

4362. You also said that there was a distinct tendency to increase the dose on the part of people addicted to the opium habit?—That is my deliberate opinion.

4363. Is it not the case that a number of these older men go on for long periods without increasing the dose to a point that does them any injury?—I think when they take it not for any pain, the tendency to increase it is not so very great; but when they take it for rheumatic pain or pains of any kind, and the pains are not removed or kept in subjection, there is a tendency to increase the dose.

4364. May we take it that generally in these cases the habit does not go on to an inordinate use of opium so as to do injury to the health?—I would not say that it does not interfere with the health. I believe there is a certain amount of influence upon the health. It is not very marked in some cases, but in long-confirmed cases it does become marked.

4365. Is it not a question of quantity; when an increased dose is taken it may not affect the health if it does not go to an excessive dose?—It is my experience that they usually do go to excess ultimately.

4366. Even in the case of men who begin later in life?—Yes. What I mean is that they usually go to five or six grains.

4367. But would that be excess as regards their own individual health?—My opinion is that a man cannot be an opium-eater without suffering in health, be he young or old.

4368. Do you think it would make any real difference in the number of suicides if opium were not available?—I think it would.

4369. You are aware that in Bengal suicides are common, and that there are many other modes of committing suicide?—Yes, I am aware of that.

4370. Then how would you apply that knowledge that there are many other means of suicide available and ordinarily used?—I would apply it in this way. If a man was a cutler and left his razors about his room and his children took to cutting their throats, I should consider that that man ought to move his razors out of the way. Opium has been such a prolific cause of suicide that a paternal government should remove it from the reach of the people.

4371. When you say a prolific cause of suicide, are you speaking of the Rajshahye district?—I have no statistics; I am speaking of India generally.

4372. In what part of India is it such a prolific source of suicide?—I have heard that Calcutta is one, and Rajputana another, and the opium-growing district of Gya, and other places.

4373. How would this fact affect your opinion, that in last year's Police report for the Lower Provinces, it is stated that in the district of Nuddea, 142 women committed suicide, and in every case death was due to hanging?—Probably opium was not at hand, or they would not have hanged themselves.

4374. Are there not always means available for suicide?—It is my opinion, and I think the opinion of the native public generally, that opium should not be so easily obtainable for suicidal purposes.

4375. In referring to Native opinion are you speaking of what has come within your own knowledge?—From my intercourse with the natives, which is pretty considerable.

4376. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Mr. Mowbray asked you what was a poisonous dose, and I think you said four grains?—Four grains is the usual dose mentioned in text-books.

4377. Does that mean a fatal dose?—Yes, there are no doubt exceptions where individuals can take larger doses, but generally, I think, four or five grains is considered fatal.

4378. Of course you mean in the case of persons entirely unaccustomed to its use?—Yes.

4379. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) How many grains are there to a tola?—I cannot tell; about 180, I should say, but I do not know exactly.

4380. (*Chairman.*) You have clearly given us your views with reference to the opium habit: may I ask whether you draw any parallel or see any analogy between the opium habit and the drinking of alcohol?—Yes; I think they are both sources of great evil in the world.

4381. You would not recommend the use of alcohol as an ordinary article of diet?—Yes, if it was necessary; as a medical man, I certainly would.

4382. You would recommend it for medical use?—For medical use.

4383. But not as an ordinary article or diet?—Not usually—not in the case of a person in ordinary health.

4384. To a person in ordinary health would you recommend abstinence from alcohol?—Not absolutely. Circumstances would modify my views—the constitution of the individual and other factors that might enter into any judgment that I should form. I do not think I can put it more clearly. I could not possibly state a general view upon the question. I am a total abstainer myself, but I do not in the least suggest that alcohol in its many forms may not be and is not beneficial. I know that in a great many cases it is most beneficial.

4385. Still you would regard it as useful rather as a medicine than as an ordinary article of indulgence?—Yes. The dangers that surround it to the community I think would make me careful not to encourage a young man to begin the use of the article.

Dr. D. Morrison.
29 Nov. 1891

The witness withdrew.

Dr. G. R.
Ferris.

Nov. 1893.

DR. GEORGE RICHMOND FERRIS called in and examined.

4386. (Chairman.) Will you make a general statement of your professional position and of your views as to the question with which this Commission has been appointed to deal?

I am a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and have been in India 40 years.

From early in the year 1856, I have been in private practice in Calcutta as Medical Officer connected with the Dispensary known as Messrs. R. Scott Thomson & Co. I have, therefore, had nearly 38 years of experience in this country. During the whole of this period I have had daily to attend to the ailments and prescribe for all classes of patients, Europeans, Eurasians, and natives from all the Indian provinces, as Burmese, Bengalese, up-country men, Punjabis, Afghans, Gurkhas, Sikhs, and indeed men of all castes, races and religions. This large practice has made me familiar with Indian diseases and the habits and customs of the people, and, among other things, has drawn my attention to the habit of opium-eating. I have had no experience of opium-smoking except that many years ago I visited an opium den. In that den I found a mixed lot of men, but they were all orderly, respectful, and in possession of all their faculties. Very early in my practice, I noticed that many patients were opium-eaters. My attention was first called, early in 1854, to this habit, when, as Surgeon in the Honourable E. I. India Company's Bengal Marine, I had medical charge of troops and followers being transported between Calcutta and Burma. On a voyage in the Honourable Company's S. S. *Tenasserim*, carrying a large number of Sikhs, who exhibited a special immunity from sea-sickness, this appeared, considering the weather, so unusual and so peculiar, that I made inquiries, and to my astonishment I found that these men, who, I also noticed, took but very small quantities of food, were all opium-eaters. From that time I have never ceased, in the course of my practice, to investigate, so far as my opportunities allowed, the opium habit and the effect of opium on those who use it. Before going further, I may say I have never known Turkey opium to be used by an opium-eater, and I should regard four grains of such opium as a dangerous dose, that is, pure Turkey opium. The opium, which I have known to be eaten by my patients, is Bengal opium, and as to this class of the drug, I should consider pure opium in eight grains to be dangerous,—that is, eight grains in one dose. When the habit is commenced, usually one pipe worth of opium is purchased. This is about four grains, and I may mention that this rate of sale has, so far as I know, not varied in all my experience. At the beginning, the opium-eater will divide his one pipe worth in various ways, taking the dose morning and evening; the maximum dose being taken in the evening. After a time he may increase the quantity to six grains, and even eight grains, but I have noticed that a man will continue to take the same quantity daily for a very long time. There are cases where the quantity taken may be as much as twelve, and even sixteen, grains per day, but this I regard as extreme and connected with some special disease—it may be diabetes—against which the patient is combating. In one case, which has recently been before me, a native, remarkable for his intelligence and physique, but suffering from diabetes, actually got up to forty-five grains of extract of opium per day. The effect he desired having been produced, he is reducing the quantity. No one would be able to tell from that man's appearance, from his conversation, or his business aptitude, that he was an extreme opium-eater. It is a common rule with me to ask my native patients if they take opium, and in this way I have become acquainted with a great many circumstances not ordinarily known to medical men in connection with the opium habits and with its effects upon diseases. Generally, I may say that it has never made any difference in my treatment whether the patient took opium or not. I have not found opium deleterious in its use or interfere with the exhibition of any other drug. I have not found opium taken as a habit productive of any disease. I have not found it induces emaciation or dulling of the mental faculties or a withering of the tissues or of the patient's physical strength. I do not know of an instance of what may be called an opium drunkard from the eating of opium, though there may be opium drunkenness as the result of excessive smoking, especially if the opium be adulterated, but no such case has come under my observation. My experience of chandu and bang is so small that I must refrain from expressing any opinion as to their effects. As a rule, the opium habit is not common to young men; but I have to point out that, when for any cause whatever, young men have taken to opium, they become in a marked and peculiar manner protected, so to speak, against

diabetes and dysentery—that is, against two diseases which are, so far as my experience goes, the most fearful scourges and the most feared and dreaded by all natives of this province, and indeed by all natives of India with whom I have been brought into contact. I have noted that a great deal is due to the food common to the people of India, the Hindus particularly, whose main food is rich in starch. The Mahomedans, who take more animal food, are not so prone to diabetes as their Hindu neighbours, but all natives suffer enormously from the effect of poor food, damp, cold, and exposure inevitable from their ordinary avocations. It is very remarkable amongst the poorer classes as proof that opium prevents a waste of tissues—that an opium-eater can do with much less food than a man not given to the habit; and this being so, it may possibly be that the poverty of the man may maintain the habit at a given minimum as to quantity, say 4 grains per day. Besides dysentery, natives suffer from a variety of intestinal complaints and from the results of malarial poisoning. I have noticed that in such cases the patient invariably seeks relief from opium; and I have also noticed that when opium-eaters are subjected to the same malarial influences as non-opium-eaters in cases where such remedies as quinine and arsenic and other preparations would be useless, the opium-eaters enjoy an immunity which is remarkable when contrasted with the condition of non-opium-eaters in exactly the same circumstances. I have never hesitated in cases coming before me to recommend my patients to continue it, and I have found that where natives have come to me suffering atrociously from the effects of alcohol, and I have been able to substitute opium for the alcoholic habit, the patient has recovered his status in society exactly in the same proportion as the substitution of opium for alcohol has been less or more complete. This I consider a very noteworthy fact to the credit of the opium habit. So far as I can judge, crime is very rarely met with amongst opium-eaters. I can never tell an opium-eater by casually looking at him; his habits and his appearance will not guide me. Of course I should know if I examined him for this particular matter. I find that opium-eaters are healthy men, and their muscular development is good, and that mentally and bodily they contrast favourably with non-opium-eaters. The conclusion I have been obliged to come to is that in a country like India, having regard to the habits of the people, the character of their avocations, the peculiarities of the climate, and the particular character of their food, opium is distinctly beneficial—that it is not harmful, that it is not a vice, that it does not promote in any way immorality, that it does not increase but distinctly decreases mortality, and that without it the vital returns of many parts of the country would be simply appalling. My experience is that men, as a rule, with rare exceptions, will resort to either a stimulant or sedative, and as far as Europeans are concerned, the majority use a stimulant; natives are so constituted that when they resort to stimulants they do so to a degree almost incredible to ordinary European experience, and the extreme way in which they indulge renders them, as native reformers continually urge, pests of society and dangerous to themselves and all about them. Opium, on the other hand, because it is a sedative, absolutely prevents them from becoming obnoxious in any way. I am convinced that the native will have one or the other, the sedative or the stimulant. If the Government prevents the resort to the sedative, then we must expect to find the wealthier classes giving themselves up to the more refined forms of alcohol produced by Europe; while the poorer classes will develop a very wide use of native rum, arrack and spirits, and the result will be widespread vice, misery, crime, and an increased mortality, at the very idea of which I, as a medical man, stand aghast. No doubt distillers here and in Europe would look not to the effects to be produced, but to the profits which such a tremendous demand would yield; but I doubt if Government can take this view; and, as a man who knows something of India and its people, who has learned to take a strong interest in their welfare, and who has a stake in the prosperity of the country, I deprecate such wholesale degradation as this would be; and, as I cannot imagine a cheap, a good, and a harmless substitute for opium, I am so convinced, as any one can be, that it should be let alone, and that it has been not only a necessity, but would even go to the length of saying, a blessing to the people.

4387. I gather from the statement you have made that you are in private practice here?—I have been in private practice for 38 years within a month or two. I have been 40 years in India without leaving the country for a single day.

4388. You are in private practice, as distinguished from members of your profession who are in Government employ?—Yes. When I left the Government employment in March 1856 I joined my partner (at whose solicitation I left Government service) in private practice in April 1856. From that time I have not ceased practising in Calcutta.

4389. So that your experience as presented to us is that of an independent practitioner?—Perfectly so.

4390. (*Sir William Roberts.*) You have given a very full account of your opinion with regard to the opium habit. Have you ever endeavoured to divide the effects of opium into the anodyne or hypnotic effect which we value medicinally and those other effects that opium-eaters experience?—I have not gone into its separate effects as a sedative or hypnotic. I have simply taken the effect on the opium-eater. As a medical man I sometimes give opium as a hypnotic; that is a different thing.

4391. Of course you recognise the opium-eater as having a sort of tolerance for the drug?—Yes.

4392. You do not recognise that the susceptibility of the opium-eater to the anodyne powers of opium is altered; he is still susceptible to the medicinal effects of opium as an anodyne?—Certainly.

4393. What has been your experience with regard to the increase of the dose? We have been told again and again by certain witnesses that there is an inevitable tendency among opium-eaters to increase the dose?—The word "inevitable" is misplaced. I know persons who have been opium-eaters for at least 20 years, and they are now taking the same dose as they did when they first consulted me; so that it is not inevitable. There may be opium-eaters who have begun the habit by the inducement of their friends or some other cause of that kind, not for any particular ailment. Those are the men who increase the dose. A man at first buys a pie worth and perhaps divides it into two days, but he may go on gradually, as I have said, up to six or eight grains, which I look upon as the great majority of cases—99 per cent.—to be a maximum.

4394. That is the limit of tolerance?—Not the limit of tolerance, because they take it with perfect impunity, but they may go on to very large doses. We know that even among the Europeans by gradual use the tolerance becomes much greater.

4395. I presume also that there is a very great difference in individuals in regard to their tolerance?—Certainly.

4396. Have you ever seen anything like that tolerance among the European residents in Calcutta?—Very rarely. I have had several cases, but the percentage is very small.

4397. To what do you attribute the marked difference between the opium-eating habit among Europeans and the same habit amongst the natives of Calcutta?—The Europeans as a rule are considered healthy; they have means at their disposal, and can afford to buy stimulants.

4398. You mean alcohol?—Yes. The native is so poor that although he may be able to spend one pie in a day or two days, or even two pie a day, that would buy very little alcohol; so he takes to the sedative from poverty.

4399. That applies to poor natives, but we have evidence before us that the habit is diffused amongst the rich as well as amongst the poor?—Yes. The opium began with the natives before stimulants were known to any excess in India. I cannot go back, but I fancy that opium was eaten long before stimulants were generally known amongst the natives.

4400. Taking persons in easy circumstances,—Europeans and say the Marwaris here—how do you account for the difference—the Marwaris becoming opium-eaters and the Europeans not?—The Marwaris who take opium are a peculiarly satisfied, docile, quiet, harmless set of men; but if they took stimulants, it would be otherwise.

4401. You do not see my point. I want, if possible, as a scientific enquirer, some key to the fact that Europeans do not, except in rare instances, become opium-eaters, while the people of India, as we hear, commonly or frequently become opium-eaters; have you thought of that?—The European has more means at his disposal, and if he has any ailment he will consult a European doctor, who will not make an opium-eater of him. There are very few natives who can afford to go to a European to be prescribed for; but the Kabirajis and their friends for any ailment recommend them to take opium to begin with.

4402. Has it never struck you that there was a difference of tolerance depending upon race or climate or food, or the environment of Europeans on the one hand and of the

inhabitants of India on the other?—No. In Calcutta I have seen the greatest quantity taken by Europeans. The maximum I have seen has been taken by a European.

4403. You have seen opium used in excess?—I have.

4404. To the injury of the health?—I cannot say; that I have not seen.

4405. Then you merely consider excess from a speculative point of view?—Entirely, because I have not seen any injury to the health from opium in any respect.

4406. Not in large quantities?—No.

4407. Have you had experience amongst the poor natives, or among a rather better class?—I have. Members of this Commission, if they would come some morning unknown to me, and simply sit down and see the class of people for whom I prescribe daily, would be astonished. They would see all classes, from the poorest coolie woman with her child to the richest native in the country. They come during six or seven hours of the day, people of all classes, including wealthy Europeans. They all take their turn when I am dealing with sick people. I would guarantee that on any one day you would see every class of Bengali, from the highest to the lowest, as well as Afghans and other up-country men like the Sikhs, and also the poor unfortunate woman who will go and sell a piece of jewellery to come to me under some idea that I can do her good—she will come with her infant child to be prescribed for. You see that every day going on, week by week, month by month, and year by year.

4408. You say that when opium is taken in large quantities you have not seen mischief produced by it?—No, I have not.

4409. (*Mr. Pease.*) You say, "I can never tell an opium-eater by casually looking at him; his habits and his appearance will not guide me. Of course I should know if I examined for this particular matter." In what way do you examine?—If you examine the opium-eater you will find that the Iris dilates and the pupil becomes smaller; that is from the effect of the opium upon the motor nerves. If I see a person with a contracted pupil, I immediately know that he takes opium or bang, and then he tells me which it is. It is only from that that I am able to discover it—not from any emaciation or other appearance of that kind, but from a dilatation of the iris.

4410. You have also said that without the use of opium, the vital returns from many parts of the country would be simply appalling. Will you tell us what parts of the country you have specially in view?—I have travelled outside of Calcutta in the Eastern districts a good deal, and I have seen the poor people there, my name being pretty well known amongst them. Many of the natives have constantly flocked to me, and the Kabirajis have come to speak about diseases. They have said to me: "Well, sahib, your quinine does nothing—it has no effect at all, but a little aphim (opium) has acted beneficially." That has been so particularly in cases of famine. If it were not for opium during famines I believe the death-rate would be ten-fold. It makes up to a certain extent for food. Say that a person has one anna a day. (I am speaking now of starvation times; these people do not spend anything on clothes.) Suppose a man to spend four pie for his family for food, they might yet be starving; but if he spends one pie in opium and three pie in food they will pass through the famine until relief has come round.

4411. Your answer to my question is "Eastern Bengal"?—Yes, my information is from the records of the famine. I am in a position to get general information freely from well-informed parties.

4412. An estimate was given to us yesterday that the number of opium consumers in Bengal would be about 2 per cent. of the population; do you agree with that estimate?—I should think that that was very far below the real figure. Mine are the sickly people; I cannot tell you about the healthy people. Leaving out the Eurasian and European elements, I should say that, taking the natives of all classes, not less than 30 per cent. of the male native adults who come to me as sick people take opium; I will not say how many more, as I have not gone into statistics. I see opium-eaters every day. Yesterday a wealthy zemindar came to me to be prescribed for. He was a man of high status. I naturally asked him, as I usually do: "Do you take opium?"—"Yes," he replied. "How much?" I asked. "I take about two annas a day." That means sixteen grains, which is a very large quantity. That man is about fifty-five years of age, and he is a stalwart, powerful, healthy man. He came to me with regard to some ailment, and I did not consider it necessary to interfere at all with his opium-taking.

Dr. G. F.

Ferris.

29 Nov. 189

Dr. G. E.
Ferris.
29 Nov. 1898.

4413. Your estimate is 30 per cent. of the people who come to you as patients?—Yes—I say not less than that, it may be much more. I exclude Eurasians and Europeans, and refer to the native male adults only.

4414. These are people who have previously been in the habit of taking opium?—Yes, I am speaking only of them.

4415. Are you aware of any distiller or brewer who has ever joined the Anti-Opium agitation?—I have not gone into that; I stick to my profession. The information I have gathered has come naturally to me. This question has not come before me until I was asked on Sunday. I was once before asked by a person whether I would give evidence, and I declined. On Sunday I received a requisition, and then I said I would not decline. I have not gone into this matter in any form beyond what I have given you information about, as the result of my experience as a resident for forty years in India (which I have never left for a day) and having a constant knowledge of these people.

4416. (Mr. Wilson.) I think you spoke of opium-eating as being peaceful?—Yes.

4417. I think I have heard it said that it goes further, and that it sometimes makes them rather cowardly?—I have not seen it, and history proves the contrary. The Rohillas and Sikhs, who are opium-eaters, are amongst the most warlike and fearless men we have in India.

4418. You have not seen that yourself?—No, certainly not; I have never seen opium make them cowards.

4419. Are you a member of the Calcutta Medical Society?—No. My time is so fully occupied that I have no time for it. I have been invited.

4420. In reference to the dispensary practice, what are the fees for which Messrs. Scott Thomson & Co. permit the poorest people to come?—There are none. I treat them for nothing. Scott Thomson & Co. pay me as a medical man for giving advice there. In many cases the poor people get medicines for nothing, or at the lowest figure. I receive no fee from the richest or poorest. I prescribe for these hundreds for nothing, as far as the patients are concerned.

4421. I am ignorant of the customs of this country; will you tell me whether the medicines also are supplied?—No.

4422. They purchase the medicines?—I prescribe for the patients, and the medicine is made up from my prescription. Scott Thomson & Co. have to deal with that.

4423. The patients purchase the medicine?—They have to pay for the medicine.

4424. In a European establishment of that kind, would the cost of medicine be within the reach of the poorest people?—Yes. I have to use a certain amount of caution. If I require an expensive article for these poor people, I see if I cannot get a substitute for it. I use my discretion in these matters.

4425. Speaking generally, do you think there is any necessity for any kind of further restriction in reference to the sale of opium in this country?—Not the slightest.

4426. Would you be in favor of any increase in the facilities of getting it?—I think the supply and the demand, after this Commission, will be greatly increased.

4427. That was not my question. I asked whether you would be in favor of anything that would tend to

increase the use of opium in this country?—No; I would allow things to shape themselves naturally, so that people who wanted opium might obtain it.

4428. We had a witness yesterday who thought it would be desirable that there should be further facilities, and he hoped to see the consumption of opium increasing; is that your view?—My view is that amongst the Bengalis it is so beneficial that I should prefer to see an increased consumption rather than a decrease.

4429. My question is, are you in favor of increasing the facilities for the consumption of opium?—I am.

4430. You have stated that you noticed that the Sikhs had a special immunity from sea-sickness. Do you wish us to understand that you think opium is a useful remedy against sea-sickness?—No, I do not bring it forward in that way. I bring it forward as the starting-point of my first inquiry, which induced me to take up this opium question.

4431. Do you occasionally recommend alcohol for daily dietetic use?—There are certain cases of course where the stomach requires it. I do not order alcohol for a healthy man and say—"You must take it;" but medicinally I prescribe it.

4432. I ask again, do you occasionally prescribe alcohol for daily dietetic use?—Yes.

4433. Do you do the same with regard to opium?—Only in cases of disease.

4434. Do you prescribe it for daily dietetic use as you would alcohol?—No.

4435. Then you would not look on opium for Europeans at all events, as being of the same dietetic value as alcohol?—Quite the opposite.

4436. So far as the people of this country are concerned, do you say the same? Do you as a matter of fact prescribe opium for daily dietetic use to the natives of India?—I do not.

4437. Then I suppose I may take it from your answers that you think there is a marked distinction between alcohol and opium for daily dietetic use?—A very marked distinction.

4438. If you heard of a medical man so recommending opium for daily dietetic use, would you think that he was doing a safe thing or rather a dangerous thing?—Before I could answer that question, I should want to know what that medical man had in view before he prescribed the opium for dietetic use.

4439. Did you ever hear of any medical man that did so prescribe it?—Simply as an article of diet, no. Medicinally, I would recommend it.

4440. (Mr. Fanshawe.) I think you said you had a requisition to attend here; will you tell us what that communication was?—If I used the word "requisition," I meant invitation. I was left a perfectly free agent. I was asked whether I would be willing to come.

4441. (Sir William Roberts.) You have been asked whether you ever heard of any medical man ordering opium as a dietetic; have you ever heard of any medical man ordering tobacco as a dietetic habit?—Not as a dietetic, as a medication I have known it. In bronchial and chest affections I have known it prescribed.

The witness withdrew.

KABIRAJIS GANGA PRASAD SEN GUPTA, BIJAYA RATNA SEN, AND PRABY MOHUN SEN, called in and examined, through an interpreter.

Kabirajis
G. P. Sen,
Gupta,
B. K. Sen
and Praby
Mohun Sen.

The following statement was read as the evidence of Kabiraj Ganga Prasad Sen Gupta:—

4442. Opium is considered to be a beneficial medical ingredient, specially for the poorer classes of the various districts in this province. It has been generally found to be efficacious in bowel-complaints, asthma, rheumatism, diabetes, etc., which require a costly treatment, but opium alone, when used in such cases, proves a specific remedy for those who can ill afford to meet the expenses of the costly medical treatment. The use of opium also enables them to give up drinking liquor.

4443. The regular use of opium increases appetite, power of digestion, energy, and the habit of working. It also prevents premature oldness and increases vitality. From time immemorial the native physicians have been

using this article with other ingredients in innumerable chronic cases with great success. Both the higher and lower classes, under these circumstances, use opium.

4444. I do not think the use of opium degenerates the moral and physical condition of the people, though excessive consumption sometimes brings drowsiness, but such cases are rare and found to exist in the lower classes only, and also in many cases in other classes in old age, when the dose is generally increased to obtain a staying power.

4445. Generally no one uses opium unless suffering from disease where its effects are marvellous, although some take it to keep up health and obtain staying power.

4446. In my opinion no one views with hatred the moderate consumption of opium like the use of other intoxicating ingredients, such as spirits or liquor, ganja, charas, chandu, gooles, etc.

4447. The expense of using opium is generally met by the consumers themselves. This being a poor country, the prohibition or restriction of the traffic in opium by the introduction of any heavier duty will be keenly felt by the poorer classes of Her Majesty's subjects and make them starve.

4448. Opium is very extensively used in this province, and as it is very difficult to give it up when once habituated, it is difficult to prohibit the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium, and it is impossible to do so.

No change short of prohibition in the existing arrangements for regulating and restricting the opium traffic in Bengal is needed, but some measures should be adopted to discourage the manufacture and use of *chandu* and *goofi*, which are made of opium and doing injury among the poorer classes to a great extent.

4449. (Chairman.) Does this statement represent the views of the other two witnesses? (The Interpreter, after inquiring from them)—Yes.

4450. I notice that you recommend that some measure should be adopted to discourage the manufacture and use of *chandu* and *goofi*, which are made of opium and are doing injury among the poorer classes to a great extent. Would you suggest to us what practical measures you would recommend for the purpose of carrying out the reform which you think so desirable? (The Interpreter.) Kabiraj Ganga Prasad Sen Gupta is of opinion that the habit which they contract of opium-smoking is a bad habit, more especially when they smoke in shops in company. The others agree in this opinion, hence they want to put a stop to the shops being kept open. If any one has contracted a habit of smoking, he should be allowed to smoke in his own home, not in a place where there will be a congregation of smokers.

4451. They desire to see the abolition of smoking-shops?—Yes.

4452. Are all three in favour of the abolition of licenses for smoking opium and *chandu* on the premises?—Yes.

4453. In licensed shops?—Yes.

4454. (The Maharaja of Darbhanga.) Would they have any objection to people smoking in their private homes, getting a number of people together, and forming a smoking club?—They object to people clubbing together and smoking opium.

4455. Do they object to eight or ten men smoking together in their own houses madat and *chandu*?—They say it is not a good thing; it is not at all desirable, but when people buy opium and smoke in their own homes, no law would be able to restrict that.

4456. (Mr. Wilson.) I should like to know if all the three gentlemen present practise what is called the Ayurvedic system of medicine?—They do.

4457. Are there text-books and authorities on this subject which are accepted by them?—They say there are heaps of them.

4458. Do those text-books express the opinions that the witnesses hold on this subject?—They say that they practise what is taught in their books, and in their experience they have found that what they have been taught in their books is quite correct.

4459. When were those books written?—They say that in Bhavaprakasha three views are distinctly laid down, and that book was written nearly eight hundred years ago.

4460. And opium is mentioned in it?—Yes.

4461. Is that a book itself or a collection of books?—It was a collection by Bhasa Misra from several text-books.

4462. (Mr. Haridas Vekaridas.) Are there any other books beside Bhavaprakasha in which the use of opium is laid down?—They say there are many, viz., Rasendra Chandrika, Rasaraj Sundar, Jyotschintamani, Rasendrāschintamani, Rasendra Sarasangbraha, etc.

4463. Are they of ancient date?—They say they are.

4464. Is opium mentioned in Sushruta?—They say Sushruta does not mention anything about opium. The books which deal with opium are of ancient date. Bhavaprakasha was edited eight hundred years ago. Charaka is of a more ancient date still.

4465. Is opium mentioned in Rajnighanta and Nighanta?—They say, yes.

4466. Is there also a work called Nighanta Estnaker?—They say, yes. Opium is mentioned there. Opium is mentioned in the most ancient works. Charaka treats only of medicinal oils and medicines prepared from the juice of plants. Sushruta is a book mostly on surgery and anatomy. Harit deals with medicine, but there is no mention of opium in it. Begbhata is also a very ancient book, more ancient than the others, and opium is mentioned in it. Rasabaghat is nearly two thousand years old.

4467. What authority is there for saying that the Bhavaprakasha is eight hundred years old?—They say that Chakrapani edited some books during the Pal dynasty which is nearly a thousand years old. In Bhavaprakasha Chakrapani is mentioned, hence Bhavaprakasha must be of later origin.

4468. What is said about opium?—Ganga Prasad Sen Gupta has a quotation from Bhavaprakasha in Sanskrit which he put in with the following translation:

"The different names of poppy-heads are:—

Tilbheda, Khaetila and Khākhaa.

Its juice is called opium.

(1) It is absorbant. It excites the function of the lymphatic system, i.e., it dries up the watery portion of the tissues. For this reason it is applied externally in the following diseases as absorbant, viz., Kadmā, swelling and inflammation, and rheumatism, etc.

(2) It is astringent, i.e., it diminishes and checks the secretion almost of all the organs, and so it is used in diarrhoea, dysentery, diabetes, gonorrhoea and hæmorrhages.

(3) It checks the bronchial secretion, and so it is used in different kinds of lung diseases, viz., asthma, pulmonary phthisis and bronchitis.

(4) It increases biliousness, i.e., the biliary secretion of the liver is checked, and so the effete matters which would have otherwise been eliminated through bile, accumulate in the blood and produce body-heat; and it is excitant to the nervous system. It produces nervousness and excites the brain. It is diaphoretic, i.e., increases perspiration.

(5) It is a sort of poison, and according to the Shāstras it, in combination with other drugs, produces longevity and prevents decay and death.

4469. (Mr. Fanshawe.) Are these gentlemen Brahmans?—They are not Brahmans, they are Vaidas; they come next to the Brahmans.

4470. Are they hereditary Kabirajis?—They are hereditary practitioners—physicians.

4471. (Mr. Pease.) Do they use modern books?—They say no book on medicine in Sanskrit has been written lately, and therefore they do not use any.

4472. What is the most modern book they use, and what is its date?—They say that the latest book on the Hindu system of medicine is Rasendra Sarasangbraha, and even that is not less than six or seven hundred years old.

Kabirajis
G. P. Sen
Gupta,
B. E. Sen,
and Peary
Mohan Sen.

29 Nov. 1893.

The witnesses withdrew.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 10-30.

At the Council Chamber, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

SIXTEENTH DAY.

Thursday, 30th November 1893.

PRESENT:

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B. (CHAIRMAN, PRESIDING).

SIR JAMES LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
 " WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D.
 MR. R. G. C. MOWBRAY, M.P.
 " A. U. FANSHAWE.

MR. ARTHUR PRASH.
 " HARIDAS VSHARIDAS DESAI.
 " H. J. WILSON, M.P.

MR. J. PRESCOTT HEWITT, C.I.E., *Secretary*.

*Mr. Sudam
 Chunder
 Naik.*

MR. SUDAM CHUNDER NAIK, Assistant Superintendent, Tributary States, Orissa, called in and examined.

- 30 Nov. 1893. 4473. (*Mr. Fanshawe*.) Will you tell us to what district you belong?—I come from Orissa, and I belong to the district of Cuttack.
4474. Is that your native district?—No; I am a resident of the Balasore district.
4475. How long have you been in the Cuttack district?—I have been in the Cuttack district for the last 22 years.
4476. In Government employ?—I have been in Government employ for the last 17 or 18 years.
4477. I believe your experience extends not only to the Cuttack district proper, but also to the Tributary States?—Yes, and also to the districts of Balasore and Puri.
4478. How many years' experience have you had in the Balasore district?—About two years in the Balasore district, and about six months in Puri.
4479. The rest of your time has been spent in the Cuttack district?—Yes.
4480. The Tributary Mahals are the low-lying hills between the country of Cuttack and Central India, I believe?—Yes, that is so.
4481. Is that where you now hold your appointment?—Yes.
4482. In these Tributary States there is some amount of cultivation in the valleys, is there not?—Yes, paddy cultivation, and also the cultivation of other cereals.
4483. By whom is that carried on?—It is carried on by all classes of people.
4484. To what race do they belong; are they largely Ooryas?—Yes, and also aborigines.
4485. Ooryas are Hindus, speaking the Oorya language?—Yes.
4486. Are there aboriginal tribes living amongst the hills and jungles in the Tributary States?—Yes.
4487. Will you tell us what you know about the habit of opium-eating among these people: first with reference to the people living in the low-lying lands, and then with reference to the people in the hill tracts?—I may say that, both as a Government officer and as a resident of that province, I possess some knowledge of the nature and habits of the people, not only of Orissa proper, but of its hill tracts known as the Gujarat or the Tributary Mahals. So far as my knowledge extends, I can say that the consumption of opium by the people of my province has had no bad effect on them either morally or physically. On the contrary, I know people taking opium for 20 years or more to have kept very good health. They never use opium for non-medical purposes. At least I have no knowledge of this, though opium-smoking is resorted to by some for pleasure or for other purpose, an excess indulgence of which leads to some mischief. But such cases are few.
4488. Can you tell us whether this habit is common among the people?—I cannot say that it is common.
4489. What information can you give us about that?—The percentage perhaps varies from 5 to 10 per cent.
4490. Among the adult population?—Yes.
4491. Can you tell us at what age the people, so far as you know, take to this habit?—People take to the habit after they are 40 years of age; and there are some also who take to it after they are 20; but speaking generally they take to it after they are 35 or 40.
4492. Speaking generally, can you tell us what is the ordinary sort of dose, the ordinary amount of opium that is taken?—They would not take more than two grains a day on the average. There are others of course who take it in excess; but on an average they do not take more than two grains.
4493. Can you tell us whether this opium is taken in the morning or in the evening? What is the habit in reference to that?—It is taken both in the morning and in the evening.
4494. Is it also taken during the day?—No, as a rule it is taken in the morning and evening only.
4495. Among the people who take opium is there any tendency to increase the dose, so far as your knowledge goes?—No.
4496. You have already stated that you consider it has no bad effect upon them morally or physically?—That is so.
4497. Have you anything to say with reference to a class of people called Páns: are they an aboriginal tribe?—Yes; they live in the Tributary States and also in the plains. They are known as a criminal class.
4498. What do you wish to say about them?—Of a class of people called Páns, known as the criminal class in some of the hill States, I can say that seldom a Pán takes opium, and I never saw one who committed any crime the cause of which could be attributed to his habit of opium-eating. I may here state that opium has, on the other hand, a very deterrent effect on crime. Of all people, opium-eaters and opium-smokers have a terrible dread of jail, which deprives them of the free and timely use of the drug, and it is an intoxication which brooks no delay.
4499. Do these aboriginal tribes use opium?—A very few.
4500. Do they indulge in country liquor?—Yes; they do.
4501. Can you tell us for what reason, as far as you know, people take to this opium habit?—They take to it for medicinal purposes.
4502. What do you mean by that?—I mean by that that they take it for bowel-complaints, fever, and for a disease known in this country as elephantiasis, swelling of the legs and hands and the sympathetic fever which comes from it.

Opium is taken to prevent the people from getting those diseases, and it is also taken for dysentery.

4503. Is elephantiasis common in your country?—Yes.

4504. In Cuttack and in the Tributary Mahals is this opium habit regarded as disgraceful?—It is not disgraceful.

4505. How is it regarded, in what light do the people look upon it?—The people are rather indifferent to the matter. They do not think ill in any way of a man who takes opium. They do not think that he has disgraced himself by it, unless a man is found to smoke it excessively.

4506. I am speaking of eating for the moment.—Eating opium is regarded rather indifferently.

4507. Does the habit extend to women as well as to men so far as your information goes?—It extends to women, but it is the exception. Very few, as far as I know, take it.

4508. What would be the general feeling, so far as you know, with regard to prohibiting the use of opium?—With every deference to the Commission, I should say that it will not only be highly impolitic, but extremely unwise to introduce any prohibitive measure for the suppression of consumption either entirely or to a limited extent. People of my country are not and will not be prepared to bear in whole or in part the loss of revenue that would inevitably be the result of such a measure, giving thereby a rise to widespread discontent.

4509. Have you any remarks to make with regard to the licensing system?—No; except to say that I do not consider the existing system to be bad in any way. I think the Government has prescribed a very good method of restriction, both with regard to the sale of raw opium and smoking opium.

4510. What can you tell us about opium-smoking in this district; is it commonly practised?—It is not common. Of course there are people who do smoke, but I cannot say it is common.

4511. What do they smoke?—They smoke only opium.

4512. In what form—what is it called?—Gooli or madak. Chandu is not common in our part.

4513. Can you tell us what is the opinion with regard to smoking gooli or madak?—The opinion is not in favour of it.

4514. Is there any other point you would like to mention?—I heard Dr. Morison state yesterday that Cuttack is not a malarious district. Perhaps he meant the town proper. If he meant the district I should not agree with him, for I think there are certain parts of the country which are malarious.

4515. You wish to state, as far as your knowledge goes, that certain parts of the Cuttack district are malarious?—Yes.

4516. And certain parts are not malarious?—Only Cuttack town and within a radius of 7 or 8 miles.

4517. And are the tracts known as the Tributary Mahals regarded as malarious?—Yes.

4518. (Mr. Mowbray.) You have told us that the people of Orissa never use opium for non-medical purposes; will you explain what you mean by non-medical purposes?—I mean that after a certain age the people of my country take it for the sake of their health—if they are weak, or have any complaint, such as a bowel-complaint, fever, rheumatism, dysentery or something of that sort, or if they live in the malarious parts, such as in the northern part of the Balasore District.

4519. Do you mean they take it because the doctor advises them to take it, or because they think it themselves a good remedy?—It is commonly known in our part of the country, and the native physicians prescribe it.

4520. What number of European medical men are there in Orissa? Can you give me any idea?—The number would not be more than half a dozen, I think.

4521. Can you tell what is the population of Orissa?—In the plains they are Brahmmins and other high castes, such as Karans, Mohasucks and Khandaitis, and there are agriculturists.

4522. Can you tell me how many opium shops there are in Orissa?—I cannot exactly say.

4523. What is the price of opium in Orissa now?—The Government price, i.e., the upset price, is 32 rupees per seer; it is sold in the bazar, varying from 10 to 12 annas per tola, which is equal to 180 grains.

4524. That is the price at which the Government supplies it to the vendors?—Yes.

4525. Do you think that if the number of shops in the Cuttack District was further reduced, the people would be able to get opium when they wanted it for medical purposes?—No, I do not think they would be able, because the Government takes good care to reduce the number, and to fix the number too. The local officers know whether to increase the number or decrease it.

4526. (Mr. Wilson.) Will you kindly tell me what your duties are as Assistant Superintendent?—I am Assistant to the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals, who is Commissioner of the Orissa Division. I assist him in all executive work and in correspondence. I also try criminal cases, boundary disputes, and make inquiries in succession cases. I am a Deputy Magistrate with powers of a Magistrate of the 1st class and powers of a Sessions Judge in the Tributary Mahals.

4527. With reference to the medical use of opium, are you aware that no one has objected or challenged the medical use?—No; I am not aware of that.

4528. The question which this Commission is discussing is chiefly the dietetic use, apart from disease, and in the questions I am about to ask you, I shall be obliged if you will not refer to the medical use but to the dietetic use. Generally do I understand you to say that smoking is not a good thing?—Yes.

4529. Do respectable people smoke?—They do sometimes.

4530. But it is not considered respectable?—No; smoking is not considered respectable.

4531. What is the general opinion of respectable people in your part of the country, in reference to smoking chandu?—Chandu is not prevalent in my part of the country.

4532. Is it not used?—It is not used.

4533. What is the opinion with regard to smoking gooli?—The opinion is that it is not good.

4534. People do not approve of it?—They do not.

4535. Do I understand you to say that people do not approve of eating opium?—I do not say they approve of it; I say the people are indifferent about it. If anybody eats opium, they would not think ill of him.

4536. I am not sure whether you stated distinctly which parts of the district you consider the most malarious?—The most malarious parts are the western and eastern parts of the Cuttack district, and the north and eastern parts of the Balasore district, as well as certain parts of the Puri district, and also some of the hill States which form politically the western part of the district of Cuttack.

4537. Do you know anything about the proportion of the consumption of opium in those different districts?—No.

4538. Do you know in which district the largest quantities of opium are consumed?—The largest quantity is consumed in the Balasore district.

4539. Do you know in which district the least is consumed?—In the district of Puri and the Tributary Mahals, which forms part of the Cuttack district.

4540. Do you think there is any relation between the consumption of opium and the prevalence of malaria in those proportions?—I think there is, because in the Balasore district proportionately, the population being less than that of Cuttack, people consume opium largely.

4541. Do the European medical men recommend people to take opium regularly?—I am not aware that they do.

4542. Do you know if the native physicians recommend it?—Yes, they do.

4543. Do Indian medical practitioners recommend people to take opium regularly to prevent attacks of fever?—Yes, not only fever, but in other diseases too. They recommend it for rheumatic fever, but I do not know whether it is recommended for malarious fever or not.

4544. I want to know, not whether they give it as a remedy when a man has fever, but whether they recommend it to be taken regularly as a preventative?—The physicians recommend it as a preventative.

4545. Who are these people that are called Pans; are they a tribe or caste?—They are an aboriginal tribe and they almost form a caste.

Mr. Sudam
Chauder
Nak.
30 Nov. 1893.

Mr. Sudam
Chunder
Naik.

30 Nov. 1893.

4546. In what spirit are they specially criminal?—They are robbers and thieves.

4547. (Chairman.) May I take it that you meant to tell us that from 5 to 10 per cent. of the population of your district use opium for non-medical purposes?—Yes; of course it includes others who may take it for pleasure: I

meant a larger proportion of that number take it for medical purposes.

4548. You have referred to cases of what you called excessive indulgence. Are those cases numerous among your population?—No; they are not numerous; they are few and far between.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Gouras
Sunkur Roy.

Mr. GOURAS SUNKUR ROY called in and examined.

4549. (Mr. Fanshawe.) Are you a resident of the Cuttack district?—Yes.

4550. Are you in any way connected with the Government?—Yes, I was formerly a translator in the Judge's Court at Cuttack.

4551. I believe you are now a pensioned servant?—Yes.

4552. Where are you living now?—Cuttack.

4553. Has your experience been entirely in the Cuttack district?—In the Cuttack district entirely.

4554. Tell us what you know about the habit of eating opium in that district as far as your experience goes: is it common?—Opium is largely consumed in the district of Cuttack, of which I am an inhabitant, but I have not noticed any marked ill-effect on the physical or moral condition of those who use it. The generality of opium-eaters take it moderately, and they not only keep good health and enjoy long life, but are as sober and well behaved as those who do not take it. I have seen some of my friends restored to good health after long suffering by taking opium. There is no doubt some persons abuse it by indulging in excessive smoking for pleasure or immoral purposes, and suffer in consequence in health and reputation. Some persons are giving up the habit of drinking by resorting to opium.

4555. Do you mean by resort to opium-smoking or to eating?—They used to drink liquor first, and they gave it up by eating opium.

4556. You say this habit is fairly common: can you tell us what quantity is generally taken,—how many grains? Have you any knowledge on that subject?—Those who use it moderately take about half a pice or one pice worth of opium a day. Most people take less than one pice worth: that would be the average amount.

4557. Can you tell us when they take it?—In the morning. Some take it once a day and some twice a day—morning and evening.

4558. Do any take it in the evening only, or is it taken in the morning? Which would be the general practice?—Most people take it only in the evening; others take both morning and evening.

4559. Can you tell us at what age the opium habit is generally acquired,—opium-eating?—After twenty. Many take to it after thirty-five or forty; but some take to it after twenty.

4560. Speaking generally, among habitual opium-eaters what would the age be?—About thirty.

4561. Have you any knowledge of women eating opium?—Yes, but they have been very few in number.

4562. They would be women among the cultivating classes: is that what you mean?—There are very few women among the cultivating classes who take opium.

4563. Are the women who to your knowledge take opium among the artisan class in towns?—They are seen in the towns only.

4564. You have known some cases perhaps of people taking opium in excess; are those cases common or not in your experience?—It is difficult to make out an excessive opium-eater.

4565. Is it at all common for people to take opium in excess?—I have known some persons take as much as 2 annas worth of opium every day. They take it to excess.

4566. When you say excess, do you mean it causes them harm,—that it injures their health?—No, I have never seen an opium-eater suffer in health except who is too poor.

4567. What do you mean when you say they take it to excess?—They take it in large quantities.

4568. In your district how is this habit of taking opium generally regarded?—Opium-eating is generally excused. People do not think much of it. Of course taking it to intoxication is regarded as a bad thing.

4569. That is the view of the people in your district?—Yes; but they tolerate opium-eating.

4570. Can you tell us anything about the tendency to increase the dose among people who eat opium habitually; is there a tendency to take larger doses?—Yes; but it is very exceptional.

4571. Most of the people who eat opium habitually do not increase the dose; is that your experience?—Yes.

4572. For what purpose do they take opium?—They mostly take it for the sake of their health.

4573. Will you tell us what you mean by that?—It is the prevalent opinion that if a man takes opium he keeps good health. I have seen some people who have suffered most severely. One man that I know tried all sorts of medicines but he could not get any relief. Afterwards some of his friends advised him to take opium. He took it and he is now all right, and has been so for the last ten years.

4574. Is it used among the people as a domestic remedy, that is what I want to know?—Yes, it is both eaten and used as an external application.

4575. For what class of disease or suffering do the people use it?—For bowel-complaints, inflammatory fever and elephantiasis.

4576. Is there any belief among the people of Cuttack that the taking of opium protects them against fever?—Yes,—inflammatory fever. That is a very common belief. Any one who gets that disease is always advised to take opium.

4577. Have you anything further to say?—At one time there was much tendency to use opium for non-medical purposes. It is not so now, and the consumption of opium is on the decrease. I attribute this to the beneficial measure taken by Government to check its consumption, especially the prohibition of smoking in licensed shops. Such being the case no more prohibitory measures are called for, and therefore any additional taxation for the purpose of meeting the cost thereof would be regarded as a great injustice and grievance by the people who feel the burden of taxation heavily and are too poor to pay more. The very suggestion has alarmed the people, and they wonder that while such an injurious intoxicant as alcohol is freely sold and imported, they should be called upon to pay for prohibiting the use of opium which many resort to, to give up the habit of drinking, and which is admittedly beneficial in several diseases.

4578. You say that there was a tendency to use opium for non-medical purposes: what do you mean by "non-medical purposes"?—For luxury.

4579. Is it within your knowledge that opium is also used as a stimulant?—Yes.

4580. Is it used in this way among the poorer classes, or the better-off classes?—Among the better-off classes, as well as among the artisan class. After they have finished their day's business they go to the madak shop and smoke there.

4581. In your previous answer you were referring to opium-eating, or to opium-smoking?—I was referring to both.

4582. You say that opium is used as a luxury or indulgence among some of the better-off classes?—Yes.

4583. If opium were prohibited except for medical purposes, do you think that the people in Cuttack will be able to obtain it as a domestic remedy,—what are your views as regards that? Do you think there would be any difficulty in their getting it for the purposes for which you say it is used?—If they can get it for medical purposes nobody would mind prohibition as far as other purposes are concerned.

4584. Can you give us any opinion as to how the people in the villages would obtain the opium which you think they want, if it were prohibited except for medical use?—No.

4585. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I do not quite understand your opinion about smoking opium. You say that the Government have taken beneficial measures to check the consumption of opium, and especially the prohibition of smoking in licensed shops, and that such being the case, no more prohibitory measure are called for. But at the end of your printed statement you say you would like to see further restrictive measures in regard to opium-smoking?—Yes.

4586. I do not understand that. What do you mean?—I mean that the prohibition of smoking in licensed shops has been one beneficial measure, but since that prohibition some people gathered in private places, and there they smoked. If that could be checked, it would be still better. That is what I mean.

4587. You would like to see some prohibition of that?—Yes.

4588. What I do not understand is, why you say no more prohibition is necessary?—I mean as regards the sale in licensed shops.

4589. I think you said that the cultivators do not take much?—I live in the interior of the district surrounded by cultivators. They do not take much; it is the artisan class that take the most.

4590. Do the cultivators live in malarious districts?—Yes.

4591. And they do not take much opium?—No.

4592. I think you said that the women do not take much opium?—That is so.

4593. Are they less liable to malaria than the men?—No.

4594. You say that the very suggestion that the people would have to bear the burden of taxation has alarmed them already?—Yes.

4595. Who made that suggestion, where did you get that from?—It has been talked about that opium would be abolished, and that the people would have to pay the cost of it.

4596. Do you know who started it?—No, it was rumoured.

4597. Do you know Mr. Jogen Mohon Roy?—I know him very well.

4598. He was a Deputy Collector, I believe?—Yes.

4599. Are you aware of his views on the subject?—I know he belongs to the Total Abstinence Society.

4600. He says that using opium "is regarded as a curse by all except, of course, those that are eaters or smokers of the drug." Is he quite wrong?—I do not think he is quite right.

4601. With reference to some questions that were put to you about the domestic use, supposing that the mode of sale was altered, would it be possible in the villages of your part of the country to have suitable persons appointed to sell it who should get no profit themselves out of the sale, and who should have a certain discretion as to its sale for medicine and not for intoxication?—It would be very difficult to get such men.

4602. Do you think it would be impossible?—Perhaps so. I do not see how such men could be found in the villages.

4603. With reference to the use of opium against malarial fever, do any doctors, either European or Indians, recommend it to be taken regularly as a preventive against fever?—I am not aware of doctors giving such an opinion.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. BHAGBAN CHUNDER Dass called in and examined.

4604. (*Chairman.*) I believe you are a resident of Orissa, a native of that country, and belong to a family of landholders?—Yes.

4605. You therefore may claim to possess considerable knowledge of the people of Orissa?—Yes.

4606. Will you tell us if opium is extensively consumed by the people of Orissa for medical use or as an article of diet?—I am of opinion that the consumption of opium has not resulted in any bad effect on the moral or physical condition of my people. They use it for medicine and to avoid other climatic influences, as I know people of Balasore do it. It unfortunately sometimes happens that excessive use of it, not in its raw state, but when converted into some other preparations, such as madak or chandu, leads to some mischievous results. But of what I know, such cases are proportionately very small. If at all necessary, some restrictions might be put on certain preparations of opium, such as madak, chandu, morphia, etc.

4607. What restrictions would you suggest?—I would stop the public sale of madak and chandu.

4608. How do you compare the effects of the use of opium with alcohol?—Opium is not such a mischievous drug as alcoholic drink, more especially European alcohol.

4609. Do you consider that it cannot be fairly said that the use of opium leads to crime?—Opium-eating is not as bad as drinking strong wine.

4610. Do you approve of the proposal which has been put before us, that the use of opium should be prohibited for any purposes other than medical?—I cannot recommend its prohibition. It is a necessity, and its prohibition will be disastrous. The people of my country are extremely poor and have to pay taxes in various shapes, and their bearing any portion of the cost is out of the question.

4611. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Would you be at all in favor of prohibiting the use of alcohol?—Yes.

4612. (*Mr. Fursekawa.*) In what district has your experience been?—In the Balasore district.

4613. Is there a large consumption of opium in that district?—Yes.

4614. I believe you have no large towns in Balasore?—Balasore town is not larger than Cuttack.

4615. I believe the population is almost entirely composed of cultivators?—Yes, cultivators and official men also. The use of opium would be among the cultivating class. Rheumatic pains are prevalent in the Balasore district.

4616. For what class of ills is opium taken?—Opium is taken for rheumatism, elephantiasis, inflammatory fevers, bowel complaints, and dysentery.

4617. Is elephantiasis very common in your district?—Yes.

4618. Speaking generally, can you tell us at all what proportion of the population suffer from it?—About one-fourth of the population.

4619. I suppose rice is the ordinary staple of food in Balasore?—Yes.

4620. Dr. Walsh, Civil Surgeon of Puri, told us the other day that some forms of rice are bad and cause diarrhoea to the natives who eat it; but that the poor people are obliged to eat it: is that the case in Balasore?—It may be.

4621. Do you know that of your own experience?—No.

4622. In your district I suppose some parts are healthy and some parts are unhealthy?—The northern part of Balasore is malarious; fever is prevalent there.

4623. And are other parts healthy?—Healthy; but rheumatic pains are prevalent throughout the district.

4624. In your own experience is opium-eating more common in the parts where malarious fever is present than in other parts?—Opium is generally taken by those men who suffer from rheumatic pains.

4625. It is taken generally throughout the district by people who suffer from the different pains or diseases you have described?—That is so.

4626. You have no knowledge that it is taken more in the malarious part of the district than in another part?—No.

4627. Is opium taken in the morning, or in the evening, or when?—Some people take it both morning and evening, and some persons take it in the evenings only.

4628. Do many of those who take it habitually take it in the evening only?—Some, but not many.

4629. (*Sir James Lyall.*) Is it taken all the year round by those people who take it habitually; or is it taken more in cold or in the hot weather?—All the year round.

4630. Is the habitual use of alcohol common among certain classes in your district of Balasore?—There are no habitual drunkards.

4631. Do none of the cultivating class take alcohol?—Some of the lower caste people take alcohol, the Pans.

4632. Do the same class that take alcohol take opium?—Some of them eat opium.

Mr. Gourao
Sankar Roy.
30 Nov. 1898.

Mr.
Bhagaban
Chunder
Dass.

Mr. Bhayban Chunder Das.
0 Nov. 1893.

4633. Do the same people eat opium and drink alcohol?—By taking opium those who habitually take alcohol give it up.
4634. But while they take alcohol they do not take opium?—No.
4635. (Mr. Wilson.) Could you give us any idea of the

proportion of the cultivators in the Balasore district who take opium regularly?—The cultivators generally take opium.

4636. Do you mean nearly the whole of the people?—No, not the whole.

4637. What proportion, half?—About three-fourths.

The witness withdrew.

Dr. Ram Moy Roy

Dr. RAM MOY ROY called in and examined.

4638. (Chairman.) Will you kindly state what is your position and the nature of your experience with reference to the subject-matter of this enquiry?—I am at present Medical Officer, Sambhunath Panait's Dispensary at Bhawanipur, Calcutta, an institution made over to the Corporation of Calcutta since July 1890, and entirely independent of Government aid or control. I was in the service of Government for a good many years, but resigned it in 1890. I have been at Bhawanipur for upwards of fourteen years, where I have, I may say, an extensive practice also.

4639. What have you to say with regard to the value of opium as a medicine?—The multifarious uses of opium in divers diseases and complaints and its usefulness therein are well-known to those in the medical profession as well as those out of it. It is one of the *three* medicines the medical men have learnt to rely upon. If the practice of medicine be restricted and a practitioner called upon to treat all his patients with only three medicines and select them out of the legion in the whole range of the *Materia Medica*, both official and non-official, he would be sure to name quinine, opium, and mercury. Though mercury has, of late, somewhat lost its position, opium has maintained it and is likely ever to maintain it. From this it will be seen how opium is regarded in the practice of medicine, in the cure or relief of the sufferings, which mankind and brutes are subject to. But the subject-matter of this inquiry, I believe, is not so much its medicinal use as its use for dietetic purposes. I shall therefore confine myself to its effects such as are produced on persons habituated to take it either through sheer necessity or for luxury. As my practice has been almost entirely confined to the better class of people who never or very rarely smoke opium, I have not had much opportunity of observing what effect opium produces when smoked habitually. I have casually met with opium-smokers, but I have never had an opportunity of studying, and far less coming to any conclusion, as regards its effects. Besides, opium-smoking is considered to be a stigma, and people who indulge in it would not confess it even if they did it. And then when smoked in moderation it produces no symptoms, nor any particular appearance on the person using it to make one suspect it. I know some persons, though their number is not large, who smoke opium. They are in affluent circumstances, and thus in a position to command a good living. There is nothing in their persons which can make one suspect them of the habit. They have not deteriorated in body or mind in the least, though they have been using it for a long time. It is only when a person indulges in it, and has not the means to supply himself with the proper amount of food, that he deteriorates in body and mind, and one can easily find him out by his appearance. Amongst the better class of people the habit is commenced under a fancied or real belief in its aphrodisiac power, which it certainly possesses, at least for some time.

4640. I understand that you have not had much experience in treating patients who are smokers of opium?—No, I have not.

4641. What is the result of your observation as regards the eating of opium?—With regard to eating opium I may say that here in India, especially in Bengal, in which the whole of my experience has been gained after a patient, careful and sifting inquiry and observation, extending over upwards of twelve years, since 1881, it is taken either in the shape of pills or in a solution of water, but rarely in the shape of alcoholic extract, or its active principle, morphia. It is originally commenced to be taken in the shape of pills, once, twice and sometimes, but very rarely, three times a day. It is only when in any case, after a long use in the shape of pills, it begins to show any of its bad effects, such as insomnia or loss of appetite, that the watery extract is substituted for it. Morphia is always taken under medical advice.

4642. Have you ever tried the effect of opium or morphia upon yourself?—Yes. Compelled by a sheer necessity for alleviating the most excruciating pains of rheumatism, in 1881, I commenced, under medical advice, to take morphia,

the first dose of which was given to me by the doctor himself. I took it in an increasing dose till it reached 12 grains or a little more, every day. I continued the habit for some time, even after I was cured, but gave it up one day, without feeling any the worse for it. Almost simultaneously sugar was found in my urine, and I was advised to take opium. I was quite unwilling to take it before I was satisfied that it will do me no harm in the end, and I began my inquiry about its effects. I set myself to the work, and the extensive practice I have had offered every opportunity and facility for it. In a short time I got all the necessary information, and being satisfied I began the habit and took it up to 24 grains a day, i.e., 12 grains morning and evening. The effect was all that could be desired. From the very first day I began to feel new life in me; gloominess and anxiety vanished; appetite returned; dyspepsia disappeared; the bowels gradually became regular; insomnia gave way to refreshing sleep; the power of fixing attention (which was lost) was restored, and that of endurance developed so much that I was better able to carry on my practice than ever before.

Except when I am ill, I work 19 hours a day regularly and sleep for 5 hours only. I would be quite useless and unfit for anything were it not for opium. The inquiry I set myself to in 1881, I have always continued, and I have failed yet to find a man the worse for it, who takes it in moderation. I have since reduced my dose to 6 grains a day, not for any bad effects produced on me, but because I have found it to have the effects I desire to have. I had constipation lasting for 5 or 6 days in 1899, and I reduced the quantity from 24 to 6 grains. I found it served my purpose, and as a less quantity was found to do as well, I have not resumed the larger. I can give up the thing any day I like, but as it does me good and has never produced any ill-effects, I have kept it up. It gives me much greater power of endurance to go through my arduous work, it gives me power to resist the effects of exposure to cold and heat better than I ever did before. Under it I can think better, understand things more quickly, talk better, write better, eat well and sleep well, and I am full of spirit and energy, and can undergo any amount of hardship and fatigue. No one, up to this, although I have been taking opium for over a decade, has been able to make out that I take opium, and there are not many persons even now who know that I do take opium, although I daily come across quite a multitude of people in the practice of my profession. Had it not been for the paper I read before the Medical Society in 1892, not more than four persons would have known it, i.e., the shop-keeper from whom I buy from my servant who brings it, my compounder who makes it into pills, and my wife who keeps it for me. I have brought some of the pills which I take with me for your inspection.

4643. Can you tell us in what light the people of Bengal regard the practice of taking opium—whether eaten or taken in a liquid form or smoked in a pipe: is it regarded as a thing one would be ashamed of and would desire to conceal?—It is never concealed, and it is never considered as a disgrace, otherwise I, as a professional man, would never give at my name: I would keep it a secret. The people of Bengal at least never take opium as a means to conviviality like wine would be. They take it as it suits their individual convenience; and so there is no opportunity for other people to see it. This as well as the fact that they manifest no external or objective symptoms, physical or mental, prevents other people from making out as to who takes opium and who not. He will have to wait long who wants to find out an opium-eater by appearance.

4644. I believe you have been giving careful inquiry and observation for a period of 12 years to this question of the effects of opium; will you give us the general result of those observations?—Yes. The result of a patient and careful inquiry and observation, extending over a period of 12 years, have led me to the following conclusions:—

(1) That it is a very useful medicine in acute and chronic diarrhoea, dysentery, diabetes, asthma, chronic bronchitis, dyspepsia and gastric colic, rheumatism, diarrhoea

Dr. Ram
Mohan Roy.
30 Nov. 1898

stage of cholera, etc., etc., and that in all these diseases people take to it either under medical advice or at the suggestion of friends. It is quite a domestic medicine, and is resorted to by the people from their experience of its usefulness in those diseases.

(2) That it is really a blessing from Above in a country where scientific medical aid has not up to date been able to reach even 1 per cent. of its population. It is a blessing conferred by God on the people, and no man shall take it away.

(3) That it really prevents frequent relapses of malarious fever. India, especially Bengal, is essentially a malaria-producing country; its soil saturated with sub-soil moisture, and its atmosphere surcharged with humidity, and its temperature undergoing very great diurnal variation, sometimes a variation of 20 or more degrees from mid-day to midnight. People who are badly fed and badly clothed, through extreme poverty, having no means to protect themselves against such depressing influences, fall victims to the disease.

4645. (Sir William Roberts.) Do you mean any particular disease?—Yes, malarious fever. Opium may not be a prophylactic against malaria in the sense that quinine is, yet, by giving greater power of endurance and a power to resist the effects of cold and dampness, it acts as a preventive to malarious fever. People by experience, having come to know this well-known beneficial effect of opium, use it very largely for the purpose. Since the introduction of railway and artificial irrigation in India, and consequent increase of sub-soil moisture due to obstruction to the natural drainage of the country, malarious fever and its multifarious dire some sequelae have increased to a very considerable extent, and the increased use of opium has kept pace with it. I am an inhabitant of one of the most, if not the most, malaria-stricken district (Hughly) of Bengal, and I know how malaria has been playing havoc and how the remnant of the people have been kept, body and soul together, by opium. That it would do so requires no stretch of reasoning. That opium is a stimulant is generally admitted, and that its stimulant action, unlike that of alcoholic drinks, lasts for a very much longer time is the experience of all who have used it habitually. It is a fact that habitual opium-eaters or smokers never feel anything like depression till the time for the next dose has passed away. It is also a fact that a stimulant, of whatever kind it may be, as long as its action lasts, supports a person and gives him sufficient power to withstand the depressing effects of climate, cold, dampness, privation, want of sufficient food and clothing, etc., and gives him protection against such agents. From these facts, it will be conceded that opium is such an agent, and it can give the protection attributed to it, and everyday experiences shows that it does so. To do away with such an agent will be fatal to the country. We are thankful to the people of Britain for their increased sympathy, but we should be more thankful to them if they had directed their energy and sympathy in other quarters than this. Their interference against the use of opium makes us exclaim, "God save us from our friends," and as the proverb goes "*Viksha satish mangla bdb, kulta dala jijye*"—"Recall your dogs, we do not want your obarity."

(4) That people at or above 40 years of age use it more largely than those under it with a view to keep them aging; younger people, who use it, generally do it under medical advice. Of course, it is considered to be a disgrace to smoke opium. It is no disgrace to eat it. Had it been so, I would keep my habit a secret. Being a native I know the feelings of the people better than any foreigner could be expected to do. If there is any public opinion in India, it should be in Calcutta, and I being in Calcutta would be very careful in giving out my name as an opium-eater. Some people begin the habit as a substitute for alcohol, when leaving off the latter.

(5) That it has never been known to do any injury to body or mind if used judiciously and in proper quantities.

(6) That the ill-effects attributed to its use are from its excessive or inordinate use, but even in this its evil effects are nothing compared to the evil effects of even the moderate use of alcoholic liquors.

How many of the brightest intellects whom any country on the face of the earth would be proud to call her sons have been lost to India in the prime of their lives through alcohol? Has anybody been able to attribute such deaths to opium? For a single death (even if that occurs at all) that may be attributed to the use of opium, thousands may not only be attributed to alcohol, but positively proved to be due to it. Has opium been known to cause a contracted liver and kidney, or a case of *delirium tremens* or any of the host of other ailments of a drunkard? Has it been known to impoverish a family or to cause its estates to be brought

under the hammer of a Collector for want of payment of Government revenue, but how many are such instances under alcohol? Has opium been known to cause deterioration of health, neglect of business, gambling, domestic unhappiness, sensuality, breach of public decency, dacoity, rioting, murder, crimes of violence, assault, robbery, house-breaking, drunkenness and disorderly conduct, or any other acts requiring Government interference? General experience is against them under opium, but very frequent under alcohol, and criminal reports are singularly free from record of violent crime as against opium-eaters, but as against alcohol they are conclusive. Does the use of opium lead to the degradation and depravity of alcohol-drinking? Has it been known to cause insanity and fill the asylums as does alcohol? An opium-eater when poor may commit petty thefts, but never a dacoity or any violent crime, such as an alcohol-drinker does. British people, who are quite conversant with the multitudinous evil effects of the use of alcoholic drink, should be the last persons to find fault with their inoffensive opium-eating fellow-subjects. Their misdirected sympathy and ill-conceived interference in this respect gives life to the adage: "*Chaluni bole chhunch ke tor ponde kena chhanda*"—"a big sieve addressing a needle, asks it why it has got a hole at its back."

(7) That there are good grounds for believing that opium-eating has not the same tendency as alcohol-drinking has to shorten life. Some of the religious books of the Hindus have authoritatively laid down that the practice lengthens life, and the doctrine is corroborated by everyday experience. A printed list of 215 cases of opium-eaters whom I have personally known with their synopses annexed hereto will go a great way in corroborating the statement. It will also show that less than 4 per cent. of the cases examined were in indifferent health, the rest, 207, in good or fair condition of body and mind.

(8) That with opium-eaters who take it in moderate doses, it not only does no injury, but actually acts beneficially, inasmuch as it has been known to improve health, to improve the condition of both body and mind, to give greater power for exertion and work, to enable one to endure hardship and fatigue, etc., etc., etc.

(9) That like any other stimulant narcotic, it is liable to abuse, and its abuse or inordinate use may cause some bodily or mental injury to the person so using it, but it has never been known to give a tendency or capability to do injury to others as alcohol does.

(10) That the habit may be broken off without the least permanent evil effects caused thereby, but it requires strength of mind to do it.

(11) That it is a stimulant of no mean order. It may be and has been used with success in the collapse of fevers of various kinds, collapse following shocks and surgical operations and cases requiring stimulants. The late Dr. Annada Charan Khastagir always used opium for such purposes with equal, if not with greater, success than with the alcoholic stimulants. I had succeeded him in the medical charge of the North Suburban Hospital (one of the big medical institutions of Calcutta), and I can testify to his success in his treatment: He was considered to be one of the best Doctors in Calcutta.

(12) That it never makes a man dull, heavy or stupid, even when taken in a pretty large dose. None of the 215 cases I have given in my list—and equally or more numerous cases I can cite besides them—are dull, heavy, lethargic or stupid, or incapable of work in any sense of the term. They are all active, energetic, intellectually acute men and fit for any work, physically or mentally. Rajputs, Sikhs and Chinese are the instances of physical strength, of whom any nation on earth would be envious; and do the Marwaris fall short of the mark in acute business capacities? It never makes an active, energetic man dull or lethargic. No man who knows me and how I work would ever take me to be dull or lethargic. It is only those with sedentary habits and initially dull, lethargic and heavy and stupid who would be found to be so, but they would be so whether they took opium or not. It is their nature to be so.

(13) That the action of the drug is the same whether only one grain or several hundred grains of it are taken for a dose, by a habitual eater, in point of excitement and depression and in point of time regarding the development of symptoms of the different stages; but there is an important difference in the action of opium and alcohol. The depression of alcohol comes on much sooner, whereas that of opium is delayed very much and depends entirely on how a person takes it. It never manifests itself till some time after the time for taking the next dose has passed away, i.e., after 12 hours, when the habitual eater is accustomed to take it

* Vide appendix XXI.

Dr. Eam
Mohan Roy.
3 Nov. 1893.

at the interval of 12 hours, and after 24 hours when he is habituated to take it every 24 hours. The depression is never felt unless the *habitus* exceeds his time. The depression is more like natural hunger which a man never feels till the time comes for his food.

(14) That the British people who know so well the multifarious evil effects of alcohol so common at their own doors should not have a word to say against it, nor would raise their fingers to save their fellow-subjects from sure ruination by imported and country-made spirits, is beyond our comprehension. This has led to various speculations.

4646. You say that you commenced using opium in 1881?—Yes.

4647. And the quantity you took is 12 grains twice a day?—Yes.

4648. And owing to some constipation you reduced the quantity to 3 grains twice a day?—Yes.

4649. You also say that you found that served your purpose, and that the smaller quantity did as well as the larger, so that you did not resume the larger quantity?—No.

4650. Did you try to reduce the dose still further?—No, I did not.

4651. So that when you say that you can understand things more quickly and talk and write better, you have really not tried whether you would do as well without opium?—Sometimes I went out to see my patients and was late by 5 or 6 or 7 hours; I then felt some amount of depression.

4652. When you postponed taking it you found yourself worse?—Yes, but slightly.

4653. You have not tried to give up the habit altogether?—I have not.

4654. You have put in a table of a very remarkable character which I think is by far the most valuable contribution that you can give for our information. I should like to know the way in which you got at the facts mentioned in that table of 215 cases; how long were you in collecting them?—I knew all these cases myself and all their ins and outs, and when I was called upon to read a paper on the subject I did it within ten or twelve days.

4655. The cases were all collected by yourself personally?—Yes, I took down all the figures and facts myself, having personally seen the cases.

4656. You took them down from the natives themselves?—Yes, I sent to many of them to come to me.

4657. You did not collect any of the cases by any agent or assistant?—No.

4658. Nor by any correspondence, but by actual personal investigation?—There was only one man who had died. But I knew him before, and that is the reason why I introduced his case.

4659. Are they males?—There are about 17 females. The statement shows who are males and who are females; you can also see by the names.

4660. We have ascertained from you that you collected these particulars yourself from the living patients?—Yes.

4661. I see there are two mentioned as dead?—Yes.

4662. All the others were alive?—Yes, I knew them. Once I thought of excluding them, but as I knew them personally and had treated them I included them. Any one can see them as I have given their address. There was one man who was known very well, everybody considered him to be a living wonder.

4663. You pledge yourself to the accuracy of the table?—I do. I can swear to the accuracy of the statement and to the facts having been taken down by myself with my own hands in the presence of the people.

4664. In the course of the debate at the Calcutta Medical Society you stated that these facts were collected in 10 or 12 days?—Yes.

4665. You know where to put your finger upon them; I mean that, as you knew them before, you could do it without any trouble?—I knew all of them. I sent round to them to ask them to come to me; in the case of those who could not come, or whose position would not allow them to come, I went to them; otherwise they came to my dispensary or my house, and I had no difficulty in the matter.

4666. I can understand the reason for your paying attention to this subject. Having been a diabetic yourself, you began taking opium for it ten years ago?—Twelve years ago. I began in 1881.

4667. That directed your attention to habitual opium-eating?—Yes.

4668. Have you noted whether these opium-eaters of long standing do become very thin?—No.

4669. You saw no emaciation?—No. It is only opium-smokers who manifest that symptom, but I know some smokers who have not deteriorated in health at all; they can command good living.

4670. You distinguish between opium-smoking and opium-eating in that respect?—Yes, I do.

4671. You mean to say that opium-smoking produces emaciation, but opium-eating does not?—Yes.

4672. I suppose your experience in opium-smoking is very slight?—It is not large.

4673. So that you only speak of opium-smoking as producing emaciation from hearsay?—I have casually seen it. Many persons come to my dispensary, between 100 and 200 a day, so that I cannot go through all the questions and answers in that short time to inquire into things which do not belong to the proper work of the dispensary, and these people do not wait till I have done my dispensary work, so that I have not been able to investigate matters.

4674. (Mr. Wilson.) Are you not in favour of the prohibition of alcohol?—Yes, most decidedly.

4675. Are you in favour of any further restriction of any kind on the sale of opium?—I am quite satisfied with the present restriction that the Government has put on it.

4676. Would you favour any restriction on the smoking or manufacturing of chandu?—I would put any amount of restriction on smoking.

4677. Would you prohibit the manufacture of chandu?—If it is possible.

4678. I observe that in your list of 215 cases there are only 3 or 4 coolies or labourers?—I have not counted them, but it can be easily ascertained.

4679. I believe that most of them are clerks or persons in tolerably good position?—Yes.

4680. Do you think there would be any difference in the effects of opium on people who are well fed and the effects on people who are not so well fed?—There would be.

4681. What difference?—It may lead to emaciation or something of that kind. I do not believe in the absolute necessity of milk being given to the opium-eater. I know at least 5 or 6 cases of persons who never take any milk. In this list there is the case of one man who takes half a tola, or 90 grains, of opium per day, and does not drink a drop of milk; he is in very good condition; indeed you may even call him plethoric.

4682. You have given us a long account of your own case; would you wish to generalise from that, and say that it would be a good thing for everybody to take opium in some way?—If there is no necessity for a person to take it why should he take it.

4683. You take it for medicinal reasons?—Of course. I began it for rheumatism.

4684. You have referred to the introduction of Railway in India as having increased the subsoil moisture; will you explain how that occurs?—The fall is towards the river Ganges, and the East Indian Railway and Eastern Bengal Railway go by the river side, and have prevented the natural drainage being effected so smoothly and nicely as it was before. The water has to stagnate or stand for a time before it can get away. The soil of Bengal is alluvial, it absorbs water very much—more easily than would be the case otherwise.

4685. Do you refer to any particular place or any particular railway or are you speaking generally?—I am speaking of the East Indian Railway and Eastern Bengal Railway in particular.

4686. Do I understand you to mean that in the construction of that Railway there were not sufficient bridges and culverts made to allow the drainage to get off properly as it ought to have been done?—At the commencement there were not as many as there should be. Even if there are a sufficient number of openings and culverts you cannot expect the water to go out as easily as it would do if the country was free altogether.

4687. Do you know that that prevails to any considerable extent, or is it only in a few odd patches here and there that the Railway interferes with the drainage?—It is throughout the land.

4688. (Mr. Mackenzie.) I observed that you make a great distinction between the taking of opium and the taking of morphia, and you say that morphia is always taken on medica-

advice. I wish to know whether there is any law regulating the sale of morphia?—Morphia is not sold by any shop-keepers, but it is sold in the dispensary. It is not sold in the opium shops; so that every one cannot have access to it, and the people generally do not know what morphia is.

4689. Is it sold under what you call druggist permits?—I do not think there is any law to restrict the sale by licensed vendors.

4690. People have to go to the chemist to get it?—Yes.

4691. Suppose the sale of opium were restricted to places where morphia is now sold, do you think there would be a sufficient supply of places to meet the medical requirements of the people who desire to obtain it?—Do you mean for medical purposes only?

4692. For general purposes—I wish to know what you mean by medical purposes?—Its use in the cure of disease.

4693. For the cure of disease?—Yes; I call that the medicinal use. I began it medicinally, and I am now taking it as a dietetic.

4694. You don't now take it medicinally?—I don't take it medicinally; now it is only a dietetic with me.

4695. Taking your own view of medicinal use—that is, the use for curing definite diseases—are you of opinion that if the sale of opium were restricted to places where morphia is now sold, that would be sufficient to meet the requirements of the people wanting it for these medicinal purposes?—If the treatment of all the cases of disease throughout India were in the hands of men trained under and practising the European system of medicine, of course it would serve very well; but the treatment of the people in cases of disease is not in the hands of such

doctors; many of them are treated by Vaidas and Hakims, and many by lay people, and many by grandmothers. You cannot provide opium from dispensaries in all these cases. The European system of medicine, as I have already said, does not reach even one per cent of the total population.

*Dr. Ram
Mohan Roy.*
30 Nov. 1893.

4696. For strictly medicinal purposes in the sense in which you use the word, the present facilities for obtaining morphia would not be sufficient for obtaining opium?—No.

4697. What do you say as to the further use which you call the dietetic use of opium?—It would be quite unsuited.

4698. You consider the dietetic use of opium a legitimate requirement on the part of the people of this country?—Certainly I do.

4699. (*Mr. Haridas Vaharidas.*) Did you reduce the dose from 24 to 6 grains at once?—Yes, in one day. That was the thing I did at once. Before that I had given up 3 grains of morphia a day without any preliminary preparation.

4700. You were none the worse?—I might have felt a slight uneasiness, but that was nothing.

4701. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I think that this table of 215 persons was the table that you presented at the meeting of the Calcutta Society?—Yes.

4702. It is referred to in your speech?—Yes.

4703. Can you give me any idea of how many persons were present at that meeting?—It was a tolerably well attended meeting; that is my impression.

4704. Can you give me any idea of the number, was it ten or twenty, or forty?—It must have been something like twenty or more.

The witness withdrew.

Dr. JAMES ROBERT WALLACE, M. D., called in and examined.

4705. (*Chairman.*) Will you state your qualifications and position in the medical profession?—I am a Doctor of Medicine, and my experience concerning the use of opium has been gained during 14 years of work in Calcutta, both in Government service and as an independent practitioner. I studied medicine in the Calcutta Medical College, and when I obtained my diploma as a physician and surgeon from Edinburgh in 1879, I was appointed Resident Surgeon and subsequently Resident Physician to the Calcutta Medical College Hospital. I also held the appointment of Resident Surgeon to the Eden Hospital for women and children in Calcutta. Subsequently I resigned Government service and entered independent practice in this city. During these 14 years I have had numerous opportunities of observing the habits and customs of all classes and sects of the Indian people in regard to the use of opium. My practice is a large and mixed one, dealing as it does with Europeans, Eurasians, Hindus, Mahomedans, Burmese, and Chinese. I would dismiss Europeans and Eurasians by saying that I have never met an opium-user among them. I have found opium-users chiefly among Chinese, then Burmans, then Hindus, and least among Mahomedans. On an average among my Indian patients, I would say the percentage stood about thus: Chinese 4, Burmese 3, Hindus 2, Mahomedans 1. I came to know the opium-using propensities of patients casually in the course of my inquiries concerning their diseases.

4706. What is the ordinary average dose of a moderate user?—The quantity generally taken was from one to three pice worth, or from 1 to 15 grains a day.

4707. Have you known such users to increase the daily dose?—The majority of such eaters of opium had taken a fixed daily dose for years without increasing it. I found a fair proportion, who had gone on slowly increasing the dose from half a grain of opium till in a year or so they had reached the use of ten to fifteen grains daily.

4708. What is the plea under which opium is ordinarily used? Is it taken habitually for the cure of diseases among ordinary users?—The majority of such opium-eaters had begun the use of the drug under the belief that it gave them strength and acted as an exhilarating stimulant. I have found some who started the habit simply by the example of others.

4709. What are the effects of opium in the case of moderate eaters?—In treating such cases medicinally I have invariably

enjoined the stoppage of the drug, as I felt that in most cases the drug itself, or the dose taken, was incompatible with the line of treatment to be adopted. I have invariably found patients addicted to even small doses of the drug complain that they felt badly without it. Three or four days of abstinence from the drug in many cases was sufficient to lull the cravings for it. I have noticed great restlessness, digestive distress, looseness of the bowels, and severe pains about the body and abdomen attend the sudden stopping of the drug. I believe that many natives who eat opium do so under the advice of friends for its reputed relief in rheumatic pains, some bronchial affections, bowel complaints, and diabetes.

4710. What results have you observed from the effects of opium in case of malarial fever?—I have never heard any patient tell me it was taken to prevent or to cure malarial fever. 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 not only distinctly contra-indicated, but its administration in many such cases would be undoubtedly harmful. I base this opinion upon my own deliberate experience, as 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. First as a student and then as Resident Physician and as Resident Surgeon to the Medical College Hospital, I had constant opportunities of seeing the practice of such able men as Doctors Chevers

*Dr. J. R.
Wallace.*
M. D.
30 Nov. 1893.

Dr. J. R.
Wallace,
M. D.

Nov. 1898.

Smith, Coates, Harvey, McConnell, McLeod, Raye and others, and I never knew one of them to prescribe opium in any form as a prophylactic or as a remedy in malarial fever.

4711. Have you anything further to say with reference to your personal knowledge of the practice and the opinions of other physicians?—I can recall the frequent condemnation of Dr. Norman Chevers while Professor of Medicine, and I know of his recorded opinions against the use of opium, both in his work on "Medical Jurisprudence in India" and his last great work on the "Diseases of India."

4712. Were you a pupil studying under Dr. Chevers, or did you attend any of his lectures?—I did.

4713. Then speaking of his opinions you are speaking of an authority of whom you have a personal knowledge?—Yes.

4714. What are the opinions to which you wish to call attention?—Quoting from page 453:—"A large proportion of the inmates of asylums for natives are found to be habitual ganja smokers and opium-eaters, and many of these are epileptic."

4715. Does the passage you have quoted refer to smokers or eaters?—To eaters and smokers, quoting from the latter book, page 576, Dr. Chevers says of opium-eaters and smokers:—"All who have seen much of these unfortunates recognise the fact that in India and China, those habituated to the use of opium are very liable to fall victims to diarrhoea. * * * Others, especially among the Mussulmans addicted to the smoking of narcotic drugs, the abuse of which brings on a debilitated state of the system with nervous tremor, and not unfrequently temporary delirium, which sometimes ends in confirmed mania, while in all, sooner or later, the habit is followed by emaciation, weakness, indigestion and fatal diarrhoea. * * * Treatment is always unsatisfactory, and but seldom followed by a thorough or permanent restoration to health. * * * Men addicted to narcotics seldom remain longer than a month or two at duty, and are at last very generally lost to the service by death or by being discharged."

4716. Speaking from your own experience, do you draw a wide distinction between the effects of eating opium in the solid form and opium-smoking?—I have very little personal knowledge of opium-smoking.

4717. Have you anything further to say from your personal experience as to the effects of opium?—While the moderate use of opium by those in good circumstances, who are able to provide themselves with wholesome nourishing food, may not afford appreciable evidence of any marked harmful result, so long as the drug irregularly taken, I have seen otherwise strong and healthy men rendered almost helpless and unfit for work of any kind and even suffering from diarrhoea and pain when deprived of their accustomed moderate dose of opium. I would assume from this that, even in moderation, the use of opium exercises a baneful influence on the human economy. I have also seen many opium sots, men who were absolute physical wrecks from the excessive and continued use of opium. I have seen such specimens in three visits that I have made to opium dens in Calcutta. A report of one of these visits I published in the "Indian Medical Record" for September 1892, and I tender that report as part of my evidence.—

"On the 30th of July 1892, in company with Mr. E. S. Wenger, the energetic founder of the excellent mission work among Chinamen in this city, and Mr. Henry J. Ferdinand, Manager of the Indian Medical Record Office, I visited a well-known opium den at 9, Tiretta Bazar Street. We entered what was an ante-room with a bar on one side, where *akandu* was sold. Alongside of this was a little parlour specially reserved for Chinamen. Here we met the owner of the den. He spoke broken English, and readily gave us all the information we sought. He said that on an average thirty men a day visited this place to smoke opium, and about fifty others bought it to take to their homes. (I doubt this statement very much, as during the ten minutes we stood at the door no less than a dozen men came in, bought *akandu* and went out.) He sold only *chandu* and not plain opium. He manufactured his own *chandu*, from crude opium. On an average 240 lb. of opium were bought monthly for this den. He bought opium at Rs. 14 a pound, and, after converting it into *chandu*, sold it at Rs. 19 a pound. He paid a monthly license fee of Rs. 1,310 to Government. He sold on an average Rs. 5,000 worth of *chandu* monthly. We were next shown into the *chandu* laboratory, where the manufacture of this form of opium was being carried on. There were two large quadrangular ovens, on one of which was a huge copper cauldron containing 16 lb. of crude opium, to which had been added

6 lb. of water. This is allowed to boil for two hours, when it is made to simmer, till the water has evaporated sufficiently to leave a semi-liquid residue of what resembles medicinal extract of opium. We now passed into the *chandu* smoking saloon. This was a low, dark, damp, dismal-looking tiled hovel, about twelve feet broad and forty feet long. On both sides were low wooden platforms to answer the purpose of beds, with dirty oil-stained lumps of something resembling what might be intended for pillows. Here and there a dim oil lamp and round each of them crouched two or three men, busy with the process of filling and burning and puffing at the pipes used for smoking *chandu*. There were in all eighteen men, one woman and three little children. Some of the men were lying asleep, and others were drunkenly dosing, and some were busy smoking. The woman sat by her paramour, but did not smoke. The children were going in and out among the occupants of the room. We next proceeded to inquire into the cases of some of the waking ones.

"Case 1.—A Mahomedan, aged forty, a resident of Kutub, a Cargo merchant, a thin weakly man, said he commenced smoking opium fourteen years ago. He took to it from pleasure in bad company. He did not take to it as a medicine or in consequence of disease at first. He is married, and has two children living at Kutub. He smokes three pice worth of *chandu*, or about twelve grains daily, in three doses, at 6 A.M., noon, and 6 P.M. He said:—"I was once a stout man, but have dwindled down to my present thin and weakly state. If I miss a single dose I get diarrhoea and pain in my stomach. I cannot leave it off now. I feel, and have always felt, that I am doing wrong in smoking opium, my conscience tells me so."

"Case 2.—A Mahomedan cooly, aged twenty-four, has taken opium for five years, and indulges in smoking four pice worth of *chandu* every day at this shop. He comes twice daily to smoke, and stays two or three hours each time. He was in fairly good condition. He said he began the habit in the bad company of other smokers, that he had often wished and tried to give it up, but he could not. He had gained no benefit from the habit, and felt it was shameful to indulge in it. He gets fever now and then."

"Case 3.—A Mahomedan butcher, aged thirty, thin and weakly-looking, has taken opium for ten years. He began it by the bad example of others. He was not suffering from any disease when he began opium. He takes five pice worth of *chandu* at one smoke, and stays about two hours. Missing his smoke for a few hours beyond the accustomed time, he suffers from pain about the abdomen, diarrhoea and shortness of breath. He has never suffered from fever. He would leave off the habit if he could, as he is quite ashamed of himself, but he fears the innumerable symptoms that would trouble him in consequence."

"Case 4.—A Hindu, a jute mill mechanic, aged thirty-four, out of work just now, lost his work a month ago owing to fever. He began opium six years ago, eats one pice worth of opium in the morning, and attends this shop to smoke two pice worth of *chandu* in the evening. He did not begin the drug for any disease, but took it in bad company. He often suffers from fever, pains about the body, and diarrhoea. He cannot give up this habit as his bowels become disordered if he does."

"Case 5.—A thin, lanky Mahomedan, aged sixty, a hackney carriage owner, has taken opium for forty years, and began it in the company of bad women. He did not begin it for any disease. He gets pains about his body and fever frequently. He smokes fourteen pice worth of *chandu* every day at one time, and stays for three hours in the shop. If he misses his smoke for a few hours, he suffers greatly from diarrhoea and pains all over the body. He says: "I would gladly give up the habit if I could, but it has taken too firm a hold of me, and I cannot get away from it. I am ashamed of myself."

"Case 6.—A Mahomedan, aged forty, has been taking opium for seven years. He began it for no disease. He is without work and begs for his food and for his smoke, and for the opium he also eats. His constitution is utterly broken down. He smokes several pip-fuls of *chandu* while loitering in the shop all day. He also eats about four pice worth of the crude drug. He suffers constantly from diarrhoea and fever."

"Case 7.—A Mahomedan, aged forty-seven, very thin and decrepid, has taken opium and smoked *chandu* for twenty-five years. He eats six pice worth of the drug at 6 A.M., and smokes one pice worth of *chandu* at 1 P.M. and 7 P.M.; he remains an hour each time. He began the habit with a prostitute. He has completely lost his health and strength. He says: "I was a man of violent temper, but the opium has quieted me. I have lost all courage, both moral and physical. I feel guilty in this matter, but

cannot give it up. I get fever occasionally. If I do not take opium, twenty diseases are ready to take hold of me."

"Case 8.—A respectable Bengali Baboo, aged thirty-six, well educated, a hardware merchant in Nimtolla Street, whose father is a wealthy man. He has smoked *chandu* for two years, and began it in the company of a prostitute. He smokes eight pice worth at noon, and stays for two hours in the shop. He often suffers from fever, and if there is any delay in getting his smoke, he suffers from indigestion and looseness of the bowels. He is ashamed of the habit and would gladly give it up, if he could, as he sees it is making him thin and weak."

4718. Have you anything to say with regard to the value of opium as a medicine?—While admitting that opium is one of the most reliable therapeutic agents known to Science to assuage pain, to calm nervous irritability in various forms and that as a sedative, hypnotic and soporific, it stands unequalled by any other drug in the physician's hands, I cannot help regarding it as inimical to health, when taken otherwise than as a medicine. I know from numerous inquiries among Indians that opium-eating is regarded as a vice, its users are ashamed to admit the habit, that its continued use causes emaciation, bowel derangement, and general vital impairment, associated with marked moral delinquency. I have also seen and treated many cases of opium-poisoning, and in many who have been rescued from suicidal death, I have learnt that opium was chosen as the suicidal agent, because of its pleasantly intoxicating effects, robbing the act of suicide of much of its terror. I cannot read daily of the numerous cases of suicidal and homicidal deaths from opium, without believing that too easy, pleasant and effective a weapon is placed within the reach of the suicide and the murderer. Having regard to all these circumstances, I am strongly of opinion that the strictest limits and safeguards should be placed upon the sale and use of opium.

4719. Have you formed any opinion as to the practicability and advisability of the proposal which has been urged upon the attention of the Commission with reference to the total prohibition of the use of opium in this country?—I think it would be an utter impossibility.

4720. Do you think it is practicable, in the peculiar circumstances of the country, to lay down regulations which would give sufficient facility for obtaining supplies of opium for medical use while limiting it to such use?—I think it is possible.

4721. Do you compare in your mind the effects of opium with the effects of alcohol?—I do. In my humble opinion there are few physicians who would use opium in place of alcohol. Alcohol is a most valuable stimulant, and opium could never take its place in the way in which Western Science has taught physicians to use it.

4722. Do you approve of the moderate use of alcohol as an ordinary article of consumption?—Under medical advice.

4723. But without medical advice you would say that it would be well for all persons to abstain from the use of alcohol?—I do.

4724. (Sir William Roberts.) I do not think your view with regard to the true prophylactic effect of opium differs very much from the view generally held in the profession as far as I understand it?—I believe my view is in accordance with the opinion held by the profession.

4725. As stated by your predecessor, it is not held to be a special prophylactic like quinine?—Not at all.

4726. I believe that is what is generally held in the profession, but that it does relieve the incidental symptoms of the malarial condition as an anodyne?—As an anodyne.

4727. I think I have heard it stated that it is more risky, in regard to taking malarial trouble, to go out in the morning before breakfast on an empty stomach than it is after a meal?—I believe that to be a fact.

4728. Has it struck you that opium might act as a preventive in the same way that a meal is a preventive?—I think not.

4729. Referring to what you said about Dr. Norman Chevers, what is the date of the work from which you quoted?—It was published by Churchill in 1886.

4730. You quoted a statement to the effect that a large proportion of the inmates of asylums for natives are found to be habitual *ganja*-smokers and opium-eaters: are you aware that the statistics returned by the lunatic asylums contradict that opinion?—I am aware that statistics do not make ample provision for the record of the narcotic habits of the inmates of asylums.

4731. You also quoted a passage which stated that men addicted to narcotics, seldom remain longer than a month or two at duty, and are at last very generally lost to the service by death or by being discharged. Is that statement consonant with the facts?—I believe it is.

4732. (Mr. Wilson.) May we take for granted that, so far as you know, it is the universal conviction of educated medical men that for Europeans opium is not an agent to be recommended for dietetic purposes?—Certainly.

4733. You have practised among the natives of India also?—Yes.

4734. And if I asked the same question with regard to them, what would your answer be?—I would say it would be precisely the same in regard to the natives of India.

4735. Did you ever hear of any medical practitioner who advised his patients to take opium for dietetic purposes?—Never.

4736. Supposing that putting the question, I were to substitute the word "stimulant" for "dietetic"?—I cannot regard opium as a stimulant in the sense in which we generally use the word stimulant. I certainly would not recommend opium as a stimulant.

4737. You have seen a good deal of malarial fever?—I have.

4738. Do I understand your statement to be that you do not believe that opium is recommended to be taken as a prophylactic or as a remedy alone?—I believe that orthodox medical men do not so recommend it.

4739. It is sometimes used combined with other things?—Possibly, for symptoms that may arise, such as diarrhoea, pains, and so on.

4740. You spoke of opium as an anodyne: am I correct in supposing that an anodyne means a pain soother?—A pain soother.

4741. Solely?—Solely.

4742. You draw a clear distinction between an anodyne and a prophylactic?—Very clear.

4743. Are you acquainted with the report of a discussion at the Calcutta Medical Society a year and a half ago on this subject?—Yes.

4744. Are you a member of that Society?—I am not.

4745. (Sir William Roberts.) Why not?—I was Secretary to that Society some years ago; it came to be of a very official nature, and I resigned.

4746. You were in a tiff, and resigned?—Not exactly a tiff.

4747. (Mr. Wilson.) I suppose I may take it that you do not agree with the majority of the gentlemen who spoke on that occasion?—Certainly not.

4748. Am I right in supposing that the gentlemen of that Society represent substantially the opinion of the orthodox medical practitioners in Calcutta?—I believe they do not.

4749. (Sir William Roberts.) Can you quote any names in support of that?—Very recently Dr. Lall Madhab Mukerjee, a past President of the Calcutta Medical Society, and Principal of the Calcutta Medical School, called on me and gave me his deliberate opinion that he himself and the staff of the institution with which he is connected were wholly against the opinions that were being expressed before this Commission.

4750. Are they orthodox practitioners according to the European method?—Yes, they are graduates of the Calcutta University.

4751. (Mr. Wilson.) When you say that the Society partook of an official character, what do you mean by official?—I do not like to go into details, but I may say that the Society practically expresses its views through the official medical journal, the *Indian Medical Gazette*, in which its reports appear. At the time in question it was very largely membered by officials, and less so by general practitioners. That is why in a limited sense I say that it has been largely an official society, the official element predominating.

4752. Does it represent the profession in Calcutta necessarily?—Not necessarily nor in fact.

4753. (Mr. Wilson.) Can you clear up that point as to the number of orthodox practitioners in Calcutta? Do you know anything about the numbers outside?—Yes, I do.

4754. Can you tell us how far the society represents medical opinion in Calcutta? I am sorry that the question was not asked of those who belonged to this Society. If I must mention it, I may say that the Society numbers

Dr. J. E.
Wallace,
M.D.

30 Nov, 1898

Dr. J. E. Wallace, M. D. according to its last report, December 1892, 117 members, twenty-five of whom did not reside at Calcutta, but in other parts of India. *The Medical Register and Directory of the Indian Empire* shows there are 780 or more medical practitioners in Calcutta.

4765. (Sir William Roberts.) Qualified?—Qualified.

4766. (Chairman.) European?—European and Native. This Society is supposed to represent the medical profession, whether European or Native.

4767. (Mr. Wilson.) You mean according to the European system?—Yes; they are graduates of the Calcutta University.

4768. (Sir William Roberts.) What is the subscription to the Society?—The subscription for 1892 was fixed at Rs. 3 a year—it is a very small subscription.

4769. (Mr. Wilson.) Did I understand you to say that there are between 700 and 800 practitioners at Calcutta according to European method?—Yes.

4760. The Society numbers about 117, of whom 25 are non-resident; so that there are something less than 100 members in Calcutta?—Yes.

4761. (Chairman.) Yes. Out of 780 in Calcutta how many have graduated in the United Kingdom?—I could not tell, unless I went through the registered list of practitioners which is given in the *Indian Register and Directory* for 1892.

4762. (Mr. Wilson.) Do I rightly gather from this statement of yours that you think that this doctrine about the use of opium in malaria is a comparatively modern doctrine?—Yes, a comparatively modern doctrine.

4763. May I ask you to define "comparatively modern"?—I first heard of it in connection with the discussion at the Calcutta Medical Society when I read the report; since then I gave the theory a trial.

4764. (Mr. Mowbray.) With regard to the *Indian Medical Gazette*, do I understand that it is an official publication?—Official in this sense, that it is supported by Government.

4765. What is the *Indian Medical Record*?—An independent Journal, which I started 5 years ago, and which is supported entirely by the medical profession of India.

4766. I think you were in Government service yourself?—I was.

4767. How long ago?—From 1872 to 1883.

4768. Did you resign the Government service subsequently to or before you resigned the Secretaryship of the Medical Society?—That was subsequent to my resigning the Government service.

4769. When you say that many natives use opium under the advice of friends for its reputed relief in rheumatic pains, bronchial affections, bowel complaints and diabetes, does that refer to the medical use of opium?—To the medical use of opium.

4770. Therefore any provision of opium for medical purposes would, in your judgment, have to be sufficient to supply persons in that condition?—Certainly.

4771. Do you think that for the supply of people requiring it in that way, you could go much further than you have done in restricting the number of places at which it is sold?—I should not like to go into that matter, because I do not understand it. With regard to the sale of opium, I might say that it is sold for so many purposes, besides medical, that it seems to me that there is a superabundance of its supply. How that is to be restricted, I would not like to say; I cannot go into details.

4772. I want to know how, if you are to have those places opened for the sale of opium for the medical purposes which you have described, you can prevent those places being used for the sale of opium for other purposes—purely vicious purposes?—It is a very difficult matter to deal with; friends often prescribe medicines legitimately. The use of opium for the relief of pain and so on is legitimate; it is a use that will have to be met; but owing to the condition of the country, the supply of medical practitioners in outlying districts is so meagre that the people are obliged to resort to the relief which they can get at their own doors. If opium is prescribed under these circumstances, I do not know how Government is going to limit its sale in that kind of use.

4773. Can you give any practical definition of the distinction which may be drawn between persons requiring opium for medicinal purposes as you have described and the

persons requiring it for purely vicious purposes?—I do not know how it can be defined, but it seems to me that it lies in the hands of the Government to prevent the sale for vicious purposes.

4774. We have had it suggested by some of the witnesses that persons in charge of these places should have discretionary power; do you think that is a discretionary power that could be safely given?—Such discretionary power would be worth nothing if placed in the hands of opium-sellers.

4775. (Mr. Fanshawe.) Can you tell us whether in the course of your own professional practice you have had any actual knowledge of lunacy caused by opium-eating?—No.

4776. You have stated that you know, from numerous inquiries among Indians, that opium-eating is regarded as a vice; will you kindly let us know to what classes you apply that?—I believe all classes; I have gained that experience during my Calcutta practice.

4777. Would you include the Marwaris?—I include the Marwaris also.

4778. They would regard it as a vice?—Yes.

4779. You have had some practice among the Chinese—would it apply to them?—Yes.

4780. All the people among whom you have practised in Calcutta regard its use as a vice?—Yes.

4781. Do you think that among the natives, of whom you have had experience, if the use of opium were prohibited there would be a tendency to take to alcohol or ganja?—There might be.

4782. (Sir James Lyall.) I understand you to say that you consider that the use of opium as a drug for curing malaria or as a prophylactic against malaria is a new doctrine among medical men practising on the European system?—Yes.

4783. But is it not an old doctrine among the people of the country, among the uneducated natives?—I have never heard of it in my practice or experience.

4784. Not even among the country people?—Not among any of them.

4785. You think they never take opium to protect themselves against malaria?—I have never heard them say so.

4786. I have met at different times several persons in India who have told me that if they knew that they had to sleep out of doors or were likely to get wet without being able to change their clothes, or to be subject to any exposure of that kind, they would as a precaution take a small opium pill; do you not think that they would be right in doing that so as to keep themselves warm or prevent their getting a chill?—I would warn all persons under those circumstances to avoid that pill.

4787. (Mr. Wilson.) I believe you have lived most of your time in Calcutta?—Seventeen years.

4788. You do not know a great deal about the villages in India?—I know something of the villages of Oudh.

4789. Supposing any radical change were intended and it was thought desirable, if possible, to restrict the sale of opium, do I understand you to say that you see no way in which persons might be selected in the villages, having no direct interest in the sale of opium, not obtaining profit from it in any way, to whom a discretionary power might be entrusted?—Discretionary power of course differs so much according to the individual in whose hands you place it. I believe if such discretionary power were placed in the hands of one who was not interested in the sale, it would be a wise measure.

4790. Do you think that the able men who look after the Government of India would be able to devise some plan of that kind?—I think the Government is capable of meeting this evil in a thoroughly efficient way. The difficulty would only affect the present generation. Another generation would arise that would face the new disciplinary arrangement in a proper way.

4791. (Sir James Lyall.) Would not the man in the village be probably paid a salary, and have a stock of opium given to him to be sold at a certain price, for which he would have to account to the Government. Supposing such a man to have discretion to sell the opium when he thought it was required for medical use, and to refuse it when it was not, with your knowledge of the sort of people to be found in the villages (not highly paid or educated), do you think he could be trusted?—I do not think he could be trusted. It would be difficult to find a person who could be trusted.

4792. Could you trust them to sell the opium at the price named, or would they not put a higher price, and account to the Government only for the Government price?—Knowing as much as I do, I should be inclined to have a much better system than that.

4793. I do not see what other system you could have; even Indian statement cannot do more than is possible?—It would be sure to be surrounded with all sorts of fraud, and probably the last state of things would be worse than the first.

4794. Do you not think that when you put discretion or power into ordinary oriental hands, they would be inclined at once to see how they could make money out of it?—Exactly.

4795. Is not that the administrative difficulty of India?—Exactly.

4796. (Mr. Fanshawe.) I believe that two of the doctors, whose opinions you have mentioned (Dr. Harvey and Dr. McConnell) are the gentlemen who gave evidence before us the other day, is that so?—Yes.

Dr. J. E.
Wallace,
M. D.

30 Nov. 1893

The witness withdrew.

Mr. K. G. GUPTA called in and examined.

4797. (Chairman.) I believe you desire to hand in some documents?—With Your Lordship's permission I wish to present certain papers which I have been instructed by the Board of Revenue to place before the Commission. One is a note giving an historical sketch of the law and the rules with regard to the supply and sale of excise opium in Lower Bengal; another is a short account of the system under which excise opium and intoxicating drugs manufactured from excise opium are sold in the Lower Provinces of Bengal; and the third is a table of statistics as regards the consumption and the revenue derived from opium in the several districts of Bengal in the past year 1892-93.

4798. Will you state your position in the Civil Service?—I am at present Excise Commissioner of Bengal. I have served 20 years, having come out in October 1873. During this period I have served in several districts of Bengal and Orissa in the usual grades from Assistant Magistrate to District Officer. I was Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue for four years, and in that capacity had to deal with, among others, the Excise and Opium Departments. I have held my present appointment since March last.

4799. What are the chief stimulants in use in Bengal?—The craving for stimulants is satisfied in these provinces from three distinct sources, viz., (1) country liquor (including taddy, or the fermented juice of the date and palmyra palm); (2) hemp drugs; and (3) opium. The first is preferred in dry districts with pronounced cold and hot seasons, and containing a large non-Mahomedan population, as in Behar and Chota Nagpur. The use of hemp drugs is largest in wet districts, such as Dacca, Mymensingh, and the 24 Parganas, or in malarious tracts, such as the low alluvial portion of the Bhagalpur Division lying to the north of the Ganges. Leaving aside Calcutta, where the use of all excisable articles is large, the consumption of opium is largest along the seaboard from Chittagong to Fari, with the exception of Noakhali, where the excise revenue from all sources is smallest owing to the presence of a large proportion of Ferazis, a sect of puritanical Mahomedans who are great abstainers. It is likewise considerable in districts containing a large element of Mahomedan town population as in Hughly, Burdwan, Murshidabad, and Patna, as well as in notoriously malarious districts like Rangpur, Dinajpur, Maldah, and Purnea.

4800. Have you anything to say with reference to madak and chandu?—There is very little madak consumed in these provinces. Outside Calcutta the use of madak is practically confined to the 24 Parganas, Midnapur, Hughly, Murshidabad, Maldah, and Cuttack. The majority of the consumers are low Mahomedans, and in Maldah these belong to the Jola or weaver class. The use of chandu is still more limited. In Calcutta the consumers are chiefly Chinese. The only other places where the consumption is at all large are Chittagong and Mymensingh. In 1882-83, out of 44 districts in which the province was then divided, madak was used in 40, and there were altogether 438 licenses in force. In 1892-93 it was consumed in 95 districts out of a total of 46, and the number of licenses was 263. The corresponding figures for chandu are 89 licenses in 21 districts in 1882-83, and 71 licenses in 20 districts in the past year. It can, therefore, hardly be said, as has been asserted by some of the witnesses, that the use of either drug is on the increase. The figures given above distinctly indicate considerable restriction in the past decade.

4801. You have given us the number of licenses which have been issued for the sale of madak and chandu; can you give us any statistics of the quantities of these articles that have been sold?—These are not separately shown in the district returns; but I have the figures for Calcutta only.

4802. Will you give us the figures for Calcutta?—355 maunds and 9 seers were consumed as opium last year, 1892-93.

4803. (Sir William Roberts.) Crude opium?—Crude opium.

4804. (Chairman.) What are the figures for the preceding years?—In 1891-92, 360 maunds 33 seers; and in 1890-91, 335 maunds. The amount of opium issued to madak shops in 1892-93 was 28 maunds; in 1891-92, 33 maunds 38 seers; and in 1890-91, 33 maunds 22 seers; and to chandu shops in 1892-93, 36 maunds; in 1891-92, 49 maunds 25 seers; and in 1890-91, 49 maunds 13 seers.

4805. So that in regard to consumption there is a decrease in Calcutta?—Yes.

4806. Your brief historical sketch shows, does it not, that under existing arrangements the farming system no longer obtains, but that the sale of excise opium in Lower Bengal is conducted under a system of licenses, and those licenses are put up to auction?—Yes.

4807. And the issuing of licenses by auction has increased the revenue to the Government?—Very much so.

4808. And the Government has not found that the system is open to objection on administrative or moral grounds; in fact, it has been found to work generally beneficially?—On the whole, I think the system has worked very well. From an administrative point of view, I see no objection to it at all; and from a moral point of view I do not see that it is open to any greater objection than any other system that might be suggested.

4809. I observe that, broadly speaking, the quantity consumed seems to be, approximately, stationary?—I may add that in the 20 years which these statistics cover, the population has increased by 18 per cent., the revenue from opium by 67 per cent., and the consumption by 10 per cent., comparing 1873-74 with 1892-93.

4810. Measured at per head of the population, there has been a slight decrease in the quantity consumed?—Yes.

4811. (Sir William Roberts.) You say that there is a puritanical sect of Mahomedans, called the Ferazis, who are abstainers; abstainers from what?—All kinds of stimulants?

4812. From tobacco?—Tobacco I do not properly regard as a stimulant; it is so commonly used. They smoke tobacco.

4813. Do you mean abstinence from opium and alcohol?—Yes, and from hemp drugs.

4814. Is madak cheap stuff?—It is slightly cheaper than opium, because in its preparation it is mixed with guava (custard-apple) leaves; so that the amount of opium in a given quantity is really smaller than in a like quantity of crude opium. The retail price is slightly cheaper.

4815. Cheaper to the user?—Yes, cheaper than the same quantity of opium.

4816. (Mr. Pease.) Can you give any information about Calcutta separately from the general statistics with regard to Bengal?—Yes. You will find the information given in the statement that I have already put in. Calcutta is shown as a separate district. The number of licenses for the retail sale of opium, madak and chandu are given separately. In the past year, 1892-93, there were 67 opium licenses in Calcutta, which includes the town of Howrah and the suburbs (for administrative purposes it is considered a separate district), 80 madak licenses and 11 chandu licenses, of which last only 4 were open.

4817. Will you explain why persons should take licenses when they do not use them?—The number of chandu licenses has not been altered for many years. A man pays for all his licenses, but for his own convenience he actually keeps only four shops open.

Mr. K. G.
Gupta.

Mr. K. G. 4818. Why did you grant the licenses?—He could open
Gupta. all these shops if he liked.

Nov. 1893. 4819. Why do you not withhold the license?—We got
the license fees on account of these shops.

4820. Is it not the wish of the Government to reduce the
consumption of chandu?—Yes.

4821. You grant seven licenses for which there is obvious-
ly no necessity?—That has been so for some years. The
number has been kept up, not further reduced.

4822. You say that these licenses are sold by auction?—
Yes.

4823. What regard is held at the auction to the locality
in which the license will be used?—The site is always fixed
before the shop is put up to auction.

4824. Do you mean the locality or the exact shop?—The
exact shop.

4825. To whom does the shop belong?—The premises
may belong to anybody. The man who purchases
the license at the auction must arrange with the owner.
He may make any arrangement he likes with the owner of
the premises; if he fails to secure the premises, he must give
up the license; he cannot use the shop.

4826. Then the man who owns these premises has special
advantage?—Naturally.

4827. Does he charge an increased rent as compared with
houses of the same character in the neighbourhood?—I can-
not say.

4828. Is he not almost sure to do so?—I cannot say, he may
or may not. I have not made any inquiry on the subject,
and I am not prepared to give an answer.

4829. We saw a place the other day where chandu was
being sold up a narrow passage and up some steps; is that
the only place where the person who holds the license may
sell chandu?—No; he makes chandu there, but he has three
other places.

4830. I understood you to say that the license was
granted to sell the article in one particular shop or place?—
This man holds the monopoly of chandu shops; he has all the
11 shops, or rather, I should say, it is a firm. They have
taken all the 11 licenses in Calcutta, and they keep open
only 4 shops.

4831. Do you have any regard to the character of
the man who purchases the license?—He has to produce a
police certificate as to character and respectability.

4832. In the case of a person purchasing the whole of
the chandu licenses what guarantee have you as to the
character of the person who superintends the house?—
We take a guarantee as regards the person to whom the
license is given.

4833. With regard to the madak houses, how many are
there?—Thirty.

4834. Are they held by separate individuals?—Yes.

4835. And they are strictly limited in the same way to
the house in which the business is to be carried on?—Yes.

4836. Do you know that there is a Regulation that
smoking shall not take place in connection with the houses
where the license is held? How far do you interfere as to
the premises belonging to those license-holders who are not
immediately in connection, by a doorway or some other con-
nection of that kind, where smoking takes place?—No such
cases have actually been brought to my notice; but if any
such cases came, I should try to prosecute them, if they could
be prosecuted for a breach of a condition of the license.

4837. If I understand you rightly, no effort is made by
Government to reduce the smoking of madak or chandu in
Calcutta?—I am not prepared to say that. I do not know
the actual number prior to the figures I have given which
are only recent years' figures.

4838. What is the general description of the distribution
of the 57 opium shops?—They are spread all over the town;
they are not in any one locality.

4839. Are they more numerous in special localities?—
I believe so.

4840. What is the character of the localities where they
are rather more numerous?—It is according to the number
of consumers in the neighbourhood.

4841. What is the social position of the people in the
districts where there are the largest number of licenses?—
I cannot say.

4842. Are the most licenses in the lowest parts of the
town?—I do not know the localities of all the shops.

4843. Has there been any alteration in the number of
opium shops in Calcutta for some years; if so, in what
direction?—The number of opium shops in 1890-91 was 55,
in 1891-92, 59, and in the past year 57.

4844. Why was there an increase from 55 to 59?—That
I could not say without reference to the papers. It was
not in my time.

4845. It is stated that under a recent rule no one is
permitted to manufacture madak or chandu, even for
private consumption, without a special license. Can you tell
us how many special licenses have been taken out?—Only
one; that is, in the district of Shahabad.

4846. There is no one in Calcutta who takes out a
special license?—No. This rule has been introduced only
since April last, the commencement of the present financial
year.

4847. Who is responsible for the increase or the decrease
in the number of licenses in the Province of Bengal and
in Calcutta?—Eventually, of course the Board of Revenue,
but the proposals come from the District Officers every year.
The settlement proposals are submitted by the District
Officers to the Excise Commissioner, and they are again
considered by the Board of Revenue and finally passed.

4848. Has the Resident Magistrate power to grant the
license for an additional shop or shops?—The District Officer
cannot do so without the sanction of the Excise Commissioner.
The matter comes up when a new shop has to be opened. It
is very seldom now that a new shop is allowed in the
middle of the year.

4849. (Sir James Lyall.) It used not to be the law in
Upper India. The Collector of the day had power himself?—
Most of these shops are old ones. In recent years there
has been hardly any increase in the number of shops;
on the contrary there has been a gradual reduction.

4850. (Mr. Pease.) Who originally fixed the sites?—It
is impossible to say. It has come down from the administra-
tion of previous years. Many of the shops have existed
for many years. I cannot say who was originally responsi-
ble for fixing them.

4851. Suppose a shop no longer becomes available, and
a new one is thought desirable in the neighbourhood?—
The site can be changed.

4852. Who decides what is a suitable shop?—In the
first instance it is decided by the local authorities, but the
matter has to come before the Excise Commissioner.

4853. In Calcutta?—It is decided by the Collector in
Calcutta, and then it comes to the Excise Commissioner.
But it is not merely that. There must also be a certifi-
cate from the Commissioner of Police as to the suitability
of the site, and as to its being unobjectionable.

4854. I understand he does not interfere with the old
sites so long as they are available, but he exercises dis-
cretion in regard to new sites?—In Calcutta the settle-
ments are triennial. Before a new settlement is made
a list of the shops has to be sent to the Commissioner
of Police, and he can object to any he likes, and we are
bound to listen to that objection.

4855. What is the character of the objection?—Gener-
ally on police grounds: it may come from residents in the
neighbourhood, or it may be that the establishment of
a shop in the neighbourhood might lead to greater crimes,
any kind of police objection.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow at 10-30.

At the Council Chamber, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

SEVENTEENTH DAY.

Friday, 1st December 1893.

PRESENT:

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B. (CHAIRMAN, PRESIDING).

SIR JAMES LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
THE HON'BLE SIR LACHHMSWAR SING BAHADUR,
MAHARAJA OF DARBHANGA, K.C.I.E.
SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D.

MR. R. G. C. MOWBRAY, M.P.
" A. U. FANSHAW.
" ARTHUR PRASE.
" HARIDAS VSHABIDAS DESAI.
" H. J. WILSON, M.P.

MR. J. PARACOTT HEWETT, C.I.E., *Secretary.*

The Honourable D. B. LYALL, C.S.I., recalled and examined.

4856. (*Chairman.*) I believe you have attended this morning for the purpose of putting in a note of certain corrections which you wish to submit to the Commission in reference to a memorial presented by the missionary body to the Viceroy, on the question under the consideration of this Commission?—Yes.

4857. (*Sir William Roberts.*) I think that the quotation from Dr. Brunton is put under the head of "Opium-eating," and that it does apply to opium-eating, not mere poisoning from opium?—He did not enter into the question. He did not discuss its good or bad effects: he dismisses it in the words quoted.

4858. He does not say whether the habit is good or bad?—That is my meaning. Page 780 may also be referred to as shewing his opinion of opium.

4859. I think it is affirmed that Dr. Brunton expressed the opinion that the practice of opium-eating is beneficial in those conditions?—Under those conditions.

4860. That is a different quotation?—Yes, I referred to that as shewing Dr. Brunton's opinion on the subject.

4861. Do you refer to Dr. Brunton again except in this first paragraph?—No.

4862. (*Mr. Wilson.*) The passage quoted in the appendix to the memorial is from page 778?—Yes.

4863. And the heading is "Opium-eating" in black letters?—Yes.

4864. And it is a general statement as to its effect?—Yes.

4865. On page 777 Therapeutics begins?—Yes.

4866. Therefore I should like you to explain how you say in the quotation in question that it is a subject of Therapeutics when Therapeutics does not begin till two pages further on?—The whole book is on Therapeutics.

4867. Is that your only answer?—The book is on Therapeutics, and I say that Dr. Brunton does not go into the

The witness withdrew.

Mr. K. G. GUPTA recalled and further examined.

4875. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Will you tell us, generally, how you would describe the policy of the Excise Department in reference to the issue of licenses?—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. With regard to the location of sites and shops, the matter is first decided by the local authorities; and every year the proposals made by those authorities come before the Excise Commissioner. After they have been considered by him they are finally submitted to the Board of Revenue, who modify or alter them as they like. Orders are then finally passed. In the case of each shop an upset fee is fixed, below which no shop is usually settled. The shops

are put up to auction annually, except in Calcutta where the settlement is triennial.

4876. Is the same principle applied to the licensing of chandu shops?—Yes.

4877. Will you explain to me how that is reconciled with what I understood you to tell Mr. Pass yesterday, that a licensee takes licenses for eleven shops, and only establishes four. If the Board of Excise, or the Excise Commissioner, thinks it right to issue eleven licenses for the legitimate convenience of the public, how do you reconcile it with the fact that they do not insist on his opening the eleven shops?—The number of shops in Calcutta has not been

Q 2

Hon. D. B. Lyall, C. S. I.
1 Dec. 1893.

Mr. K. G. Gupta.

Mr. K. G. Gupta.
Dec. 1898.

altered for many years. One man has the monopoly of all the eleven chandu shops. We give him the monopoly of these shops and take the license fees; and he is at liberty to open as many as he finds necessary within that number.

4878. You say that the policy was to meet, as far as possible, what might be called a reasonable demand?—Yes.

4879. For that purpose you issue eleven licenses and then you permit the monopolist, for his own reasons, to abstain from making any use whatever of seven of those licenses?—He pays the license fees of all the eleven shops. 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.

4880. Then you do not care about the public convenience?

4881. (Sir James Lyall.) Have the public complained?—The public have not complained, and we have not thought it right to interfere.

4882. (Mr. Wilson.) Will you try and answer my question? I did not ask about complaints. I ask why you issue eleven licenses for the public convenience, and then permit the man for his own convenience, and as you have said, to make his business pay, to use only four of them?—The only reason I can give is, that when we get the license fees of these eleven shops, we do not insist on all the shops being opened.

4883. But you do not reconcile that with your statement that this is done for the public convenience?—It may be slightly irreconcilable with that as regards the particular kind of shops.

4884. In your short account of the system under which excise opium and intoxicating drugs manufactured from it are sold in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, you use the word *Nadar*—what is the meaning of that word?—It means the head-quarters of a district.

4885. In paragraph 12 you state that the sale of opium by a licensed druggist is allowed for medicinal purposes only. I think he is allowed to sell 5 tolas?—That is so.

4886. What guarantees have you that it is sold for medicinal purposes only?—We have got our own detective staff to make inquiries, and we can also judge by the quantities taken by a druggist within a certain time whether he takes it in excessively large quantities or not.

4887. But if a man comes to the druggist and says that he wants 5 tolas for medical purposes, does the druggist sell it to him, or is he expected to make any inquiry?—He is expected to make inquiries. In this case the druggist is really the native Kabiraj or Vaid; he is usually a practitioner himself.

4888. He is called a licensed druggist?—That is for the purpose of opium only. These licenses are not taken by English dispensaries.

4889. Are they not allowed to be taken?—They are not disallowed, but as a rule they only use imported opium and medical preparations of opium.

4890. The Kabiraj takes out his license as a druggist?—Yes.

4891. Then he can sell 5 tolas to any person?—Apparently.

4892. Nominally for medicinal purposes?—Yes, but we rely on his honesty; and if he is found disobeying any of the conditions of his license, of course he is liable to prosecution.

4893. Will you explain what conditions are required to be fulfilled before a man can get his license as a druggist?—It is seen whether he is a *bond fide* native medical practitioner or not.

4894. Who certifies that?—The Collector who grants the license satisfies himself as to that point.

4895. He cannot personally know who informs him?—He can make inquiries; he has the whole district establishment to make inquiries in cases of doubt.

4896. As a matter of fact, does he do so?—I suppose he does. I have not made inquiries in every district, but I suppose he must do so, otherwise, if there was any illegitimate sale by these druggists the ordinary licensed vendors of opium would be the first to complain.

4897. Am I right in believing that you were the Secretary to the Board of Revenue before you became Commissioner?—Yes.

4898. Therefore you have been familiar with this matter for a long time?—Yes.

4899. Then you can answer my question. As a matter of fact, what inquiries are made and by whom?—Inquiries are made by the Collector through his subordinate establishment. There are Excise Sub-Inspectors, and there are the police, and if the Collector personally does not know or is in doubt, he satisfies himself in any way he thinks best. In these matters he chiefly relies upon the Excise Deputy Collector of the District, and he being a native of the country is supposed to know a good deal about these men.

4900. Does the person who desires to have a druggist license make application by petition?—Yes.

4901. Are these petitions filed?—Yes.

4902. Can you give us any idea how many have been rejected?—I could not say.

4903. Perhaps you could ascertain for us?—I could.

4904. We have a return of the licenses granted. I should like to know the number refused for the last few years—say five years. It is stated in paragraph 14 of your "short account" that the sites of the licensed shops are finally fixed by the Commissioner of Excise?—Yes, under the orders of the Board of Revenue.

4905. That I presume is with a view to the public convenience. The suitability of the shop is considered?—Yes, and whether any site is objectionable from any point of view. Objections are always considered.

4906. Will you tell us what are the "rare and exceptional circumstances" referred to in paragraph 16?—If there is any change in the course of the year in regard to the population of any locality, and if there is any demand for any particular drug, an application is submitted, and that application, together with the Collector's opinion thereon, is forwarded to the Excise Commissioner, who finally decides whether the new shop is to be allowed or not.

4907. I want to know what is the reason?—It may be that a new bazar, for instance, or a new market, is opened, or there may be some sudden influx of people owing to the starting of a railway, and it may then be necessary to open a new shop. An application is made for that purpose.

4908. Will you look at sub-section 2 of that paragraph "that on each license being sold the licensee is required to pay two months' fees in advance as a guarantee against loss to the revenue from sudden relinquishment and consequent closure of the shop or re-settlement at a lower rate; there is nothing about public convenience there; is there?—In deciding these questions of course the revenue aspect cannot be lost sight of altogether; we do not pretend to lose sight of it.

4909. I only ask whether, as a matter of fact, there is any reference to the public convenience in that passage?—No. But this is only with regard to the revenue; it is a purely revenue matter.

4910. In paragraph 18 it is stated that the licensed vendor is not to sell by retail more than 5 tolas to any person at one time; there is no restriction as to how often the person may return?—No.

4911. So that if he likes to come ten times in a day he can get 50 tolas?—Yes. In fact unless he knew the person he would not be able to find out who took opium; the names of the purchasers are not entered in his books.

4912. I think in 1891, when you occupied a different position, you wrote a letter from the Board of Revenue on this subject, which is published in a Blue Book entitled "Consumption of opium in India," presented to Parliament in 1892?—Yes.

4913. You say "chandu shops, as the extracts annexed to the memorial correctly show, are distinctly places for producing temporary intoxication. The preparation of opium, which is called chandu, is of Chinese importation. It is smoked in order to bring about a brief period of intoxication, after sleeping off which the consumer usually leaves the shop and goes back to his work." A little further on, you point out what you have already told us is the state of things at the present time—that at that time, as now, eleven licenses were issued in Calcutta, and only four shops opened. You also state "at the present moment there are scores of illicit opium dens in Calcutta (in spite of the existence of the licensed shops) that are maintained in this very way against which war is waged incessantly by the Police"?—Yes.

4914. Does that state of things prevail still?—Yes, to a great extent.

4915. As much or more?—I should say more now since the prohibition of consumption on the premises.

4916. Is this war still waged incessantly?—To the best of our power.

4917. Could you give us any statement as to the number of prosecutions that there have been?—I have not the figures, but I can give them.

4918. I should like the number of prosecutions and the number of convictions?—I should like to say that it is very difficult to get a conviction in these cases. That is one of the reasons why our men are very much discouraged in regard to proceeding against these dens, because, as the law at present stands, I do not see how most of these men can be touched at all.

4919. You also say—"Is it not after all a very appreciable advantage to the community that by the existence of these licensed shops which heavily penalise, but stop short of absolutely prohibiting opium-smoking, 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?" I presume that in putting that question you would yourself answer that it was a desirable thing to have them so focussed?—Yes, that was certainly the view we held them.

4920. It appears from the next paragraph that the Bengal Board of Revenue made recommendations for restricting the possession of intoxicating drugs to one tola, and that the Government of India disapproved of the suggestion?—It has since then been approved. At present the possession of more than one tola of chandu or madak is illegal, as you will find from paragraph 27 of my note.

4921. He may have five tolas of opium and only one of chandu?—Yes.

4922. I gather that your Board desire that the unlicensed manufacture of chandu should be prohibited?—Yes.

4923. I observe that you use this language:—"Should the Government see its way to prohibit the unlicensed manufacture of chandu and madak, this would materially assist in the repression of unlicensed dens, and indirectly, therefore, lead to a reduction of the number of licensed shops?"—This has since been done, but I do not think it has led to the good result that was expected to be derived from it, because, as I said yesterday, only one license has hitherto been taken under that provision. On the other hand, owing to the prohibition of unlicensed manufacture in private houses, the number of prosecutions for such manufacture has increased largely in nearly every district.

4924. Then you say:—"The number of chandu or madak shops in such districts as Maldah, Gya and Mymensingh and some others cannot but attract attention, and it seems quite possible that something may be done with advantage to reduce their number." I think something has been done since that date towards reducing that number?—Something has been done in that direction.

4925. The number has been reduced from 81 to 71?—Yes.

4926. I gather that in the opinion of your Board the number was excessive?—Yes.

4927. Who is the officer who had the responsibility of granting this number at Gya or Mymensingh or Maldah?—The number of shops for different kinds of excisable articles are not of recent date; a large number existed in former times, but in recent years our policy has been to reduce it. I do not think that many new shops have been created; on the contrary, many old shops have been done away with. Our action in this matter in recent years has been rather by way of reduction than of creating new shops.

4928. I think you have some information to give us as to localities?—Yes, I have a map of the town of Calcutta, showing the opium, madak, and chandu shops. (The map was handed round.)

4929. You were asked whether you knew how the rent of one of these licensed shops compared with the rents of similar houses?—I am informed that the rents of such houses are usually 50 per cent. more than the rents of similar houses in the neighbourhood; and at the time of getting the lease the man has to pay a very heavy premium also, which varies according to the nature of the shop.

4930. He pays a premium and an enhanced rent also?—Yes, about 50 per cent. more rent.

4931. Do you know what the premium is?—It varies from about 10 to 20 rupees, or even to 500 for a large liquor shop.

4932. For opium shops it is not so much?—The largest premium is paid for liquor shops.

4933. What about the chandu shops?—For those shops they do not require such a high premium as for liquor shops.

4934. (Mr. Mowbray.) You have told us that there are only four chandu shops altogether, and that there are eleven licenses; does the same thing hold good with the madak shops?—No.

4935. There are thirty of those?—Yes; the object of keeping up the number is purely a revenue one; that is, we want to keep up the entire amount of license fees.

4936. These seven houses that are licensed but not kept open pay fees as if they were kept open?—Yes.

4937. The premises are otherwise occupied?—They are not vacant.

4938. But the license is paid to the Government just as if they were opened as chandu shops?—Yes.

4939. I understand that one of your arguments in favour of keeping a certain number of licensed chandu shops open is that there you get the assistance of the people, who have these houses, in keeping you informed as to the illicit places of consumption opened in other parts?—That is one of the objects certainly.

4940. Do you think that that enables you substantially to restrict the consumption of chandu?—Very much so.

4941. Not only to benefit the revenue but to restrict consumption?—Yes, because they act as spies and informers, and they have better means of finding out the existence of illicit dens than our men have, having to deal with the consumers themselves.

4942. I suppose that the revenue of these chandu shops, if they were all suppressed, would not be a matter of very great importance?—No. In the whole of Bengal last year the total amount was for madak R79,659, and chandu R31,032.

4943. That would be a little over a lakh?—Yes. It is not the revenue that is the chief point in regard to these shops, because the revenue derived from them is really very small.

4944. You think that the loss of revenue would not be accompanied by a smaller consumption but by a larger consumption?—It is very probable.

4945. Would it be possible to keep open these clubs and shops for the use of Chinamen only in Calcutta?—It could be tried, but I do not know how far it would be successful. The four chandu shops here do not supply the wants of the Chinese only; there is a large class of Mahomedans and others who also patronise these shops.

4946. How do you enforce the provisions with regard to the manufacture of madak and chandu for domestic use? Are they of long standing?—They have only been introduced since the 1st of April last.

4947. Have you had sufficient experience to say whether it is possible to enforce them?—No, so far I do not think we have succeeded very well. From every district we are having reports of a very large number of prosecutions for private manufacture and consumption. The difficulty is to get hold of the more influential people who make their madak at home. It is generally the poor people whose houses are quite exposed that are got hold of by our men. I think this order has led to a good deal of oppression in one sense.

4948. You say that if the chandu and madak-smoking were stopped, the loss of revenue from licenses would not be great; would it affect what you call the revenue from the duty on opium?—I do not think it would very much, because the consumption of opium in the shape of chandu and madak is not very large.

4949. May I take it that supposing it were thought desirable to close the chandu and madak shops so far as revenue goes, it would not be a matter of much importance?—No.

4950. The revenue, such as it is, goes to the Government of Bengal?—No; one-fourth of the excise revenue goes to the Government of Bengal, and three-fourths go to the Government of India. I do not know how far it will be practicable to prohibit madak-smoking and chandu-smoking altogether. We may prevent the licensed manufacture and sale, but whether we can stop private consumption at home is another question; I do not know that it would be possible or feasible.

4951. Would it be more difficult to stop private consumption at home than to prevent the manufacture?—Both private manufacture and consumption would be more difficult to suppress. As regards licensed manufacture and sale, we can always stop that.

4952. (Sir James Lyall.) You said that you relied on the druggists' honesty; I suppose your main reliance would be upon the limited supply of opium?—Yes. The figures will show that these licenses are not generally used as a

Mr. K. G.
Gupta.
1 Dec. 1898.

Mr. K. G. Gupta.
1 Dec. 1898. cloak for illicit sales, because it is with the greatest difficulty that we can induce practitioners to take out licenses, and the number instead of increasing has a tendency to decrease.

4952. Why?—Because these people do not care to take out licenses.

4954. How much have they to pay?—It is a very nominal fee, only Rs 1 a year.

4955. Why are they allowed to sell five tolas?—It seems a very large amount for the druggists to be allowed to sell?—It is five tolas in the case of ordinary opium vendors too, and no distinction I suppose is necessary.

4956. You are sure that it is five tolas in the case of druggists?—Yes.

4957. With reference to the eleven shops for the sale of chandu, I suppose the contractor took the whole eleven though he only opened four to prevent other people getting the other seven?—That is so. Of course I cannot be sure whether other people would have come forward. The competition is very limited in the case of chandu shops, because they are only kept by Chinamen.

4958. In your official letter referred to just now, you state that madak and chandu are used for temporary intoxication which is slept off; what do you mean by intoxication?—Temporary or partial insensibility. They simply lie down for a little while.

4959. Is that based upon your personal knowledge and experience?—No.

4960. What sort of distinct intoxication or insensibility follows opium-smoking?—I have not seen chandu-smoking. I have seen madak-smoking.

4961. And would say that smoking is followed necessarily by intoxication or insensibility?—No, in the few cases that I have seen the men simply fainted down; they smoke and sit down quietly and talk.

4962. (*Mr. Pease.*) You said that in the district outside Calcutta the licenses were put up to public competition, but that such was not the case in Calcutta?—Yes, in Calcutta, too, but the settlement here is every three years and in the districts outside Calcutta once a year.

4963. Did you not say that in Calcutta it was done by private negotiation?—No, I do not think so.

4964. Does the same system exist in Calcutta as in the outside districts?—As regards competition certainly.

4965. (*Chairman.*) You have given us a good deal of information with reference to licenses for the retail sale of opium and chandu and as to the premiums and increased rentals which are paid for such shops; does the Government recognise that the licensed holders have any vested rights?—Not in the least.

4966. If you thought fit to close all or any of these shops, there is no claim on Government for compensation?—None whatever in the least; even an existing license can be cancelled by simply returning the advance fee and giving sufficient notice, 15 days or a month; that is all the liability that is incurred.

4967. If you have reason to believe that any of these shops are not conducted in a proper way, you withdraw the license?—We can, and we do in some cases.

4968. You would not hesitate to do so if you thought that the license-holder was guilty of misconduct and deserved punishment?—Certainly not; there is no vested interest recognised by the excise administration.

4969. (*Mr. Pease.*) The owner for the time being of a licensed house has the value of his property increased by 50 per cent?—Yes, but the same shop is utilised for other purposes when it is not taken up by a licensee.

4970. (*Mr. Wilson.*) You spoke of the difficulty in getting druggists to pay for licenses; they ought not to sell opium without it?—They ought not to; but they take only small quantities from the vendors and utilise it in the medicines, and we have not always the means of detecting that. We want them to take out licenses for the purpose of registration more than for revenue.

4971. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) I observe an extraordinary variety in the number of these druggists, varying from 2 in one district to 240 in another district or division?—In one district it is said that many people take out a license, because it is supposed to give them a certain position, as much as to say that they are recognised by the Government. It also depends on the activity of our own men in hunting up those men who do not take out licenses.

4972. Do you instruct your officers to keep their eyes on these people?—That has been done several times by special circular.

4973. So that you reap a crop of license fees?—There is not much in that—very little.

4974. But there is a considerable number?—Yes.

4975. (*Sir James Lyall.*) You are a highly educated man, and have been both in England and India, and being a native of India you know more about the habits and customs of the country than any of us, so that your opinion is of considerable value. What do you think as to the effect of the moderate use of opium in Bengal?—The moderate use of opium—and the great body of consumers in Bengal are moderate in its indulgence—is not known to have any prejudicial effects physically or morally; on the contrary, the common belief is that after middle age, moderate use helps to prevent waste and to keep the mental and bodily faculties unimpaired. Many pundits and other literary men habitually use opium without showing any sign of deterioration or loss of mental vigour. The moderate consumer is a sober, steady and respectable member of society. The opium habit seldom leads to crime, and in this respect it is far superior to addiction to alcohol. The drug is taken in the solitude of home, and there is no inducement to excess such as is afforded by the evil associations of a grog-shop. To my personal knowledge several promising young men have succumbed to the effects of excessive drinking (chiefly of imported liquor), but I do not know of a single case of death from habitual intemperate use of opium. The opium habit is also less degrading than, and does not cause so much loss of self-respect as, indulgence in liquor. The effects of chandu and madak-smoking are, however, distinctly harmful in the case of Indians, specially when they are unable to obtain nourishing food. Opium-eating is not looked down upon, nor does it cause loss of respectability. But smoking chandu or madak is regarded as a degrading habit.

4976. Is not the feeling against smoking chandu and madak among Indians to a certain extent, or to a large extent, dependent upon the bad character of these licensed houses and the bad company in them?—Not that alone, but the chandu or madak-smoker is usually known by his appearance, and he is also generally believed to have deteriorated in many respects.

4977. Do you think that applies as much to the man who smokes in a private house, as to the man in a public shop?—Yes, I think the effects of madak or chandu-smoking in this country cannot well be concealed.

4978. Do you think it has the same effect on the Chinese?—I have no knowledge of the Chinese.

4979. You have seen England?—Yes.

4980. You have seen the excessive use of stimulants and intoxicants, how would you compare the two?—I should say that the evil effects of alcohol are certainly a great deal more prominent than any of the effects of opium-eating.

4981. Do you think that the growth of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in India should be or could be prohibited?—I do not consider that the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited. From time immemorial the poppy has been one of the staple products over a large area, and to stop its cultivation would seriously disturb the agricultural economy of a large part of the country. On the other hand, prohibitive measures adopted in British India would be quite ineffectual so long as the growth and manufacture of the poppy could not be stopped in Native States. In several of them there is already a large and flourishing trade in opium, and other States in which there is no cultivation at present would take to growing it not only for consumption within their own border, but also for the purpose of smuggling into adjoining British territory. A very large establishment would be required to watch the frontier against such smuggling, and apart from the question of cost which must be borne by the general taxpayer, this must entail considerable annoyance and harassment to innocent people. Enforced abstinence from opium would in all probability lead to indulgence in other stimulants, such as ganja or country liquor, and in neither case would the result be satisfactory.

4982. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Let me ask your opinion as to the use of opium. If you had two or three sons growing up to maturity, would you regard with complacency their taking a daily dose of opium?—No, nor should I if they took any liquor.

4983. (*Mr. Fanehawe.*) It has been stated that there is a growing tendency among certain classes of native society to use alcohol in excess. Have you any experience on this point?—Yes.

4984. Do you think there is any such general tendency?
—There is such a tendency.

4985. Is it marked in Calcutta itself?—Of course in Calcutta the population is larger, but I should say that in the districts also there is that tendency; it is more prominent in Calcutta on account of the population being larger.

4986. To what classes of native society does this extend?—

As regards imported liquor, it extends generally to the educated classes.

4987. Are they largely taking to the use of imported liquor?—Yes, I know of two or three cases that I recall to my mind even now where young men simply died from excessive drinking.

4988. You think there is a general tendency amongst the educated classes to take to imported liquor?—Yes, amongst educated classes.

Mr. K. G.
Gupta.

1 Dec. 1898.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. E. V. Westmacott called in and examined.

Mr. E. V.
Westmacott.

4989. (Chairman.) Will you kindly give us the particulars of your service in this country, and state the position which you occupied and which gave you the opportunity of forming your judgment as to the matter referred to this Commission?—I have served for more than 30 years in the Bengal Civil Service in the Lower Provinces of Bengal. I was for two years in Backergunge, in Eastern Bengal, then for some months in Cachar, which is now in the province of Assam; then I served for two years in the division of Chota Nagpore, being for part of the time in charge of a sub-division. After five years' service, I was appointed to Dinapore, in the Rajshahy Division, where, with the exception of 16 months' furlough, and other short intervals, I remained as Joint Magistrate or Collector for nearly ten years. On returning from my second furlough, I was for two years Collector at Noakhally, and for one year Collector at Jaoca, both districts being in Eastern Bengal. During the last ten years I repeatedly acted as Commissioner of the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions, as Inspector-General of Jails for twenty months, and as Commissioner of Excise for four years. I am now Commissioner of the Presidency Division.

4990. Having had ample experience, what is your conclusion as to the effects generally from the consumption of opium, physically, mentally and morally?—I should draw a distinction between the smoking of opium either in the form of madak or chandu, and the eating of opium. I should say that the smoking of madak or chandu is somewhat deleterious in all cases, but that opium-eating is rather beneficial than otherwise. I have known a great many men amongst my subordinates, past middle age, who took opium regularly and who did their work extremely well. I have heard from natives that a man who has nothing to do, living on his rents, may take to opium-smoking, with the idea that it will incapacitate him for work, but as regards laborers, I have talked with them after they have been smoking a pipe and were coming out of madak shops, and they have spoken to me clearly and intelligently. They have said that they had done their morning's work, and were going back to do more work and were far from being incapacitated. Amongst the educated classes I should say that it does interfere with a good day's work.

4991. Have you anything to say to us as to the age at which it is customary among those who use opium to resort to that practice?—The habit is generally commenced after the age of 40, it is unusual for a man to take opium below that age.

4992. Do you think that it is then taken generally as a remedy for illness or disease?—Not always illness or disease, but on the ground of some physical discomfort or want; they feel that they want some stimulant; it does not always amount to disease or illness. In many cases it does; it is often taken in the first instance as a remedy for diarrhoea, and there is a general feeling that it is a good preventive for rheumatism.

4993. Do you consider that the use of opium may be fairly described as a vicious indulgence?—I cannot look upon it as a vicious indulgence. I consider that the abuse of alcohol is vastly more common among those who use it than the abuse of opium among its consumers. I may say that I listened to the evidence of the Honourable Mr. Lyall who said that he knew no cases in which men have disgraced themselves and become incapacitated for work by opium, and that he had known many cases in which that result had been produced by alcohol; my experience quite corroborates that.

4994. Do you trace any connection between the use of opium and geological or climatic conditions?—Distinctly so, the use of opium is confined, I may almost say, to the alluvial mud soils. Where you get higher or drier soils the people take to alcohol either in the form of spirit or of taci.

4995. Exception has been taken before this Commission and elsewhere to the encouragement which the Government has given, or is alleged to have given, to the cultivation of the poppy by a system of advances, what do you say on that point?—With regard to the growth of the poppy and the making of advances, I think that there are very few people who deal in country produce without making advances to the cultivators either themselves or through middlemen.

4996. If any other kind of crop were cultivated, whether for the Government or for other persons, you say that advances would in such cases be equally necessary?—Certainly. With indigo it is distinctly the case.

4997. What is your opinion as to the effect which would be brought about in Lower Bengal if the use of opium were prohibited for any other than medicinal purposes?—I do not think that the consumption of opium in Lower Bengal would be materially affected by the prohibition of its use for other than medicinal purposes, because no one who wished to use it from the motives which I believe to be most common, would experience any difficulty in finding a medical practitioner to prescribe it for him.

4998. In your view prohibition for any other use than medicinal use would be ineffective in a moral point of view?—I think it would be entirely inoperative.

4999. What is your opinion as to the feeling which would be entertained by the natives of Bengal if the Government were to interfere in a rigorous manner with the use of opium?—There would be strenuous opposition on the part of the natives, not only on account of the loss of the drug which they consider beneficial and the necessity for replacing the opium revenue by means of other taxation, but especially because the missionaries have identified themselves with the anti-opium agitation, and because the natives would therefore look upon the prohibition of opium as associated with a movement for the promotion of Christianity. This is a new light to me, but it has come to my notice several times within the last two or three weeks.

5000. Thus far I have been questioning you with reference to the use of opium as an edible or in a liquid form; do you draw a wide distinction between its use as a dietetic and the smoking of opium, more especially in the form of madak or chandu?—Certainly.

5001. In the form madak and chandu, you recognize, do you not, that opium may be highly deleterious?—Certainly, when used in excess it may be highly deleterious, and I do not think that any one would pretend that he smoked it for medicinal purposes.

5002. Is the effect of smoking chandu practically a temporary intoxication?—My inquiries made some years ago on the subject shewed that there was a difference between madak and chandu-smoking; the madak-smoker would get up and walk out just as an English workman would go out after a pot of beer; but the chandu-smoker requires sleep before he is fit to go about his business.

5003. After smoking chandu, the smoker is temporarily incapacitated?—He needs some sleep. I do not know whether it would amount to intoxication,—I am not competent to say.

5004. In short, the smoking of madak, and more particularly the smoking of chandu, is, in your view, an objectionable practice?—As regards Chimamen, I believe that smoking chandu is their usual form of smoking or taking opium. I think it might interfere with their work, in the same way as the eating of opium would interfere with the work of the inhabitants of Bengal. The prohibition of chandu would do no harm whatever in Bengal; it would be beneficial.

5005. We have had much evidence before us as to that effect. Such being the results of the smoking of madak and chandu, what was your policy as Commissioner of Excise, with regard to the number of licences which you issued?—My

Mr. E. F. Westmacott.
1 Dec. 1898.

policy was to reduce the number of licenses as much as possible, without failing to meet the demand in any locality in such a way as to induce smuggling. If I found smuggling going on, I should think that I ought to have a shop somewhere in that neighbourhood.

5006. (*Sir James Lyall.*) Are you referring to chandu or opium generally?—I am speaking of the licensing system generally.

5007. (*Chairman.*) I was desiring to confine my questions to licenses for the smoking of madak and chandu.—I reduced them as much as I could. I took charge of the Excise Department with a system which had been inherited, and I introduced change very gradually. I find, looking at the figures, that I reduced the number of licenses from an average of 374 for the five years up to March 1890 to 263 up to March last for madak; and for chandu from 89 licenses to 71. The number of districts in which licenses were issued was reduced from 38 to 34 in the case of madak, and from 23 to 20 in the case of chandu. There were absolutely no licenses granted in the remaining districts.

5008. Do you think it is practicable to go further in the reduction of licenses of that character?—It is a difficult matter to say, because it would involve legislation. If we could get effective means of stopping smoking in unlicensed premises, I certainly would go further, but everything we do in disestablishing licensed places, only throws more trade into the unlicensed places. Besides that, those who hold licenses, and are no longer allowed to have smoking in their shops, have got places not very far off in a back lane or somewhere, dependent upon their shops, where smoking goes on just as much as it did in the licensed premises. My men frequently went into unlicensed places and found smoking going on, but it was impossible to prosecute, because we cannot prove sales. I do not see how we can deal with it. If we find 20 or 30 people sitting and smoking in the same place, and if they said they brought their own supplies with them, as they do say, I do not see how we could interfere. By closing licensed shops for smoking, we have thrown it into unlicensed shops. I was thinking of doing something in the way of insisting upon airy and wholesome premises, but that of course was stopped after the prohibition of smoking.

5009. As an item of revenue the sum obtained by Government for the issue of licenses for chandu and madak shops is quite unimportant, is it not?—A little over a lakh of rupees. I see that we ran up the average fee per license for both madak and chandu. The average fee per license for madak before 1890 was 227 rupees. It has gone up to 302 rupees; and for chandu it has gone up from 380 to 437. I have steadily gone in for the policy of raising the fees for licenses.

5010. Speaking as an officer of the Government, do you say that you would be glad if it were practicable to prohibit the sale of madak and chandu, but that you believe it to be impracticable?—We should give up the consideration of revenue altogether under this item if we could succeed in stopping it. The reason why we have gone no further in the matter is because it would simply throw it into the hands of unlicensed traders and encourage smuggling.

5011. Looking at the opium question in connection with revenue, do you consider that the policy of the Government should be to treat the revenue from opium as the Home Government regards its revenue from alcohol?—Yes, I should say so.

* 5012. You do not consider that the one article is more injurious than the other?—Certainly not.

5013. Both are luxuries at the best?—Yes.

5014. You think the Government would be doing well to check undue consumption of such an article?—Yes.

5015. Inasmuch as you cannot prohibit its use, you consider it is the policy and duty of Government to get as much revenue out of it as it can?—Certainly. There is one point which I observed this morning in looking up the figures with regard to chandu. I find that there is not a single license for the smoking of chandu issued in the three districts of Orissa, although it is the largest opium-consuming tract in proportion to population that we have in this province.

5016. (*The Maharaja of Darbhanga.*) You say in your statement, "With reference to the fact that opium is the only article of country produce for which Government makes advances to cultivators, I remark that

* Note.—The witness explains that by 'the one article' he meant opium.

it is the only kind of country produce which Government receives, and that it is equally customary for dealers in other produce to make advances." Is it not the custom for the Government in making these advances not to charge any interest; and if opium cultivation were abolished, do not you think it would have the effect of driving the ryots into the hands of the village mahajans?—My opinion upon such a subject is a very general opinion. I have never served in an opium-growing district, and if you would allow me, I would rather not pretend to give information upon a subject of which I know very little.

5017. (*Mr. Pease.*) In your opinion, is there any connection between the large consumption of opium in Orissa and the fact that it was one time an opium-growing district?—I should say, absolutely none, because our opium-growing districts are the smallest opium-consuming districts.

5018. To what do you attribute the large consumption of opium in Orissa?—To the nature of the soil. Malaria so affects their constitutions that they feel a necessity for it more than any other districts.

5019. Is it not because you think the people of that district have adopted the habit?—They would not have adopted the habit in consequence of it being an opium-growing district.

5020. We know that in different parts of the United Kingdom there are different practices with regard to the character of the stimulants that are taken. May it not be possible in different parts of India that the consumption of opium is more a matter of custom in the district than anything arising from the nature of the soil or climate?—If you went through the figures of the consumption, and comparing them with what you know of the soils of the districts, found that there was a general connection between the use of opium and the nature of the soil, you might think that it had something to do with it.

5021. We have evidence that there is a very large consumption in the hill districts. Is it not also the case that there is a very large consumption in some of the districts which are low-lying and more malarious?—I have had nothing to do with hill districts except Darjeeling.

5022. I mean not in this district specially, but with regard to the Sikhs and Rajputs?—I could not tell you anything about that; my experience does not extend beyond these provinces. I am only comparing the consumption in the Bengal districts, one with another.

5023. You do not claim that opium is taken as a prophylactic?—I prefer to leave that to medical men. I have talked to a great number of natives; and in every case the information I have received corresponds very closely.

5024. Do you think there is any increase in opium smoking in the aggregate, because opium-smoking takes place more extensively upon unlicensed premises?—No. I should not say so. I have no reason to say that it has been stimulated.

5025. In your statement you recognise that the missionaries have identified themselves generally with the opium agitation?—It has been brought to my notice lately.

5026. Has not the result of their experience, through mixing with the people, been that they have found that opium is injurious both to health and morality?—I should look upon information collected by missionaries with very great suspicion, not that I think they would intentionally mislead any one, but I think they take information very rashly and without proper check. That is my experience not only upon this subject, but upon other subjects.

5027. You recognise that they would be actuated by the desire of promoting that which is best for the interests of the people they are labouring among?—Undoubtedly; but I should doubt the accuracy of their information.

5028. (*Mr. Wilson.*) In reference to the point just raised, is there any class of persons in this country whose express business it is to mix and converse with the people so much as the missionaries?—I should say that there are certain classes with whom the Government official who goes about on tour comes into contact that the missionaries have very little to do with, and amongst whom they are unlikely to get converts.

5029. If a Government official, whether of high rank or very subordinate or inferior position, is doing his duty, he has a variety of regular routine duties to go through, and he can have comparatively little time to gossip with the

Mr. E. F.
Westmacott.
1 Dec. 1893.

people about opium, whereas a missionary, if he is doing his duty, mixes with the people and talks with them about their vices, their morals, their religion and everything else, and generally speaks to them in a different way from anybody else?—I should say that the district official who did his duty would understand much better how to get information from the people than any other class of men. I have been 30 years in the service, and from the first it has been my duty to go about among the people. Even lately I have sat down several times in licensed shops and talked with the people who are there. I should say that we know much better how to get information from the people than anybody else, because we meet with far more varied classes. In my opinion there are classes with whom the missionary has very little to do.

5030. You have been asked a variety of questions with reference to the smoking of chandu and madak: may I sum it up in saying that you consider these are distinctly apart from the habit of opium-eating, and that the smoking of madak and chandu are distinctly bad and indeed disgraceful. Is that right?—Not quite. I should be quite prepared to learn that chandu-smoking amongst the Chinese might not be deleterious; but amongst the people of Bengal I consider that it is. As regards madak among the educated classes, I should say that it was more or less a vicious indulgence, but amongst the hard-working classes it may sometimes be really a very legitimate stimulant. I would not say that madak-smoking in every case is deleterious.

5031. In the letter which you wrote on the 19th February 1891, you refer to the vice of opium-smoking. You say, "I am at present of opinion that the vice of opium-smoking would be fostered rather than checked by closing licensed shops and driving smokers to secret places to satisfy their terrible craving?"—I have since seen reason to modify that opinion. I doubt whether it is in every case a vice.

5032. In the same letter, a little further on, you complain a great deal that the magistrates in cases of prosecution inflicted inadequate fines?—It has been a very great difficulty in the excise administration.

5033. Does that continue?—I have not been in charge of the Excise Department for the last nine months, but I am afraid it does continue.

5034. I do not understand the exact subordination of the various officers and the interdependence of the different bodies, and so on; but is there no way in which that having been brought to public notice, the magistrates could be brought a little more into conformity with the necessities of the case, so as not to nullify the action of your Department?—That has been a question which has lately been much before the public, and there has been friction between the Government of Bengal and the High Court upon the subject. In my position, however, I would rather not give an opinion upon the subject.

5035. There is another point which I have found some difficulty in understanding. In the same letter you refer, as many other persons have referred, to opium of inferior quality and to good opium; does that refer to harmless adulteration or the what I might call injurious adulteration; how would you describe the difference between inferior opium; is it a question merely of flavour, or a question of strength, or of the actual ingredients?—I referred at that time to the difference between factory opium and so opium in the state in which it is brought in by the cultivator. In some cases it is purposely adulterated in order to get more money for the inferior product, but in other cases the adulteration is only due to carelessness in the preparation, to dirt, and so forth. I was not speaking of adulteration as making it deleterious, but rather in the sense of its being in the rough and crude state.

5036. Further on in the same letter you said, "We have also to consider the consumers of opium in the malarious alluvial tracts which form a great proportion of the area of those provinces. The use of opium by these people is not so much a vice as a necessity. Their vegetable diet would not keep them alive without stimulants, and I doubt whether it would be for their benefit to stop their opium and drive them to *genje* or spirits." Are you aware that we have had a great deal of evidence, some of it yesterday, to the effect that the use of opium in some of these malarious districts is very limited, and limited both as to the number of persons who take it and as to the quantity they take, and especially in the case of women; I do not know whether you can qualify what has been said?—I think the reason why it is not used more than it is on account of the price. It is a very costly drug, whereas for opium brought into the factory the cultivator

receives only Rs. the retail price in Calcutta is Rs.15 and according to my most recent inquiries in the district round about it is Rs.34. If the Government were not to interfere with it, and the drug produced by the cultivator went into the market, it would cost from about one-sixth to one-ninth of what it is now. If it were cheaper undoubtedly more people would use it.

5037. I am afraid I did not make myself clear. My point is that a good deal of the evidence we have had shows that the consumption of opium by the cultivator is really very small, and therefore he manages to live. You spoke of it as a necessity. Do you wish to say anything further about that?—I answer by saying that I admit the use of it is not so great as it would be, considering that it is to a certain extent a necessity; and the reason of that is because the price is very great. If it were cheaper, it would be far more extensively used.

5038. (Mr. Mosbrey.) If your main object were the preservation of the revenue, is the present system of licensing which we have had described the policy which you would adopt?—Are you speaking with reference to madak and chandu only, or as regards the licensing system generally?

5039. With regard to the licensing system generally?—When I gave over the charge of the department, I had not worked up the licensing system on the lines upon which I was working to the point at which I arrived. Up to the time when I took charge the usual manner of fixing the upset fee for a license before the auction was to take the average of what had been actually paid for the license during the last three years. But when I came to examine this, I found that the fees compared with the consumption of opium or alcohol or whatever it was were disproportionate. One man might be paying Rs. 10 or 11 for a gallon or a seer, while a man a couple of miles off was paying only Rs.2. It was my policy to raise the fees as much as possible to an equal proportion in each district per seer or per gallon, or whatever the measure was which was taken as the unit. After four years I had not succeeded in working that up. I should have tried to make the fees uniformly proportionate to consumption as far as I could. I should have taken the average consumption in the last few years, and fixed the upset fee at so much per gallon or per seer upon that consumption. When I took charge, the Excise Deputy Collector who was in charge of the auctions was very much afraid of being blamed if he did not succeed in making his settlement; and if he found the upset prices fixed were not given, that the bids did not amount to them at the auction, he would come up with a most plaintive request to be allowed to reduce them. That was generally granted. The consequence was the fees were not what the revenue authorities fixed, but what the vendors chose to give. Lately, however, it has been much more what we chose to fix, and if they did not choose to give our upset price, we did not give them the license. That is the reason why the number of shops has been reduced,—partly that and partly because I struck them out of the list where I thought they were not wanted.

5040. I want to draw your attention to another statement of yours on page 71 in the Blue Book "Consumption of Opium in India," and I should like to know whether you still wish to put that before the Commission as your view of the present policy. You state:—"I feel confident that by reducing the taxation on opium, or any other intoxicating drug, and by increasing the number of licenses for retail sale, I could increase the revenue to an enormous extent, whereas the policy which I am carrying out, in accordance with the wishes of the Bengal Government, is the very opposite of this." May I take it that the policy of the Bengal Government is to regard the revenue point of view as only one portion of this licensing?—That was distinctly the instruction that I received.

5041. Therefore, if you maintain the licensing of chandu and madak shops, it must not be concluded that you do it solely from the point of view of getting a certain number of fees, which after all are not a large amount for the revenue?—Certainly.

5042. Have you formed any opinion as to the effect of reducing the quantity of madak and chandu which any individual is allowed to possess?—The reduction in the quantity has been since I made over the charge of the Department. I cannot say I have any information to give upon the subject. I think it would make it easier to deal with unlicensed sales. When a man was allowed to hold 5 tolas without a license, it was certainly more difficult to catch him than when that quantity was restricted to 1 tola.

5043. You considered it rather a corollary of closing licensed premises for the purpose of smoking?—I did.

R

Mr. K. V.
Westmacott,
1 Dec. 1933.

5044. As rendering the work of the police in interfering with unlicensed rooms more easy?—Yes.

5045. You cannot suggest any form of words, or any draft, which would possibly cover unlicensed premises in such a way as to bring them within the law which now applies to licensed premises for the purpose of smoking? You said you would be glad if you could do it; have you any practical suggestions to make as to how to do it?—No. I have often thought it over; but I do not see how it is to be done. We have had the same difficulty as regards alcohol. We had what they call German Clubs, where men sit and drink. We know them to be nothing but drinking shops, but we cannot touch them because we cannot prove sales.

5046. Perhaps you have heard that there is the same difficulty in England?—No, I know nothing about England.

5047. (Mr. Fanshawe.) With reference to your statement as to the connection of the opium habit with geological and climatic conditions, do I understand that you are referring to the Lower Provinces only?—The Provinces under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

5048. Have you had any personal experience of Orissa?—No.

5049. Have you studied the diffusion of the opium habit in that part of the Province?—It has been my duty to watch the consumption.

5050. Have you studied the diffusion of the habit so as to be able to offer an opinion as to why it should be largely diffused there?—No.

5051. According to statements that have been placed before me the only places where chandu is consumed to any extent outside Calcutta appear to be Mymensingh and Chittagong; can you tell us the reasons for that?—I am unable to explain why the number of licenses should be so large as it is in Mymensingh. 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.

5052. Are there a number of Chinese in Chittagong?—Yes.

5053. That would not apply to Mymensingh?—No, as far as I am aware of. I am puzzled to know why there should be six licenses in Bhagalpore. I can give no reason for it. It is a matter I should like to inquire into. Murshidabad I can understand; that is another large city.

5054. (Mr. Pease.) You have stated that there is a great deal of vice in Gya. We were informed by the last witness that where there is a chandu shop, rogues and vagabonds congregate. Is it not possible that if you have a great number of centres, you will have a great number of rogues and vagabonds?—I am afraid the rogues and vagabonds in Gya are the priests of the shrines. I do not think they are attracted by the chandu shops. There is another point with reference to Gya. It is a Buddhist place of pilgrimage. I dare say a good many Chinese may go there. It is a very vicious place indeed.

5055. In answer to Mr. Mowbray, you said that you did not license places in regard to revenue. Have you any other ground for giving eleven licenses for chandu shops in Calcutta when only four are required by the license?—I am afraid that that is indefensible. The reason is that the settlements only take place once in three years, so that we have not been able to make reforms and gradual changes as we have done in the rest of the province. I have had only one settlement there, but I had one every year in the rest of the province.

5056. When was the last settlement?—In Calcutta, I think the last triennial settlement was in March last.

5057. Do you know whether there were only four before that settlement: we were informed that there had been eleven licenses given, but that only four shops had been opened for a considerable time past?—There is very great difficulty in a matter of that kind in this country. You may do everything you possibly can to prevent monopoly, but a man takes the shops in the name of his friends, and there may be a monopoly with which you have no power to deal. It has always been practically a monopoly.

5058. (Sir James Lyall.) Were the magistrates who gave such inadequate sentences in the cases of opium-smoking prosecutions Europeans or Natives?—Both. It has been specially brought to their notice by the excise officers. The magistrates, however, have spoken sharply about it, and say that they would not be dictated to by revenue officers. It has been brought to their notice that a man

has been convicted again and again, but the magistrates have repressed such observations.

5059. I suppose the great majority of such cases are tried by native magistrates, are they not?—I think not. I should say that they were about an equal number, Natives and Europeans. We certainly have shops both in the southern and northern divisions of Calcutta.

5060. I am speaking of the prosecutions in the province generally?—I had sufficient power and influence in the province generally to be able to bring this matter forward. I could, through the Collector, who is also a magistrate, draw attention to the inadequate sentences on the part of the subordinate magistracy. I am speaking of the native magistrates; but our complaints are principally in Calcutta.

5061. You spoke of fixing the license fees for the sale of opium: this was the upset fee, was it not?—Yes.

5062. The actual fee is fixed by auction?—Yes, by auction, above the upset price.

5063. Was it usually fixed by auction in the end, or was it usually the upset price which determined it?—It is several years since I held an auction myself. I should say that competition is rather rare. As a rule it is the man who has had the license before. It is a question whether he will give your upset price or not. There is competition sometimes, but as a rule it leads to the shop being thrown up. Two enemies will bid, one against the other, and they run the price up to an impossible fee. I think myself that the auction system is a mistake.

5064. It has been urged against the auction system, and the same argument would apply against a high upset price, that it brings a great pressure upon the vendor, and tends to drive him to take extraordinary measures to increase his sale. What do you think of that argument?—I do not see why it should be so. Like every other trader, he tries to push his business. I do not think the amount of his license fee would influence him much in the matter. Now, if any of them depend entirely upon their opium sales for their income. They are generally grocers besides, and many of them hold a ganja license, and sometimes a spirit license. In a shop I visited two weeks ago the man sells retail Rs. 34-4 per seer of opium; the Government price is Rs. 28 and the license is Rs. 3 more, making Rs. 31. The profit therefore is Rs. 3 per seer.

5065. What is the object of putting a heavy license duty, and not a heavy price, upon the opium which is given to the vendor?—We are shocked in raising the price by the amount of smuggling. We have quite enough already without increasing the temptation by raising the price.

5066. If you put a high price upon the supply to the opium vendor, do you think the vendor himself would smuggle?—I think possibly he would.

5067. Nobody else has a chance?—No, I think not. I think most of the smuggling we have to deal with is for consumption in Calcutta and for export to Burma. I do not think there is much smuggling for local consumption.

5068. In that case, would it not be simpler to put a higher price upon the opium and make it over to the vendor, and get revenue out of the vendor in that way? There must be some object for defeating the duty in that way?—The matter has been considered year after year by Government and by the Board of Revenue. Not long ago we went into the question of how far we should raise the prices. They were raised as far as it was thought we could afford to go at present. Assam has been pressing us to raise our prices; but we thought we had raised them as far as it was safe to do.

5069. (Mr. Pease.) What do you mean by saying that Assam has been pressing you? Who are the parties in Assam that have been pressing you?—The Assam Government, the Chief Commissioner.

5070. (Mr. Wilson.) In answer to Sir James Lyall, I understood you to say that the magistrates discouraged information as to previous convictions?—What they discouraged was the revenue officers pressing for a heavier sentence than the magistrates were inclined to inflict. They could not object to the excise authorities bringing forward evidence as to previous convictions: they objected to its being specially brought to the notice of the Court that so and so is an old offender, that he had been fined Rs. 200 before, and its being urged that the Court should take that into consideration. It has been very much resented by the magistrates.

5071. Is it within your knowledge at all that some seven or eight years ago reports were collected and sent in officially

from Orissa in reference to this opium question?—No, I do not remember anything about it.

5072. Who would be the proper person to ask about that?—The Government of Bengal or the Board of Revenue.

5073. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) Does the Board of Revenue fix the price to the vendors in all the different provinces? Assam is not under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, but under the Board of Revenue, is it not?—No; the Board of Revenue's jurisdiction is strictly co-terminus with that of the Lieutenant-Governor.

5074. You said the Government of Assam pressed you to raise the price?—They would address the Government of Bengal on the subject. One Provincial Government would address the other, and then the Government of Bengal

would send the question to the Board of Revenue, the subordinate agency, for report.

5075. Is it the Board of Revenue who fixes the price in Assam, or is it the Government in Assam?—It was not the price in Assam, but the price in our border districts that they pressed us about.

5076. The Assam Government, I understand, have raised the price in Assam themselves; is that so?—Yes.

5077. And they asked you to raise the price in your border districts in order to prevent opium being smuggled over the border into Assam; is that what you mean?—Yes. There are full papers on the subject with the Government of Bengal and the Board of Revenue. The matter was thoroughly discussed. There was a very good minute by Mr. Stavey, Senior Member of the Board of Revenue, on the subject, which dealt with the matter exhaustively.

The witness withdrew.

The HONOURABLE SIR JOHN LAMBERT, K.C.I.E., called in and examined.

5078. (*Chairman.*) I believe you are Commissioner of Police in Calcutta?—I am.

5079. What has been the length of your service in India?—I entered the Government service a little more than 30 years ago. I was seven years District Police Officer, and then my services were transferred to Calcutta. In 1878 I became Deputy Commissioner of Police in Calcutta, and I held that appointment without intermission, except during two years when I officiated as Superintendent for the Suppression of Thugges and Dacoity, up to 1889; I was then made Commissioner of Police.

5080. Having had long service and wide experience as an Officer of Police, you are fully competent to speak to us upon one important point which arises in connection with the subject that is before this Commission; I refer to the use of opium in connection with the commission of crime; do you say from your experience that there is such a connection?—Speaking from my experience, I fail to discover any connection between opium and crime of a serious nature. The average number of serious cases against personal property in Calcutta annually is about 600, and I cannot recollect any case in which a person was convicted or even suspected of having been concerned in the commission of any such offence, who was habituated to the immoderate use of opium in any shape.

5081. With regard to acts of violence, I presume you would say that in your experience you have known no such acts done by confirmed opium-seters?—No.

5082. Take another class of crime, such as forging and swindling; have you known that persons convicted of those offences have been proved to be given to the use of opium?—Certainly not to the immoderate use of opium. In my experience a man who engages in any serious matter of that kind, whether forging, swindling, forgery, burglary, or robbery, always likes to keep his brain cool.

5083. (*Mr. Pease.*) We have had evidence that opium dens were the resort of bad characters, and were therefore a convenience to the Police, because they drew these men together; do you concur in that sentiment?—That is not my experience. It is quite true that the opium dens draw together a certain number of useless, worthless, idle fellows, but I should not look there for any person whom I considered dangerous or habitually criminal.

5084. Have you observed any connection between the consumption of opium and poverty?—The persons who frequent these dens for the smoking of chandu and madak are certainly as a rule very poor.

5085. (*Mr. Wilson.*) You spoke to us chiefly of violent crimes as not being committed under the immoderate use of opium?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. F. WILCOX and Mr. H. Dawson called in and examined.

5088. (*Chairman.*) You, Mr. Wilcox, are, I believe, District Superintendent of Police?—I am.

5089. Acting in Calcutta?—My district is outside Calcutta.

5100. In the suburbs?—It touches on the suburbs.

5101. How long have you been in the Police service?—Thirty-one years.

5102. And what is your position, Mr. Dawson?—I am Superintendent of the Customs Preventive Service, Calcutta.

R 2

Mr. E. F. Westmacott.
1 Dec. 1893.

Hon. Sir
J. Lambert,
K.C.I.E.

Mr. F.
Wilcox and
Mr. H.
Dawson.

Mr. F. Wilcox and Mr. H. Dawson. 5103. How long have you been in the Police service?—Thirty-one years.

5104. You are here to speak to us upon the important question of the connection between the use of opium and

crime; you have heard what testimony has been given by Sir John Lambert: may I ask whether you substantially agree with his views?—I entirely agree with it.

(*Mr. Wilcox.*) So do I.

The witnesses withdrew.

Adjourned to Tuesday next at 10-30.

At the Council Chamber, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

EIGHTEENTH DAY.

Tuesday, 5th December 1893.

PRESENT :

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B. (CHAIRMAN, PRESIDING).

SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D., F.R.S.
THE HON'BLE SIR LACHHESWAS SING BAHADUR,
MAHARAJA OF DARBHANGA, K.C.I.F.

MR. R. G. C. MOWBRAY, M.P.
" A. U. FANSHAW.
" HARIDAS VEHARIDAS DESAI.
" H. J. WILSON, M.P.

MR. J. PRESCOTT HEWETT, C.I.E., *Secretary.*

Mr. J. F. Finlay.

5 Dec. 1893.

MR. JAMES FAIRBAIRN FINLAY recalled and further examined.

5105. (*Chairman.*) On the occasion when you last appeared before us you put in on behalf of the Indian Government certain papers comprising a "Statement showing Opium Revenue and Expenditure of British India under all heads of Accounts"; a paper relating to "Opium produced or consumed in India"; a paper describing the "Arrangements with Native States regarding Opium"; an "Account of previous proposals for abolishing the Government monopoly of cultivation, manufacture and sale of opium in Bengal"; and a copy of the Despatch from Mr. Spence to the Assistant Secretary of the Government of India describing his experiences with regard to the effect of the opium habit in China. We have to thank you for those papers, and to say that they give us in the clearest possible shape information which it was highly important that this Commission should obtain. The papers are so clear and full in regard to the several matters to which they relate that I can hardly suggest any further questions to put to you regarding them. I apprehend that as regards matters which fall more particularly under the control of Local Governments we shall obtain any further information that we may desire more satisfactorily in the course of the tour which we propose to take?—That was the intention.

5106. With regard to Assam, we shall have witnesses from that country in Christmas week. As to the Punjab, we shall reserve till our visit there any inquiries on matters of detail touched upon in your papers. The same remark applies to Bombay. With regard to Burma, a section of our Commission is going to that territory to-day, and will naturally deal with the details connected with it. In reference to Native States we shall, when at Indore, have the opportunity of making inquiries on matters relating to those States. Turning for a moment to the first paper you have put in, I notice that there is a sensible reduction in your estimate of the opium revenue for 1893-94 as compared with 1892-93; and I notice a sensible reduction in the five years 1889-94 as compared with the previous five years. Do you draw from the fact of such considerable reductions in recent years the inference that the opium revenue must be regarded as essentially precarious?—No, I should not draw that inference from the fact stated. The reduction in the year 1893-94 as compared with previous years is almost entirely due to the reduction in the amount of Bengal opium to be sold, which is owing to there having been bad crops for five years.

5107. What is your explanation of the fall in the net revenue from opium in the years 1884-89 as compared with 1880-84, the former average was Rs. 8,624,341 and in the sub-

sequent period it was Rs. 6,907,086?—The figures on page 3 of the second note do not go back to the earliest five years, they only begin at 1883-84; but I notice that in 1883-84 and 1884-85 the prices realized were much higher than in the following years, and there must have been variations in the quantity sold. The Malwa exports have also been less than in the earlier years. But I could not give any satisfactory explanation without going into each year separately and through the various changes from year to year.

5108. The Bengal sales appear to be considerably less at present than they were ten years ago?—The quantity to be sold this year is, I think, about 43,000 chests, whereas it used to be 54,000 or 57,000.

5109. There has been a reduction in the amount sold?—There has.

5110. Is that likely to continue?—It depends entirely on the crops. If the crop is good this year, we shall be able to sell more next year.

[*Chairman.*] Having regard to the observations which I have already made, I do not feel that it is necessary to trouble you with any cross-examination upon these papers. I only again on behalf of the Commission thank your department for the care with which they have been prepared.

5111. (*Mr. Wilson.*) In the paper that you have put in on opium produced or consumed in India, in reference to each of the various provinces, you have stated that the number of licenses and the locality of the shop were fixed by the authorities?—That is so.

5112. Are you able to tell us whether the authorities in each case require that the shops that have been licensed shall be open, or whether, as we learned was the case in Calcutta with regard to chandu shops, it is left to the option of the license-holder to open the shop or not?—If a license was granted, the probability would be that the shop was wanted and that it would be opened; but if the license-holder did not wish to open the shop for which he had been given a license, he would certainly not be forced to do so.

5113. I may take it that the license is issued for the benefit of the revenue and of the license-holder and with no regard to the convenience of the public?—Not at all, that is not correct.

5114. How would you put it?—That it is issued with reference to the demand in the place and to the administrative conveniences for the control of the sale and consumption.

5115. You state in your paper that the number and locality of the shops are fixed by the local authority?—Yes.

5116. I want to know whether that has regard to the public convenience or necessity, real or supposed?—Yes, the demand for shops in the locality.

5117. But the license-holder may please himself whether he opens the shop irrespective of the real or supposed public necessity?—He would not be forced to open the shop if he did not wish to and thought it would not be profitable.

5118. I observe in the part of the paper relating to Assam there is a table showing the quantity of opium issued in 1883-84, 56,000 seers, in 1889-90 it is 59,000 seers?—Yes.

5119. Can you explain to us how that is reconcilable with this statement of Mr. Luttman-Johnson in a letter dated December 30th 1890, that "Ever since we occupied Assam the suppression of the opium trade has been one of the cardinal points in our policy." Are you able in any way to explain that increase of 3,000 seers if suppression was a point of the policy?—I do not think there is any need for reconciliation. The policy may not be successful in reducing the quantity to be sold. The authorities aim at restricting the consumption, but they cannot control the actual amount each year.

5120. Would you argue from that, that the policy had not been successful?—No, I would not draw any such conclusion. There must be some fluctuations from year to year in the quantity of opium that is issued and that the people wish to consume.

5121. If you will look up the column in your table you will see that there was comparatively little fluctuation, and that in that year it was the highest but one of any?—If you will look at the three following years you will see that it went down again.

5122. Can you tell us how far those figures have any bearing on the alleged policy?—I do not think they have any bearing.

5123. On the same page under the heading of the North-West Provinces and Oudh the arrangement about the return of sales at the sub-treasuries is stated to be a valuable check on illicit sales. Can you explain in what way it works as a check on illicit sales?—It puts licit opium within reach where there is a great demand for it. If there are too great obstacles put in the way of obtaining licit opium, there will necessarily be illicit opium used by people who desire to have it.

5124. I thought it was meant that it was in some way a check upon the shops; am I to understand that it is supplemental to the licensed shops?—I should think that it is supplemental to the licensed shop. Of course you know that the shops buy from the Treasury.

5125. I will try and make my meaning quite clear. If the authorities can issue as many licenses as they think advisable and as may tend to check illicit sales, can you explain how the sale in retail at the Treasury acts as a further check?—In their desire to restrict the sales they might possibly underestimate the requirements for shops in the locality.

5126. Can you tell me when the cultivation of opium was prohibited in Assam, or about when?—In 1860.

5127. Can you tell me whether any and what compensation was paid to the cultivators who were then prohibited from cultivating?—I have not inquired into that subject, and have no information upon it.

5128. (Mr. Mowbray.) With regard to the apparent falling off in the opium revenue and the estimate for 1893-94, can you tell me whether the price of opium in Calcutta for the China market has been affected by the change of the currency in England?—It was seriously affected. The Currency Act was passed on the 26th of June last; the first sale thereafter was in July, and the price was then lower than it had been for years. I think it was Rs. 950 or Rs. 970. In the following month it went up, as far as I remember, to Rs. 1,165. In September it was about Rs. 1,050, and in October and November and December it has been between Rs. 1,075 and Rs. 1,100.

5129. What was the old average price?—In the Budget Estimate it was taken at Rs. 1,250, which was the average price of the previous year.

5130. When was this Budget Estimate framed?—It was framed in March last, and the price taken was what seemed most probable then.

5131. Therefore if you formed an estimate now of the opium revenue for 1893-94 it would be smaller than appears on these figures?—The receipts from Bengal opium would be smaller than those shown in the Budget Estimate.

5132. Do you anticipate that this change in the Currency is likely to have a permanent effect on the opium trade with China?—I hope the effect is only temporary. There has necessarily been a disturbance of the trade between the two countries from a great change like that, but I hope it will pass away and that things will settle down on the new basis.

5133. In your paper on opium produced or consumed in India it is stated in paragraph 3 that "interest is not charged on these advances," but you will find in page 3 where you have worked out the estimated cost price of a chest of opium, a column "Interest on advances." How do you explain that? I should like to know clearly what the meaning of that column is?—That column "Interest on advances" does not represent any actual payment; it is merely a calculation of interest for having paid the money before we need have paid it, before the produce was delivered. It is simply interest for those few months in order to get at the accurate cost of a chest of opium. Of course the money is taken out of the Treasury when advances are made, and therefore in order to arrive at the book or, as I may call it, the academic calculation of the cost of the opium to the Government, we take the interest into consideration, but there is no interest really paid.

5134. You mean that no interest is paid by the cultivator, but that in calculating your net revenue from opium, you charge yourselves with interest on the money that you have advanced?—Not in stating the net revenue, shown in the Accounts, but in calculating the cost of the opium, we take it into consideration.

5135. Do you not calculate the net revenue by the difference between the cost price of the opium and the price at which you sell in the Calcutta market?—No. We calculate the net revenue by the difference between the gross receipts and the actual expenditure. The interest does not come at all into the first statement that I put in, the statement of actual Opium revenue and expenditure.

5136. It is a matter of book calculation?—That is all.

5137. I observe that in paragraph 36 of your paper "Account of previous proposals for abolishing the Government monopoly of cultivation, manufacture and sale of opium in Bengal," it is stated the estimate of cost in the Government of India despatch of December 1881 includes an allowance on this account?—That is the estimated cost of the opium to the Government.

5138. You say it is a mere matter of book-keeping?—Yes: a book calculation altogether outside the accounts.

5139. You state in the paragraph to which I have referred "in pointing out that the interest on outstanding advances was an addition to the cost of the opium to the Government"—that is in estimating the cost of each chest?—It must be.

5140. On page 19 that passage is quoted?—That passage shows that the calculation is of the actual cost of a chest of Bengal opium made in exactly the same way as the calculation on page 3 of the other note in which the column for interest on advances is given.

5141. I suppose there is another way in which you get interest on your advances by fixing the price which you pay to the cultivator at a lower figure than you would do if you received from the cultivator interest on the advances?—Possibly. They might not be willing to sell the opium for the price we offer if they did not receive the money in advance, but I could not say for certain.

5142. You could not say whether the price paid to the cultivator is estimated on that basis?—It is not. The price is simply fixed at what seems necessary.

5143. (Mr. Farnshaw.) As a reference has been made to a statement by Mr. Luttman-Johnson, I would ask one question as to that. No doubt the statement of the general policy of the Assam Local Government would be correct, but of course Mr. Johnson does not necessarily represent the Assam Government?—I think he was Commissioner.

5144. He wrote as Commissioner of the Assam Valley to the Local Government; the general policy was no doubt correctly expressed by him?—I should say so.

5145. We can have further figures if necessary?—Yes.

5146. The general policy may be as he says looking back to the beginning of the separate administration of Assam without reference to the fluctuations of one or two years?—Yes. Certainly.

5147. In your paper on the arrangement with Native States, with regard to opium there is a reference to a précis

Mr. J. F.
Finlay.

5 Dec. 1893

Mr. J. F. Finlay.
5 Dec. 1893.

by Mr. Crawford—would you put it in?—It is available for the Commission if desired.

5148. (Chairman.) Has it been published before?—It has not been published.

5149. Would you kindly explain to the Commission the procedure followed as to fixing the number of chests of opium to be sold each year and the area of poppy cultivation?—The produce is brought to the Opium Agent or the Deputy Agent in April and May. They know by the end of May approximately what the total produce of the year will be. This is reported to the Board of Revenue who in the beginning of June make their recommendations as to the sale during the following calendar year. In doing so they have regard to the actual quantity available, the amount in the reserve, and the produce of the year. The amount to be sold is fixed for the following calendar year, about six months in advance.

5150. Fixed by whom?—It is recommended by the Board of Revenue and sent to the Bengal Government and the Government of India; the Government of India fixes it and publishes a notification towards the end of June that not less than a certain number of chests will be sold at the monthly sales in the following calendar year.

5151. Does that affect the acreage brought under poppy cultivation the next year?—When these recommendations are sent up, if there is any reason for considering the question of a decrease or increase in the cultivation the Board of Revenue and the Bengal Government mention it in their letters, and, if necessary, the orders passed by the Government of India will say whether there is to be a decrease or increase. Ordinarily the arrangements for cultivation would be made on the assumption that the normal quantity to be sold every year was the quantity that it was desirable to produce. Till a few years ago the normal quantity was fifty-seven thousand chests a year, now it is fifty-four thousand chests a year. In 1888 when the reserve grew very large the Bengal Government did specially recommend that the cultivation should be reduced. This was sanctioned by the Government of India subject to two conditions; first, that there should be no risk of the quantity to be sold in any year being materially reduced below 57,000 chests, which was then the normal quantity; and second, that the reduction should be so arranged that it would not be out of the power of the Government to expand the cultivation in future years in the event of a bad crop.

5152. (Mr. Wilson.) In reference to the question of interest, can you tell us at what rate the interest is calculated?—At 4 per cent.

5153. Can you tell us from what dates it is calculated?—I should say that it is calculated from the date on which the advance is paid till the date on which the opium is sold; but it may be until it is delivered by the cultivator to the Agents.

5154. That is an important difference in time?—It is.

5155. You are not sure which it is?—No, but I can find out.*

5156. With reference to the paper from China, the report of Mr. Spence, Her Majesty's Consul, can you tell me if the Consuls in China are in the habit of making frequent reports on these subjects direct to the Indian Government?—They or the Foreign or India Office send us copies of the reports they make to the Foreign Office or to the Minister in China.

5157. All the Consuls?—I think all of them do it.

5158. As a general practice?—It is a general practice that we get the reports.

5159. Is this a specially important one, or why is this particular one put in if you are getting such large numbers?—It seems to be very important. I did not have all the reports examined to see whether they should come before the Commission, but this came to the notice of the Government of India and the orders were to send it in with the other papers.

5160. (Chairman.) On the first page of the paper dealing with Bengal opium you give us a table shewing the total area of cultivation during each of the last ten years. I notice that the area under cultivation has been considerably reduced in certain years. For instance, from 1877-78, when the area under cultivation was 586,000 acres, there was a reduction to 459,864. Last year the area under cultivation is said to be 456,000 acres as against 505,845 in the first year.

* Note hereinafter.—I have since ascertained that the interest is calculated from the date of the advance to the date on which the amount of the advance is realised by the sale of the opium for the production of which the advance was made.

Would you say that that reduction of area is the result of the policy to which the late Mr. W. H. Smith committed the Government of India by his declaration in the House of Commons when he said that the area under poppy cultivation had been reduced and that it was the settled policy of the Government of India to continue that process of reduction?—I do not think I can add anything on that point to what Sir David Barbour said. He said "as regards the export of opium from Bengal the policy has been for some time to sell about the same amount every year, neither diminishing that amount nor increasing it. This means that the average area under cultivation would remain about the same, rising or falling according to circumstances." I can, if you desire, read extracts from the letters issued by the Government of India in 1888, 1891 and 1892, when the question of the extent of cultivators was raised.

5161. I believe you wish to put in a paper dealing with the statement which was made to us by Mr. Alexander to the effect that an Envoy had been sent on behalf of the Chinese Government to negotiate with the Government of India, with reference to the traffic in opium. I think Mr. Alexander was not sure as to the date, but he expressed his belief that there had been such a mission, and we said we would ask the Government of India to give us information with regard to that time. I believe that you desire to put in a return, which practically explains to us the nature of the mission to which Mr. Alexander referred?—I understood from the Secretary that the Commission desired to know whether we knew anything of such an Envoy. I got out the papers which appeared to be intended. They are of 1881.

5162. You put them in for the information of the Commission?—Yes.

5163. On examining the paper you have put in, I observe that the Envoy sent on behalf of the Government of China visited India in 1881, and was sent here by the Imperial Commissioner at Peking, Li Hung Chang?—That is correct except that he can hardly be properly described as an Envoy. He was sent by the Imperial Commissioner to collect by private inquiry information bearing upon the matter at issue, the matter at issue being the method of carrying out the clause of the Chefoo Convention, in which it was agreed to place upon a new footing the taxation of the opium imported from India into China.

5164. In the 3rd paragraph of Major Baring's memorandum of conversations with Mah Kie Tchong, I notice that he states that Mah Kie Tchong had no detailed proposal to make, but that he wished to know in a general way whether, in the event of overtures being made by the Chinese Government to Her Majesty's Government, on the subject of the opium question, the Government of India were prepared to consider proposals with reference to the system under which China is now supplied with opium. I notice that the general nature of the proposal which the Chinese Government was inclined to make, was that the Government of India should supply the whole of the opium required by China, to the Chinese Government direct; that the latter should engage on their part to pay a fixed sum for a certain term of years,—which he said might be 30, 40, or 50,—and that the amount to be paid should gradually decrease. To that communication it appears that Major Baring stated that he was unable to express any definite opinion without being informed in greater detail as to the precise nature of the proposal which the Chinese Government was prepared to make; and then Major Baring proceeds to say "this is really all of importance that occurred, although we had a good deal of desultory conversation on the opium question." Then Major Baring pointed out to the Chinese Envoy that it would be exceedingly undesirable that anything should be done in China, which would encourage the growth of the smuggling trade. In answer to these remarks Mah Kie Tchong recognised the force of those observations. Then Major Baring says, "I endeavoured to find out whether the true aim of the Chinese Government was really to suppress the use of opium or merely to obtain a larger revenue than at present. I could not elicit anything very definite on this point. Mah Kie Tchong explained to me that there were two parties in China,—one of whom was desirous of stopping the growth of the native poppy, and deriving as large a revenue as possible from the importation of the foreign drug, whilst the other was in favour of encouraging the use of the native drug, with a view to rendering China independent of Indian opium. The impression, however, he left on my mind was that the Chinese Government attaches very considerable importance to the opium revenue, and apparently no means inclined to abandon it."

Those seem to be the important points in the communication which were exchanged between Major Baring and the representative of the Chinese Government?—That is so.

5165. Have you any observations to make upon that mission?—No; I have nothing more to say than what appears in the paper.

5166. (*Mr. Fanshawe*.) Is it within your knowledge when the negotiations which led up to the agreement for the additional article in the Chefoo Treaty began?—They

began in the year following the arrival of the Taotai, Mah Kie Tehong, that is to say, in 1882. They went on from 1882 to 1885.

5167. I see that the article was finally agreed to in July 1885; when did you say the negotiations began?—I think towards the beginning of 1882.

Mr. J. F. Finlay.

5 Dec. 1888.

The witness withdrew.

The Hon'ble A. S. LETHBRIDGE, M.D., C.S.I., called in and examined.

Hon'ble A. S. Lethbridge,
M.D., C.S.I.

5168. (*Sir William Roberts*.) What is your position in the Indian Medical Service, and what has been your work?—I am General Superintendent of the Thuggee and Dacoity Department, and a Member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. In my official career of over 25 years in India, I have served in the Punjab, Bengal and Burma, and during the last 20 months have been engaged in putting down organized crime in Hyderabad and in the Native States of Rajputana and Central India. In addition to this, I have been employed on four Commissions, and while on them have visited nearly all the districts of Madras, Bombay, North-Western Provinces and the Central Provinces. I can with some reason claim that my experience of India is at least a wide one. I have not made this subject a special study from a medical point of view, but I have had exceptional opportunities of observing the effects of the opium habit on the natives of this country. My first appointment in the service was that of a Surgeon of a Sikh Regiment, and since then I have been Superintendent of the large Central Jails of Lahore and Bangalore, Inspector-General of Prisons in Burma, Sanitary Commissioner of Bengal, and for 14 years Inspector-General of Prisons in this Province. In these various appointments I have had opportunities of observing a very large number of persons who were habitual users of opium.

5169. When did you first come into contact with men who took opium as a regular stimulant?—I first came in contact with men who took opium as a regular stimulant when I was Surgeon of the 15th Sikhs (the Loodiana Regiment). This regiment had recently returned from active service in China, and I was at first disposed to think that the men might have contracted the habit in that country. It was not long, however, before I learnt that the Cis-Sutlej Sikhs, from among whom this regiment was exclusively recruited, were many of them habitual opium-eaters. On this point I speak from experience gained by a residence in Ferozepore, Rupar, Karnal and Labore. In the 16th Sikhs, in 1868, the native officers and the older soldiers appeared to use the drug more freely than the younger men. A large proportion of the sepoy admitted to hospital brought their little boxes of opium with them. It was never hinted in those days that it was a disgraceful thing for a Sikh to take opium, or that a regiment in which such a large proportion of the native officers and men were opium-eaters had its efficiency in any way injuriously affected by the use of this drug. On the contrary, this regiment has always held an honoured place in the army of India, and has perhaps been more frequently employed on active service than any other. In campaigns the men were particularly well-behaved, and on active service, in such campaigns as those of Afghanistan and the Soudan, they have distinguished themselves by their courage and endurance.

5170. What has been your experience as concerned with prison administration in regard to the effect of the opium habit?—As an expert in prison administration, I have seen a vast number of prisoners who have acquired the opium habit. Speaking generally of these men from what I saw of them in their prison life, I would say that their gentleness and good behaviour compared very favourably with the general character of those who had been addicted to alcohol and ganja in excess. It was the rule in the prisons under my control to cut off the supply of opium on the prisoner's first admission to jail. If, in any case, it was found necessary to continue the drug as a medicine, the prisoner was invariably admitted to hospital, and there treated for the disease from which he was suffering. In unhealthy jails, like those at Rungpore and Akyab, where the prisoners are received from very malarious tracts of country, and where the habit of opium-eating was general among the free population, it was not found possible to enforce the rule of complete prohibition on admission, and I have frequently been obliged to sanction the issue of opium to all the opium-eaters admitted to these jails to guard against the grave risks to life caused by depression from imprisonment combined

with the deprivation of the stimulant to which these malarial-stricken people had been accustomed.

5171. What have you to say in regard to the therapeutic uses of opium in the treatment of diseases of malarious origin?—As to the therapeutic uses of opium in the treatment of diseases of malarious origin, I can only say that in my experience the medical officers in charge of jails in the more unhealthy districts of Bengal have been accustomed to use the various preparations of this drug in very considerable quantities, and I know this to be the case, not only from my personal observations in the Jail Hospitals which I have inspected, but from the checking and passing of the indents for medicines required for the treatment of prisoners in jails.

5172. What has been your experience with regard to the breaking off of the opium habit?—Where the opium habit is not complicated by disease we have never experienced any difficulty or danger in breaking opium-eaters of this habit by a sudden and complete stopping of the drug. As a rule, a slight tendency to diarrhoea is noticed in these cases, which is easily checked by appropriate remedies. In cases where the drug has been used to excess, the deprivation causes a certain amount of suffering, but this does not usually last more than 5 or 6 days.

5173. What is your experience with regard to the use of opium in excess?—The use of opium even in excess does not in my experience lead to any organic constitutional changes, such as those which result from the abuse of alcohol. Even the emaciation and trucked-up appearance of the opium drunkard disappears very rapidly after the drug has been stopped. Before I leave the consideration of this question from a prison point of view, I state that it is my deliberate opinion, after an experience of the criminal classes extending over a quarter of a century, that the opium habit in this country is not, to any appreciable extent, the direct cause of crime, and that its effect in this direction is not to be compared with the recognized evils that result from the abuse of alcohol, both in England and in India.

5174. What has been your experience with regard to the factory operatives?—As President of the Factory Commission in 1890, which was appointed to inquire into the social condition and well-being of Indian operatives, I made a careful inquiry into their mode of life, their work, their complaints and wishes. Many mill hands were examined at considerable length for this purpose, and we saw thousands of operatives working in the mills of Bombay, Ahmedabad, Cawnpore and Calcutta. In no single instance do I remember our attention being drawn by any one to the demoralization of the working classes from the use of opium. It is true we did not make any special inquiry in this direction, but if there had been any deterioration of the working power of the mill hands from this cause, we should most certainly have seen some indication of it in their appearance or power of work, or heard of it from the mill managers and subordinates, if not from the operatives themselves.

5175. You have been at the head of a large Department; have you had to discharge any of your employes under you on account of the excessive use of opium?—During the 18 years that I have been the head of a department with a large staff of subordinates under me, I cannot recall a single instance in which a subordinate was discharged for unfitness due to the excessive use of opium. I need hardly add that in this period hundreds have been discharged for incapacity brought on by the abuse of alcohol.

5176. What has been your experience in regard to the opinion of native gentlemen in the various parts of India which you have visited?—In my present appointment which requires me to visit Hyderabad and the Native States of Rajputana and Central India, I have had many opportunities of discussing this question with well-informed Indian gentlemen and Durbar officials. The deliberate conclusion at which I have arrived in this matter is that any

Hon. A. S. Lethbridge, M.D., C.S.I.
5 Dec. 1893.

attempt to interfere with the rights of Native States and the privileges of their subjects in regard to the growth, sale or consumption of opium, will result in the gravest complications and in serious danger to the stability of the Empire.

5177. I think this would be a good opportunity of laying before the Commission an account of the composition and character of the Indian Medical Service. Although you are a little detached from that service, I believe you are closely associated with it and know it well?—Yes.

5178. What is the numerical strength of the Indian Medical Service?—The Indian Medical Service to which I belong numbers altogether between 443 and 450 European Officers. There are also a few Indian gentlemen who have competed in England and have been admitted into the service.

5179. How many?—I should think that there were now 12 or 15 out of the 450.

5180. What are the grades and duties of the medical officers in the Indian Service?—They are divided by a sharp line. Every officer when he comes to India is obliged to serve with the Native Army as Surgeon in charge of a regiment. After two years' service he may elect for civil employ. It is from the regimental officers that the Civil Surgeons of the different districts of India are recruited. The regimental officers go through the usual grades of Surgeon-Captain, Surgeon-Major, Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel, and pass on to the administrative rank of Deputy Surgeon-General and Surgeon-Major-General. The civil officers still keep their military rank and keep their promotion in the same manner; but they also rise from being Civil Surgeons of minor stations to larger ones. From the best of them are selected the officers who are brought to the presidency towns to be in charge of the large hospitals, and to be professors of the medical schools that are established in the three presidencies.

5181. What are the duties of the civil medical officers in charge of the dispensaries?—They have complete charge of the whole medical administration of the district. Then they have all the dispensaries in the district. The number of dispensaries varies according to the size of the district. Some districts have ten or fourteen, and others have five or six. The outlying dispensaries have to be inspected once or twice or three times a year; the head-quarters dispensary has to be visited every day. Many of these head-quarters dispensaries are very large institutions, with a large number of beds for in-patients, and a very large attendance of out-patients. The ordinary cases of out-patients are seen by the hospital assistants; but the interesting cases are reserved for the medical officer's special care. He sees every in-patient every day. Besides this he has a large practice among the native population. He is called into consultation in all serious cases by private practitioners.

5182. We are now speaking of those medical officers who have received European education?—Yes. They are in the covenanted Service. They would come very closely into contact with the Assistant Surgeons who would have charge of the outlying dispensaries.

5183. And often have communication with them?—Yes.

5184. He would also, I presume, be the medical officer to the jail?—Yes.

5185. Do you consider that in their work they would have opportunities of detecting the effect of the opium habit on the health and physique of the people?—I do not think there is any European in India who has such good opportunities of making observations on this particular point.

5186. Could he in any way test the effect of the opium habit on character—morality?—He sees a great deal of Indian life which very few officers have a chance of seeing, that is to say, the inner life of the Indian people in visiting the sick and making inquiries, and so on. He has a means of acquiring a knowledge of the inner life of the Indian people which administrative officers of the Government have not. He therefore has an opportunity of testing this particular point.

5187. I presume in regard to the jails they would be able to state if there was any connexion between opium and crime?—Yes. They are the administrative officers of the jails. They are the executive as well as the medical officers of the jails, in the smaller jails at all events—in the district jails.

5188. I believe you have travelled a great deal in the course of your official duties throughout India in the various presidencies?—Yes.

5189. Have you had much conversation with the members of the Indian Medical Service with regard to the effect of

the opium habit on the morals of the people?—I have been travelling a great deal lately. Within the last few weeks I have had conversations with officers; and have also had general conversations before then on this particular subject.

5190. What impression have you gathered? Do they agree with the views you have expressed?—It is curious how unanimous they are as to the fact that opium is not the cause to this country that it is supposed to be.

5191. Have you met with exceptions to your views?—I do not remember a single officer that I know who has any different view to this.

5192. This large staff of 450 men hold, so far as you know, the same opinion?—As far as I know they are unanimous.

5193. Can you tell us how this staff is selected?—They have all had an English education, I understand?—All except the native members. There are a certain number of natives admitted into the Covenanted Service who go to England to compete, but they are trained in the colleges in India. They go to England to compete for this service so that they also are members of our service.

5194. That is, the twelve or fourteen?—Yes.

5195. How are the members of the Indian Medical Service trained? From what class of medical students do they come—high class or low class, or what class?—All I can say is that the competitive examination for the Indian Medical Service is the severest competitive examination for any medical service in the world.

5196. Is that in addition to their pass examination?—That is quite apart from their pass examination. Before you can compete for the service you have to be a qualified medical man. The qualifications of the candidates are supposed to be high, because this is the service which is supposed to have the highest qualifications; the best men compete for this particular service. It is the general belief that ours is the service where the competition is severest.

5197. It is attractive for the best men?—Yes.

5198. On account of the advantages it holds out?—Yes, the pay and pensions and the positions that are occupied by the medical officers in this country.

5199. (Chairman.) The advantages are superior to those offered by the Army or Navy?—Yes.

5200. (Sir William Roberts.) The competition is a real one?—There is no doubt about the competition being a real one.

5201. Looking over the list regarding the general status of the men who come over to India, would you regard them as pretty well representative of a high class of medical students?—It is my belief that they represent a high class of medical education.

5202. And are among the best educated medical men in England, Ireland and Scotland?—That is my belief.

5203. After they have been chosen in this way by competitive examination, do they undergo any special additional training for Indian service?—Yes.

5204. What is that?—They are required to go to Netley for four months. There they go through a special course, consisting chiefly of a course in the science of public health, sanitary science, military surgery, and of medicine in connexion with tropical diseases. After this special course which lasts four months they pass another examination on the subjects that have been taught at Netley; and it is from that examination that their position in the service is fixed.

5205. Could you say from your own experience of them that they are men who are well educated generally, as well as professionally, and that they are men of good social status and character?—I can say that they are well educated, both generally and as regards their profession. As to their status, we of this service have no ground for complaint. We occupy a position in India which is not an inferior one. We take our position with all other services, and we are on complete equality with other gentlemen who are serving the British Government. Therefore we may be said to be of the same class as other gentlemen who form the staff of the services in India.

5206. They would, therefore, be highly qualified for detecting the effect of habitually taking opium as the cause of disease or moral declension if it were there?—Certainly. No persons more competent exist in India.

5207. You also think that they are, speaking generally, men of that independence of character that their good faith may be depended upon to tell the truth without fear or favour?—Most certainly.

5208A. In charge of these dispensaries there must be a considerable staff of Assistant Surgeons, who, I understand, are mostly, if not entirely, educated in India?—Yes.

5209B. What is the professional and general status of these men?—They undergo a medical education which in all respects conforms to the medical education required for degrees or diplomas in England. That is to say, a native of Calcutta, by going through lectures and courses in the Medical College here, can present himself for examination at most of the Universities and other Examining Public Bodies in England. The course of education is as complete as it is in England.

5210. They are fairly trained men?—They are well trained men. A certain proportion of them go to England and take their diplomas there, because it seems to carry more weight. They do not go through any education at home; their education is done here.

5211. I suppose their intercourse with natives where the dispensary is would be very close?—Very close. I should say they come from the middle classes of the people who live with them in their villages.

5212. What would be the opinion of that class of men?—My acquaintance with that class is not so large as it is with the European; but I should say that they would also agree that opium is not the cure that it is supposed to be, and that it is very largely used by the people in malarious districts, and that they themselves prescribe it very largely.

5213. You think that they likewise can be trusted to give a fairly skilled opinion on the opium habit as a cause of disease?—Yes, I think so. They have many opportunities of observing, even more closely than we have, the effects of opium.

5214. And you think that they might be fairly depended upon to make truthful returns?—Yes; most certainly.

5215. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) Are there many Europeans in independent practice in India?—In the larger cities like Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and among the larger European communities of Assam, Darjeeling, Tirhoot, there are private medical practitioners who are Europeans; but among the purely Native States there are not many.

5216. Have you any idea of what the number of independent European practitioners would be?—It is very difficult to say; I am afraid to speak upon the subject.

5217. (*Mr. Farnshaw.*) Can you tell us the number of the Assistant Surgeons?—I am sorry to say I have no means of knowing. There are a certain number in Government service; and there are a very large number indeed in private practice who have no connexion with Government at all. In every town in Bengal there are one or two of them.

5218. You have referred particularly to experience in the Rangpur jail. I believe that Rangpur is an exceptionally malarial district?—Yes, it is very malarious.

5219. May we take that as well established?—If there is anything established, it is the fact that Rangpur is a malarious district.

5220. Can you tell us generally what classes of crime are most prevalent in that district?—Would the jail population of Rangpur consist mainly of accidental criminals?—They are chiefly accidental: I think there are no habituals.

5221. May we take it then that the jail population of Rangpur fairly represents the population of the district?—Yes.

5222. (*Mr. Wilson.*) You have told us how you came into contact with these opium-eating soldiers. You were with the Native Army?—Yes.

5223. How much did they take?—I could not tell you; it is a long time ago. They used to take it out of a little box; but I could not tell you what the dose was in each case.

5224. You say that the native officers and the older soldiers took more than the younger ones?—That was my general observation at the time.

5225. Would they take larger doses or take it more frequently?—I mean that among the opium-eaters the larger proportion were the older men and the officers.

5226. You say they appear to use the drug more freely than the younger men?—The larger proportion of the opium-eaters were among the older men.

5227. Your remark refers to the proportion of men rather than to the quantity of opium?—Yes.

5228. Have you any information as to the actual quantity of opium which the men were in the habit of taking before they came into the jail?—No. It would be very difficult to judge from observation as to how much a man had been accustomed to take.

5229. In the last paragraph of your statement you refer to the opportunities you have had of discussing this question with certain gentlemen in the Native States?—Yes.

5230. What do you particularly refer to?—That is only recently. I have only been twenty months now in charge of this particular department, which requires me to go over India.

5231. I suppose you may take it that you really adhere to the last lines of your statement, "that any attempt to interfere with the rights of Native States and the privileges of their subjects in regard to the growth, sale or consumption of opium will result in the gravest complications and in serious danger to the stability of the Empire?—Most certainly I adhere to that. That is my confirmed belief, and the result of very considerable experience. I think any such attempt would be so unnecessary, and the grievance would be so great, that it would shake the confidence of the people in our justice and our rule.

5232. You told Sir William Roberts about the numbers of medical men in this country; can you give us any idea of what proportion of them have been detached from medical work, as, for example, in your own case?—Very few have been actually detached altogether from medical work as I am; I should think there were not more than twelve or fourteen of us.

5233. Does that include the Forest Department also?—As far as I know we have no officer in the Forest Department (I may be mistaken; I am speaking now from my general knowledge), unless you take Dr. King, who is in charge of the Botanical Gardens here.

5234. There have been medical men in connection with the Forest Department?—That would be before my time.

5235. Can you tell us what is the policy of the arrangement you have described to Sir William Roberts of so many medical officers being appointed as Army Surgeons, and then going off to civil practice?—I understand that it is due to the fact that the Government of India are extremely anxious to have a reserve of medical officers for the army. If war were declared the whole of the military medical officers who are now in civil employ would be called upon to take the field. They would have to join the army and take their share in the campaign. The civil stations would then be left in charge of Assistant Surgeons or other practitioners who could be got from England or elsewhere for the time so as to carry on the duties.

5236. Do I understand that all the medical men who are now practising with military titles in Calcutta would, on such a contingency, be liable to military service?—Yes, including myself. I should be liable to military service.

5237. By whom are these gentlemen paid?—Since the decentralization of the finances they are paid by their Provincial Government—those who are in civil employ. The Military Department pays those who have charge of the native regiments.

5238. Then the Civil Department are really maintaining a staff of gentlemen ready for military contingencies?—That is the case.

5239. (*Chairman.*) In answer to Sir William Roberts you alluded to instances in which opium is used in excess to the detriment of the natives concerned; you have not stated to us whether in your opinion there are cases in which persons make use of opium for daily consumption with direct benefit to their health. Do you think there are such cases?—There are undoubtedly such cases; but not having practised my profession, I am not in a position to give direct evidence upon that point; but knowing these men who have come into jail, I could say that they had not suffered in any way, either physically or mentally, from the use of opium. They take their position in the jail as prisoners, and I watch them there. My experience is limited to that.

5240. Is it your belief that the majority of the people in this country who are in any form consumers of opium are what you may describe as consumers in moderation?—I think so certainly. I am led to that opinion from the fact that on a special inquiry, when we made very close inquiries into the social condition of operatives, I saw thousands and thousands of them, and this question never obtruded itself to our notice. If an inquiry were made into the condition of operatives in England you would not

Hon. A. S. Leithbridge,
M.D., C.S.I.
5 Dec. 1893.

Hon. A. S. Lethbridge, M.D., C.S.I.
5 Dec. 1898.

attempt to interfere with the rights of Native States and the privileges of their subjects in regard to the growth, sale or consumption of opium, will result in the gravest complications and in serious danger to the stability of the Empire.

5177. I think this would be a good opportunity of laying before the Commission an account of the composition and character of the Indian Medical Service. Although you are a little detached from that service, I believe you are closely associated with it and know it well?—Yes.

5178. What is the numerical strength of the Indian Medical Service?—The Indian Medical Service to which I belong numbers altogether between 443 and 450 European Officers. There are also a few Indian gentlemen who have competed in England and have been admitted into the service.

5179. How many?—I should think that there were now 12 or 15 out of the 450.

5180. What are the grades and duties of the medical officers in the Indian Service?—They are divided by a sharp line. Every officer when he comes to India is obliged to serve with the Native Army as Surgeon in charge of a regiment. After two years' service he may elect for civil employ. It is from the regimental officers that the Civil Surgeons of the different districts of India are recruited. The regimental officers go through the usual grades of Surgeon-Captain, Surgeon-Major, Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel, and pass on to the administrative rank of Deputy Surgeon-General and Surgeon-Major-General. The civil officers still keep their military rank and keep their promotion in the same manner; but they also rise from being Civil Surgeons of minor stations to larger ones. From the best of them are selected the officers who are brought to the presidency towns to be in charge of the large hospitals, and to be professors of the medical schools that are established in the three presidencies.

5181. What are the duties of the civil medical officers in charge of the dispensaries?—They have complete charge of the whole medical administration of the district. Then they have all the dispensaries in the district. The number of dispensaries varies according to the size of the district. Some districts have ten or fourteen, and others have five or six. The outlying dispensaries have to be inspected once or twice or three times a year; the head-quarters dispensary has to be visited every day. Many of these head-quarters dispensaries are very large institutions, with a large number of beds for in-patients, and a very large attendance of out-patients. The ordinary cases of out-patients are seen by the hospital assistants; but the interesting cases are reserved for the medical officer's special care. He sees every in-patient every day. Besides this he has a large practice among the native population. He is called into consultation in all serious cases by private practitioners.

5182. We are now speaking of those medical officers who have received European education?—Yes. They are in the covenanted Service. They would come very closely into contact with the Assistant Surgeons who would have charge of the outlying dispensaries.

5183. And often have communication with them?—Yes.

5184. He would also, I presume, be the medical officer to the jail?—Yes.

5185. Do you consider that in their work they would have opportunities of detecting the effect of the opium habit on the health and physique of the people?—I do not think there is any European in India who has such good opportunities of making observations on this particular point.

5186. Could he in any way test the effect of the opium habit on character—morality?—He sees a great deal of Indian life which very few officers have a chance of seeing, that is to say, the inner life of the Indian people in visiting the sick and making inquiries, and so on. He has a means of acquiring a knowledge of the inner life of the Indian people which administrative officers of the Government have not. He therefore has an opportunity of testing this particular point.

5187. I presume in regard to the jails they would be able to state if there was any connection between opium and crime?—Yes. They are the administrative officers of the jails. They are the executive as well as the medical officers of the jails, in the smaller jails at all events—in the district jails.

5188. I believe you have travelled a great deal in the course of your official duties throughout India in the various presidencies?—Yes.

5189. Have you had much conversation with the members of the Indian Medical Service with regard to the effect of

the opium habit on the morals of the people?—I have been travelling a great deal lately. Within the last few weeks I have had conversations with officers; and have also had general conversations before then on this particular subject.

5190. What impression have you gathered? Do they agree with the views you have expressed?—It is curious how unanimous they are as to the fact that opium is not the cure to this country that it is supposed to be.

5191. Have you met with exceptions to your views?—I do not remember a single officer that I know who has any different view to this.

5192. This large staff of 450 men hold, so far as you know, the same opinion?—As far as I know they are unanimous.

5193. Can you tell us how this staff is selected?—They have all had an English education, I understand?—All except the native members. There are a certain number of natives admitted into the Covenanted Service who go to England to compete, but they are trained in the colleges in India. They go to England to compete for this service so that they also are members of our service.

5194. That is, the twelve or fourteen?—Yes.

5195. How are the members of the Indian Medical Service trained? From what class of medical students do they come—high class or low class, or what class?—All I can say is that the competitive examination for the Indian Medical Service is the severest competitive examination for any medical service in the world.

5196. Is that in addition to their pass examination?—That is quite apart from their pass examination. Before you can compete for the service you have to be a qualified medical man. The qualifications of the candidates are supposed to be high, because this is the service which is supposed to have the highest qualifications; the best men compete for this particular service. It is the general belief that ours is the service where the competition is severest.

5197. It is attractive for the best men?—Yes.

5198. On account of the advantages it holds out?—Yes, the pay and pensions and the positions that are occupied by the medical officers in this country.

5199. (Chairman.) The advantages are superior to those offered by the Army or Navy?—Yes.

5200. (Sir William Roberts.) The competition is a real one?—There is no doubt about the competition being a real one.

5201. Looking over the list regarding the general status of the men who come over to India, would you regard them as pretty well representative of a high class of medical students?—It is my belief that they represent a high class of medical education.

5202. And are among the best educated medical men of England, Ireland and Scotland?—That is my belief.

5203. After they have been chosen in this way by competitive examination, do they undergo any special additional training for Indian service?—Yes.

5204. What is that?—They are required to go to Netley for four months. There they go through a special course, consisting chiefly of a course in the science of public health, sanitary science, military surgery, and of medicine in connection with tropical diseases. After this special course, which lasts four months they pass another examination on the subjects that have been taught at Netley; and it is from that examination that their position in the service is fixed.

5205. Could you say from your own experience of them that they are men who are well educated generally, as well as professionally, and that they are men of good social status and character?—I can say that they are well educated, both generally and as regards their profession. As to their status, we of this service have no ground for complaint. We occupy a position in India which is not an inferior one. We take our position with all other services, and we are on complete equality with other gentlemen who are serving the British Government. Therefore we may be said to be of the same class as other gentlemen who form the staff of the services in India.

5206. They would, therefore, be highly qualified for detecting the effect of habitually taking opium as the cause of disease or moral declension if it were there?—Certainly. No persons more competent exist in India.

5207. You also think that they are, speaking generally, men of that independence of character that their good faith may be depended upon to tell the truth without fear or favour?—Most certainly.

5208A. In charge of these dispensaries (there must be a considerable staff of Assistant Surgeons, who, I understand, are mostly, if not entirely, educated in India)?—Yes.

5208B. What is the professional and general status of these men?—They undergo a medical education which in all respects conforms to the medical education required for degrees or diplomas in England.* That is to say, a native of Calcutta, by going through lectures and courses in the Medical College here, can present himself for examination at most of the Universities and other Examining Public Bodies in England. The course of education is as complete as it is in England.

5210. They are fairly trained men?—They are well trained men. A certain proportion of them go to England and take their diplomas there, because it seems to carry more weight. They do not go through any education at home; their education is done here.

5211. I suppose their intercourse with natives where the dispensary is would be very close?—Very close. I should say they come from the middle classes of the people who live with them in their villages.

5212. What would be the opinion of that class of men?—My acquaintance with that class is not so large as it is with the European; but I should say that they would also agree that opium is not the curse that it is supposed to be, and that it is very largely used by the people in malarious districts, and that they themselves prescribe it very largely.

5213. You think that they likewise can be trusted to give a fairly skilled opinion on the opium habit as a cause of disease?—Yes, I think so. They have many opportunities of observing, even more closely than we have, the effects of opium.

5214. And you think that they might be fairly depended upon to make truthful returns?—Yes; most certainly.

5215. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) Are there many Europeans in independent practice in India?—In the larger cities like Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and among the larger European communities of Assam, Darjeeling, Tirhoot, there are private medical practitioners who are Europeans; but among the purely Native States there are not many.

5216. Have you any idea of what the number of independent European practitioners would be?—It is very difficult to say; I am afraid to speak upon the subject.

5217. (*Mr. Fanshawe.*) Can you tell us the number of the Assistant Surgeons?—I am sorry to say I have no means of knowing. There are a certain number in Government service; and there are a very large number indeed in private practice who have no connexion with Government at all. In every town in Bengal there are one or two of them.

5218. You have referred particularly to experience in the Rangpur jail. I believe that Rangpur is an exceptionally malarial district?—Yes, it is very malarious.

5219. May we take that as well established?—If there is anything established, it is the fact that Rangpur is a malarious district.

5220. Can you tell us generally what classes of crime are most prevalent in that district? Would the jail population of Rangpur consist mainly of accidental criminals?—They are chiefly accidental: I think there are no habituals.

5221. May we take it then that the jail population of Rangpur fairly represents the population of the district?—Yes.

5222. (*Mr. Wilson.*) You have told us how you came into contact with these opium-eating soldiers. You were with the Native Army?—Yes.

5223. How much did they take?—I could not tell you; it is a long time ago. They used to take it out of a little box; but I could not tell you what the dose was in each case.

5224. You say that the native officers and the older soldiers took more than the younger ones?—That was my general observation at the time.

5225. Would they take larger doses or take it more frequently?—I mean that among the opium-eaters the larger proportion were the older men and the officers.

5226. You say they appear to use the drug more freely than the younger men?—The larger proportion of the opium-eaters were among the older men.

5227. Your remark refers to the proportion of men rather than to the quantity of opium?—Yes.

5228. Have you any information as to the actual quantity of opium which the men were in the habit of taking before they came into the jails?—No. It would be very difficult to judge from observation as to how much a man had been accustomed to take.

5229. In the last paragraph of your statement you refer to the opportunities you have had of discussing this question with certain gentlemen in the Native States?—Yes.

5230. What do you particularly refer to?—That is only recently. I have only been twenty months now in charge of this particular department, which requires me to go over India.

5231. I suppose we may take it that you really adhere to the last lines of your statement, "that any attempt to interfere with the rights of Native States and the privileges of their subjects in regard to the growth, sale or consumption of opium will result in the gravest complications and in serious danger to the stability of the Empire"?—Most certainly I adhere to that. That is my confirmed belief, and the result of very considerable experience. I think any such attempt would be so unnecessary, and the grievance would be so great, that it would shake the confidence of the people in our justice and our rule.

5232. You told Sir William Roberts about the numbers of medical men in this country; can you give us any idea of what proportion of them have been detached from medical work, as, for example, in your own case?—Very few have been actually detached altogether from medical work as I am; I should think there were not more than twelve or fourteen of us.

5233. Does that include the Forest Department also?—As far as I know we have no officer in the Forest Department (I may be mistaken; I am speaking now from my general knowledge), unless you take Dr. King, who is in charge of the Botanical Gardens here.

5234. There have been medical men in connection with the Forest Department?—That would be before my time.

5235. Can you tell us what is the policy of the arrangement you have described to Sir William Roberts of so many medical officers being appointed as Army Surgeons, and then going off to civil practice?—I understand that it is due to the fact that the Government of India are extremely anxious to have a reserve of medical officers for the army. If war were declared the whole of the military medical officers who are now in civil employ would be called upon to take the field. They would have to join the army and take their share in the campaign. The civil stations would then be left in charge of Assistant Surgeons or other practitioners who could be got from England or elsewhere for the time so as to carry on the duties.

5236. Do I understand that all the medical men who are now practising with military titles in Calcutta would, on such a contingency, be liable to military service?—Yes, including myself. I should be liable to military service.

5237. By whom are these gentlemen paid?—Since the decentralization of the finances they are paid by their Provincial Government—those who are in civil employ. The Military Department pays those who have charge of the native regiments.

5238. Then the Civil Department are really maintaining a staff of gentlemen ready for military contingencies?—That is the case.

5239. (*Chairman.*) In answer to Sir William Roberts you alluded to instances in which opium is used in excess to the detriment of the natives concerned; you have not stated to us whether in your opinion there are cases in which persons make use of opium for daily consumption with direct benefit to their health. Do you think there are such cases?—There are undoubtedly such cases; but not having practised my profession, I am not in a position to give direct evidence upon that point; but knowing these men who have come into jail, I could say that they had not suffered in any way, either physically or mentally, from the use of opium. They take their position in the jail as prisoners, and I watch them there. My experience is limited to that.

5240. Is it your belief that the majority of the people in this country who are in any form consumers of opium are what you may describe as consumers in moderation?—I think so certainly. I am led to that opinion from the fact that on a special inquiry, when we made very close inquiries into the social condition of operatives, I saw thousands and thousands of them, and this question never obtruded itself to our notice. If an inquiry were made into the condition of operatives in England you would not

Hon. A. S. Lethbridge, M.D., C.S.I.
5 Dec. 1893.

Hon. A. S.
Lethbridge,
M.D., C.S.I.
5 Dec. 1893.

have inquired for an hour without knowing that the drink question was at the bottom of a great deal of unhappiness and misery and sorrow. This particular question, however, of the consumption of opium by operatives was never brought to our notice at all. I think therefore that it does not affect operatives in their work or in their position if they use it moderately.

5241. Your view is that the majority of those who are consumers are what you may designate consumers of moderate quantities?—Yes.

5242. As far as you have had the opportunity of judging it does them neither good nor harm?—That is my opinion.

The witness withdrew.

Sir E. C.
Buck, C.S.I.

SIR EDWARD C. BUCK C.S.I., called in and examined.

5245. (Chairman.) Kindly state to us, what is your position in the service of the Government of India?—I am Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Revenue and Agriculture.

5246. I understand that in 1883 you visited the Straits Settlements, on official duty. In connection with what object did you pay that visit?—In connection with the emigration of Indian coolies.

5247. On the occasion of your visit to the Straits Settlements, I understand that you visited the tin mines at Taiping, the port of Perak?—That is so.

5248. Can you give us any statistics of the population of Perak at the period of your visit?—I am able to do so, because my visit to the tin mines led subsequently to the deputation of the Director of the Burma Department of Agriculture, Mr. Hall, whose report, which I place on the table, enables me to give statistics of the population of Perak in 1884, the year after my visit. There were then 60,000 Malays, 55,000 Chinese, and 3,000 natives of India. But the population of Taiping itself consisted of something less than 100,000 Malays, 20,000 or 30,000 Chinese, and 2,000 or 3,000 natives of India. In 1887 there were 40,000 Chinese in Taiping, and I believe there are more now.

5249. Will you give us any particulars of any points that came under your observation, on the occasion of your visit to the tin mines, which have a bearing upon this subject which is before this Commission?—I may say that on the day of my arrival I was taken over the tin mines, which are open excavations and easy therefore to inspect. The hard work, such as would be performed by navvies in England, was done entirely by the Chinese, subsidiary light work being performed by Malays and natives of India, chiefly the latter. I was told that the Chinese, almost without exception, worked two or three hours' overtime. They certainly appeared to be extremely vigorous, and in very healthy condition, notwithstanding the fact that the climate is exceptionally exhausting and malarious. I was given to understand that the Chinese all smoked or consumed opium, and in the evening I was taken over some of the large halls where they assemble to smoke opium. Some of the Malays and Indians take opium, but not so universally as the Chinese. On the following day I visited the hospital with the medical officer in charge—a Surgeon in the British Army. I noticed the comparatively small number of Chinese in the wards, i.e., the number was small compared with the large proportion of Chinese in Taiping. I was told by the medical officer that one reason was the greater protection from malarious and zymotic diseases, which they enjoyed from their habit of using opium. This circumstance made some impression on me at the time, and I have thought it worth while to ask the Resident of Perak whether this statement can be corroborated by subsequent statistics and experience. I have been informed that statistics are being prepared, and will probably be in the hands of the Royal Commission before they leave India.

5250. Do you consider that Taiping affords a field peculiarly useful for the observation of the effects of opium?—I do; Taiping affords a field peculiarly useful for observation in view of the fact that the whole of the residents are under strict supervision by British officials; that there is a large proportion of opium consumers; that the population is mixed, consisting of both consumers and non-consumers of opium; that the climate is malarious and exhausting, and a good test therefore of the utility or otherwise of opium in protecting against disease; and that all seriously sick persons are treated in a hospital supervised by an English medical officer. It will be found in paragraph 21 of Mr. Hall's report that at first the Chinese insisted on being treated by

5243. As compared with alcohol in this tropical climate, as far as you know, the use of opium is less pernicious than the use of alcohol?—Most certainly.

5244. Do you see any analogy between the indulgence of use of opium in the population of a tropical climate and the use of alcohol among the inhabitants of a climate such as England?—Judging from the fact that these people do take opium in considerable quantities and in large numbers, one would draw that analogy as to its being a necessity as a stimulant just as in colder climates we know that the inhabitants take to alcohol.

Chinese doctors, but that on further experience they preferred the English medical officer, and that now Chinese doctors have been eliminated. There is every reason to suppose therefore that statistics and information provided by the medical officers of Taiping will be of a definite and practical character.

5251. Have you any information to give us with reference to the cultivation of opium in India?—That covers a large field. There is one point to which I would draw attention in connection with the cultivation of opium in India. I produce two maps, the first shaded to show the districts in British India growing over 1,000 acres of opium and the second shaded to distinguish the districts in which the population is respectively over and under 450 to the square mile. It will be observed that opium is mainly grown in the most densely populated districts, which are on that account most in need of support and assistance. So far therefore as the capital supplied in the form of advances and payment for opium is useful to the agricultural population, it confers a benefit on the very tracts in India which most require aid of the kind. Moreover, as a rule opium is cultivated by the most industrious, skilled and deserving castes, and it is on them that the loss would chiefly fall.

5252. (The Maharaja of Darbhanga.) In case opium cultivation is abolished altogether, do you think there is any other crop that would pay the ryots equally?—I think that is a question which, to be properly answered, requires a very great deal of careful examination on the spot. Whatever I say upon that subject I would ask should be taken as the basis of inquiry rather than as positive evidence on the subject. My own belief is that opium cultivation is best carried on on certain land and by certain cultivators. I would explain that by saying that the opium land *par excellence* is that which is fit for market garden crops and is cultivated by market gardeners. That land would be wasted on such crops as sugarcane and wheat and it could only be made to pay as opium makes it pay by growing on it crops such as are included under the term of market garden crops in all our agricultural returns; these consist of aromatic herbs, spices, tobacco, and such like. Where the demand for such crops is sufficient to enable a market to be found for them, I think they could be substituted for opium without any loss, but in the districts where opium is grown, the opium is grown on other land as well as this land which is specially suited for opium as by cultivators specially qualified by experience to grow opium. A certain amount of outlying land is now used for opium, and is cultivated by castes who did not originally cultivate it. These mainly are the industrious castes—the Kurmis and Lodhas; and even some other less industrious castes to a certain extent have taken it up. On outlying land, that is to say, land which is not fit for market garden crops and which is cultivated by other than those gardeners, tobacco and market garden crops could be substituted. It would be impossible to substitute the wheat, sugarcane and potatoes, but it is a question which requires inquiry whether these crops do not require a very much larger quantity of coarse and heavy manure than opium. If that is the case, I am under the impression that those crops could not be substituted for opium in what may call the second class opium land, the land lying outside the market garden crop area. Thus we have opium land divided into two classes: the market garden class cultivated by market gardeners—Kachis, Koeris, Malis and the like; and the second class which requires special manure, cultivated by, what I may call, the farming class—Kurmis and Lodhas and the like. The examination of the question as to the substitution of other crops must be separate for each of these classes of land and classes of cultivators. Then I may state another fact, that the manure, both

solid and liquid, required for opium is not of the same class entirely as the manure required for potatoes and sugarcane. For opium it is necessary to have, either in a solid or liquid form, manure containing various ingredients which I class under the name of nitrates, although some of them are nitric nitrates. I have an analysis here of water which I had taken from a well which was considered valuable for opium. It contains a large quantity of soda and lime as well as nitric acid and chlorine. Water of this class is practically wasted on sugarcane. Sugarcane can be successfully cultivated with a coarse farmyard manure and canal water. The canal water is absolutely free from those chemicals which are required and are useful for opium, tobacco and aromatic herbs. Therefore sugarcane can be and is grown under conditions generally under which opium is not grown.

5253. In the case of second class opium land it has not yet been discovered whether there is any proper substitute in case the cultivation of opium is abolished?—In the second class opium lands I suppose there are no other crops which could be substituted with equal profit to the ryots. My own belief is that other crops, as paying as opium, could not be grown, because they require a much larger amount of heavy, coarse manure and deeper ploughing.

5254. Consequently you think the ryots would be entitled to some sort of compensation, not legal, but according to equity?—Yes. I think that the loss of 50 lakhs of rupees advanced every year in those populous tracts to which I have drawn attention would be a very serious blow to the agricultural population. They receive this money without interest at a time they want cash, and if they were deprived of this money suddenly they would have recourse to the money-lender and obtain money at a high rate of interest. They would then be cultivating under difficult circumstances.

5255. (Sir William Roberts.) Perak is one of the Straits Settlements I believe?—Yes.

5256. What other centres of the Chinese population are there in the Straits Settlements?—There are three or four centres, of the same kind as Taiping, where there are tin mines, not only in the State of Perak but in the neighbouring Native States.

5257. Are there any centres of Chinese population so large as Taiping?—Taiping is the largest, because the tin lodes and funds are so much larger than in any other one spot.

5258. (Mr. Fanshawe.) You have referred already to the question whether compensation would be necessary to cultivators; can you tell us whether the poppy crop is an exhausting crop for the soil?—I would make the same answer that I did to the Maharaja of Darbhanga, viz., that anything I may say must be taken as a basis of inquiry rather than as positive evidence on the subject. My own impression is, that it is not an exhausting crop in the sense that sugarcane and potatoes and other rich crops are exhausting crops. It is more like a flower grown in the garden which requires careful and high cultivation, but does not take much out of the soil to any depth. But I would take the opportunity of noticing what I did not notice just now, that opium is very frequently grown in the same year as a crop of Indian corn. The Indian corn precedes opium. In comparing it with other crops that might be substituted for it that fact should not be lost sight of. I notice that it was lost sight of in the Report of the Bengal Opium Commission of 1868. I had occasion to look at that report the other day, and I noticed that in comparing the profits of an opium crop with the profits of other crops, the fact that it was grown in the same year as a crop of Indian corn was lost sight of, and that the profits on the Indian corn crop were not taken into account at all any more than (what ought to have been taken into account) the interest which the cultivator saves by being able to take these advances at the time he wants them. I understand that the Government itself does take into its account or into its estimates the loss which they suffer by foregoing interest; but in all these calculations that I have seen of the value of the opium crop to the cultivators that interest is never put in. There are thus these two things—the value of the Indian corn crop and the value of the interest that ought to be added.

5259. Would another crop also be capable of being grown with tobacco?—You must name your crop for each locality. Certain kinds of tobacco can be grown with Indian corn. In the case of tobacco grown in Bengal and Tirhoot I believe Indian corn cannot be grown. In the case of tobacco grown further up the country where it is not cut till March it can be grown. That shows how close the investigation must be before any general reply can be given to any question of that kind.

5260. You are not personally in a position to give us any statistics as to the comparative value of crops?—I consider that that question is one of the most difficult to investigate in this country, and that no answer can be given by any one person on this subject. I have any amount of statistics of different sorts given me as to the cost of producing this and that crop and the profits of this and that crop, but I consider they are only worth accepting for the particular locality for which they are given. When you take into consideration the large area over which the poppy is grown, and the differences of climate and soil and irrigation, I think it would be very dangerous for me or any one man on general information to give a reply to your question. I think it would require a very close and detailed investigation by a large number of officers to obtain any approximate information as to what the real value in cash is of any crop; and even think it would be difficult to get a satisfactory answer, because it is very difficult to value the labour of the cultivators and their families. The opium cultivator *par excellence*, a market gardener, employs on his field his wife, and all the people of the house, even down to the small children of three or four years of age; and it is very difficult to value their labour. But when you come to the cultivator of a higher caste, he will allow neither his women nor his children to go out into the fields, and he therefore has to hire labour. You will thus see the difference between the profits which that man would make and the profits which the market gardener who uses the whole of his household for working up a crop would make.

5261. With reference to tobacco, I understand that you regard it as the chief competitor, on what you call the market garden land, with the poppy?—I do.

5262. Could you tell us with your knowledge of Northern India whether any large extension of the market for Indian tobacco could be anticipated if a large area were suddenly brought under tobacco?—This is also a very difficult question to answer. The demand within India itself I cannot conceive will be likely to increase to such an extent as to admit any very large quantity of tobacco being substituted for opium. On the other hand, tobacco goes from Tirhoot, Bungepore and Purneah in the British Indian steamers to Burma and the Straits, and I cannot say how far the market ought not to extend in that direction.

5263. The question of a market is a point that would have to be considered?—Yes, it is a point that would have to be very carefully considered. It certainly could not be assumed that if you do away very suddenly with opium the whole of the first class or market garden land which is suited for tobacco as well as for opium could at once be put under tobacco.

5264. It has been stated that the acreage so much land is kept on of production of cereals, and also that this acreage could be devoted to cotton. I should like your opinion upon those general statements?—Cotton is not grown as a staple crop between Benares and Patna, and it could not be substituted therefore in that part of the opium-growing tracts. Further north-west the cotton is grown on land which would not be given up to opium or root crops; but it is grown on land of a different quality, not so heavily manured. I, therefore, do not consider that cotton would come in as a substitute for opium at all.

5265. What do you say as to the acreage now under poppy being used generally for the production of cereals? You have already said that on what you call market garden land cereals would not take the place of poppy?—No, they would not.

5266. You do not consider cereals as competitors with opium except on the second class land to some extent? You said, I think, that cereals or sugarcane might take its place on that land; is that correct?—That is right, but I do not think cereals would pay the cultivator anything like as much as opium does.

5267. Even if the same area could be brought under wheat cultivation, do you think that this wheat would be grown for export or only for consumption in the country?—I think it would be grown mainly for export. The food-grain of the country would not be grown on that land except so far as Indian corn is now grown for local consumption.

5268. You have spoken once or twice of the cultivators drawing advances without interest; you would recognise, would you not, that if these advances were not made, Government would have to make some change in the price of the opium?—I cannot conceive that it would not be so. The cultivator who willingly comes forward to grow opium, takes into account the advantage he gets by this cash

Sir E. C.
Buck, C.S.I.
5 Dec. 1893.

- Sir B. C. advance without interest as well as the price which he receives for his opium.
5269. I suppose the quantity of water used for opium containing nitrates is limited?—It is limited in a very marked way; it is only in wells, which are in very thickly populated sites, that these particular ingredients are found. There are in the opium-growing country of the North-West and Oudh districts a very large number indeed of old sites which are now barely visible, but which were inhabited, and very thickly inhabited, hundreds and, perhaps, thousands of years ago. It is in these old sites that you also find this very valuable water. Round these wells as a rule you will see nothing but tobacco and opium, and other high class market garden crops.
5270. I believe you have had some special opportunities of studying the poppy cultivation in the North-West apart from your general agricultural knowledge?—I was Settlement Officer in two opium districts—Cawpore and Farukhabad.
5271. So that you have been brought into direct connection with opium growing apart from your general knowledge of agriculture?—In these two districts, where I was Settlement Officer, I saw every opium field grown in every village.
5272. I should like this point to be quite clear. You have warned us about the danger of generalising. Your remarks I presume apply to the Benares Agency, that is, to the poppy-growing districts in the North-West?—Except where I spoke of cotton, my remarks apply entirely to that part of the North-West in which I was Settlement Officer.
5273. From the papers before us it appears that there are 550,000 cultivators, in round numbers, in the Benares Agency employed on opium cultivation; what would your experience be as to whether the cultivation on their part is voluntary or not?—I was seven years Settlement Officer in the two districts I have named, and no case has been brought to my notice of cultivators being forced to cultivate against their will. I have known many anxious to cultivate, and I have known others who for caste reasons have objected to cultivate, but I do not remember that they were ever forced to do so. There is certainly an objection with some castes to cultivate opium on the score of religion, just as there is an objection to their cultivating indigo and root crops.
5274. That objection would hardly touch the present point, that men are actually cultivating opium more or less under compulsion, as it is suggested?—No; my point is that the only objection I have ever heard is on the score of religious, i.e., caste prejudices. I have never heard any other cultivator object on any ground to growing opium; and I have never heard of any compulsion being used, even to those who object on the score of religious prejudice.
5275. (Mr. Wilson.) Will you tell us to whom do the tin mines at Taipeng belong?—They are let out by the State to contractors; some contractors are Chinese capitalists.
5276. In what way did your visit lead subsequently to Mr. Hall going there?—Because by geologists there was known to be tin in considerable quantities in the neighbouring districts of the Lower Burma Province.
5277. You directed attention to that?—Yes.
5278. And it has led to the opening up of tin mines in the districts of Burma since?—Yes.
5279. You say that the whole resident population is under supervision by British officials, and further on you say that the Chinese doctors have been eliminated. By whom or how have they been eliminated?—The only information I can give is from Mr. Hall's report.
5280. We shall be glad to hear it.—“The hospitals in Perak have tended to make the Chinese contented and to give the country a good name. The hospital at Taipeng was started by subscription. Later a small annual contribution was made compulsory, but that is no longer levied. When the first buildings were put up the people said they would like to have Chinese doctors. If their request had been acceded to, the hospital would probably never have become a success, whereas miners now gladly avail themselves of it. The Chinese doctors arrived and were put in charge of some wards, while one building was reserved for an English doctor. In the wards under the Chinese doctors there was not a single instance of recovery from beri-beri, while in the rooms under the care of the English doctors many recovered. The Chinese doctors were allowed to retire, and the success of the establishment was assured. Before the hospital was built the miners were not allowed to remain in their huts when they became seriously ill. It was considered a piece of ill-luck if any one died in the lines. So the sick man was taken into the jungle and there deserted. The hospitals
- then have naturally helped to make Perak popular with the Chinese immigrant.”
5281. That does not quite clear it up?—The doctors were allowed to retire from the hospital.
5282. It does not say whether they desired it?—Apparently the Chinese patients preferred to be treated by the English doctors on account of their greater success, and there was no further object in keeping the Chinese doctors.
5283. You have been seven years Settlement Officer?—Yes.
5284. Where?—In the Cawpore and Farukhabad districts in the North-West Provinces.
5285. They are opium districts?—Yes.
5286. How long ago was that?—Between 1866 and 1873.
5287. I believe it is the case that opium used to be grown in many parts where it is now prohibited?—I know there are certain districts in which opium was grown and in which the opium area was restricted. In certain areas opium is not grown now where it was grown.
5288. I am speaking of the provinces, Assam, for instance?—I have no information on that subject.
5289. Were there not certain districts or tracts in the North-West where opium was grown and where it is now not grown?—There were tracts.
5290. Can you tell us the general grounds on which the present districts were selected as opium-growing districts, while it was prohibited in other places?—The districts which were selected for opium-growing were more highly supplied with the kinds of manure which are required for opium, and therefore with a class of cultivators who are better able to grow opium than others. Where you find a larger quantity of those nitrate manures either in a solid or a liquid form, and where you find thickly populated tracts, there you find the market gardening class and they are *excellence* the opium cultivators. The districts were, I believe, selected mainly on these grounds.
5291. You have referred to the chemical constituents of water. Have you many analyses of those waters?—I sent on some as Settlement Officer to the Chemical Examiner in Calcutta, and when Dr. Volcker was out here he had some more analyses, and they are published in his report which has recently arrived at our office.
5292. You had the analyses before those?—Yes.
5293. Will you put them in?—Yes.
5294. Do you think that water of that character is specially prevalent in the districts where opium is now grown?—It is specially prevalent in the districts in which I had my local experience.
5295. Have you any reason to suppose that it is more prevalent in the districts in which you had your local experience than in any other parts of India?—I think it is prevalent in a great deal of the tract to which I have drawn attention as highly populated.
5296. I take it that that is another way of saying that the soil is saturated with the produce of past generations?—Yes; past generations, and often long past generations, for it takes a long time for these chemical constituents to form.
5297. You have referred in your last paragraph to the statement that this opium cultivation is an advantage, and that the advances are an advantage to the cultivators; can you tell us the grounds on which they have sometimes objected to cultivate?—The only ground that has come to my notice as Settlement Officer is that of religious, i.e., caste prejudices.
5298. You are aware that there has been considerable difficulty at times in connection with it?—It has never been brought to my personal notice as an official.
5299. Has it come within your knowledge whether as an official or not?—Not until the subject has been raised within the last two or three weeks. I have never heard of an objection before.
5300. I have a letter before me from the Government of India, dated Department of Finance and Commerce, December 10th, 1881, in which it is said that vigorous attempts were being made by the Benares Opium Agent to extend the cultivation of the poppy in the Allahabad and Mirzapore districts, but that the attempt had resulted in utter failure. You were not aware of that?—No.
5301. It goes on to quote a letter from Mr. Rivett-Carnac: “The cultivators said that they had been badly

treated in old days, that they did not understand the cultivation, and that they had other crops that paid them well, and they wanted no change."—That I can quite believe. I should think that is probably a very genuine and true objection.

5302. How would you reconcile that with the assertion as to the advantage that it is to them?—The country in which I had my local experience, as I said just now, is peculiarly full of land fitted for opium and of market gardening classes who are able to grow opium. Not only do they take to it readily as their natural profession, but the cultivators round them, having an example before them, find it easy to copy. In those districts where cultivation has not for a long time been practised, or has perhaps never been practised, the cultivators who are unaccustomed to the cultivation of a crop which requires a peculiar amount of special skill and knowledge, would naturally object to be troubled with growing it.

5303. The letter that I have referred to was preceded by a letter from the India Office by Lord Hartington, dated London, January 18th, in which he appeared to accept the idea that there was a great difficulty in getting cultivators in Bengal. You were not aware of that?—I was not aware of that. My observation about the objections to growing had reference to the locality in which no conditions of the kind existed and in which they were only asked to grow opium under conditions which were acceptable to them.

5304. I will read you a few lines of the letter: "the papers now under review shew that in addition to the influences which it was thought in 1868 threatened the stability of this source of revenue others have now arisen which demand the serious consideration of your Government. One of these is the competition in Bengal of other crops more profitable than poppy, in consequence of which some of the cultivators do not now exhibit the same eagerness for the Government advances as formerly." That never came to your notice?—Never.

5305. Will you explain to us whether the question of higher rents and the higher land-tax which I believe prevail in some of those lands attaches to the crop or to the particular plot of land?—The higher rents belong primarily to the particular spot of land and its accessibility to manure and irrigation, and secondly to the character of the cultivator put on the land. One of those market gardeners, for instance, would pay more than an ordinary cultivator. These are the two first considerations. The third consideration is the character of the irrigation and the character of the manures which it contains.

5306. If a cultivator who had been in the habit of growing poppy ceased to grow poppy, would there be any alteration made either in his rent or in his land-tax?—I doubt very much whether the landlord would reduce his rent, and on a great deal of the land, I do not think they would be bound to do so; but I think there must be a very material amount of land on which the poppy is now grown and in which, if cultivation was closed, the loss would be so material to the cultivator that he could not pay the same rent as before, or he would have a claim under the law to have his rent reduced.

5307. Under what law?—Under the Rent law.

5308. Can you give us a reference?—I would rather put forward my opinion as a basis for inquiry on this point. I cannot give a decisive answer whether the law Courts would or would not hold it as sufficient ground, but I have a strong idea that the cultivator would have a claim.

5309. Perhaps you can tell me whether within your knowledge there has ever been such a claim made in cases where cultivators have been refused the right to grow opium where they had previously grown it?—I have never known of such a claim; on the other hand I may say as a Settlement Officer who was required to assess fair rents for the fields, I always took the fact that opium cultivation was going on in a particular land as a ground for fixing the particular assessment of that land; it entered into the calculation.

5310. It was evidence so far of the quality of the land?—It was.

5311. You said that a crop of Indian corn could be got on the land the same year as the opium?—Yes, Indian corn or maize.

5312. Would there be any other crop that could be substituted for maize as following opium?—Maize precedes opium.

Sir E. C.
Buck, U.S.I
5 Dec. 1893.

5313. Is maize the only crop or the most suitable crop that precedes opium?—Maize is the only valuable crop that could be grown in the same year with opium. I think there are crops of less value that can be grown in the same year; millets could be grown in the same year.

5314. Suppose that opium was not grown, how many crops could be cultivated on these market gardens in the year?—It depends very much on what crop is substituted. If tobacco is substituted in the districts of which I have spoken, Indian corn could be grown preceding the tobacco. That is not the case with tobacco grown in the more easterly part of the opium tracts, where tobacco is put on the ground at the same time as opium.

5315. I have heard that in certain parts, three crops can be gathered from the land in the same year?—It is only on very exceptional land that three crops can be raised.

5316. Would it be possible on opium land?—Only on a small percentage of it.

5317. With reference to the maps which you put in, would you explain again the relations that you seek to establish between the two maps in regard to the growth of opium and the density of the population?—One of the greatest difficulties in this country is to know what to do with the surplus population in these very crowded tracts. A special inquiry was made in Lord Dufferin's time as to what could be done and whether tracts could be found to which these people could emigrate, but that was found impossible. It is one of the great difficulties of the day to know how to relieve the population of the tracts which are shown in this map as the most densely populated.

5318. How do you connect that with poppy cultivation?—The five million rupees going into their hands every year enable them to carry on their agriculture with greater ease than they would if they had to carry it on without that capital; they would then have to get some capital from the money-lenders at a much higher interest which means that their circumstances would be very much less prosperous; or they would not be able to get any capital at all, and would find it very difficult to grow paying crops.

5319. But in the cases in which it appeared that they did not want to cultivate opium, it is quite clear they did not appreciate those advantages?—I can give no answer to that, because in the districts in which all my experience was collected I have never known an instance of an objection to cultivate being overruled, or any objection being raised except on the ground of religious prejudice.

5320. Of course we might conclude that if the objections here alleged really arose, it was after you had left this district?—I have not mentioned any districts which I think are alluded to there. I have only given my evidence in respect to the two districts with which I was locally acquainted.

5321. Did I understand you to say that cotton is not grown or could not be grown between Benares and Patna?—There is a very inferior kind of cotton grown between Benares and Patna, but it is not a valuable crop, and the climate is not conducive to cotton growing.

5322. (Mr. Haridas Voharidas.) Do those classes who have a very religious objection to grow poppy occasionally grow it?—They have come to grow it—both Brahmins and Bhakurs; they have begun to grow it, I will not say to a large extent, in that part of the country in which I have worked.

5323. Do they grow poppy every year or in rotation?—I believe in rotation, except on the best lands; there they may grow it every year.

5324. Are there not two kinds of poppy, one grown by the rains and one by irrigation?—No, not in my experience. I do not know of any poppy grown in the districts with which I am acquainted except in the season of cold weather.

5325. You do not know whether the poppy is grown in the rainy season?—Not in the districts in which I worked.

The witness withdrew.

MAHARAJA GIRIJA NATH ROY of Dinajpur called in and examined.

The
Maharaja
of Dinajpur.
5 Dec. 1893.

5326. (The Maharaja of Darbhanga.) You say that there is a large population in Bengal who consume opium?—Yes, the opium-consuming portion of the population of Bengal is very large. Opium is taken here in lump, or with water, or smoked.

5327. What is the effect of opium morally on the people?—I have not seen people becoming more immoral by taking opium, nor have I seen them suffering physically by using it. Opium taken in moderate doses, particularly after 40 years of age, rather benefits than injures the constitution. Excessive indulgence in opium, like excessive indulgence in other things, is always followed by evil effects.

5328. What do you say about its use for non-medical purposes?—It is very difficult to get hold of an opium-eater who will admit that he takes opium for non-medical purposes. In fact 99 per cent. of opium-eaters whom I met complained to me of having suffered from dysentery, diarrhoea, rheumatism, etc., prior to their taking the drug.

5329. What is the opinion of the people with regard to opium-eating?—The people of this country do not, as a rule, detest the people who eat opium either for medical or non-medical purposes. Opium-smoking, however, is considered somewhat disreputable.

5330. What is the opinion of the people with regard to prohibitive measures in reference to the consumption of opium?—The people of this province are not at all willing to bear in whole or in part the cost of prohibitive measures, as consumption of opium is confined to a very small section of the community and does not constitute a widespread and serious evil for the removal of which the society is over-anxious.

The prohibition of the growth of poppy plants will bring serious losses to the landlords and tenants of the opium-producing portions of the country; and the prohibition of the sale and manufacture of opium will prove a source of greatest inconvenience to the consumers of the drug, and produce serious discontent among them. As, therefore, the number of persons interested in the manufacture and sale of opium is not very inconsiderable, discontent among them is not at all desirable. Nor is the absolute prohibition of the sale and manufacture of opium at all possible.

5331. Do you think that the present obstacles that are now put by Government in the way of selling opium are sufficient?—The Government has already thrown

serious obstacles in the way of easy procurability of the drug by restricting its sale to particular persons, places and time. Any further improvement in the regulation of opium traffic, unattended with increased expenditure, would be welcome.

5332. (Mr. Wilson.) Will you tell us how the prohibition of the growth of opium would bring serious loss to the landlords?—The landlords get a higher revenue for the class of land where the poppy is grown.

5333. Would they have to reduce the rent?—They will have to reduce the rents; those lands will not fetch so much.

5334. Does it sometimes happen that the ryots are not allowed to grow all the opium that they apply for, and do the landlords in these cases reduce the rents?—I do not know.

5335. Do you know of any case in which the landlord has reduced the rent to a ryot who did not get the same amount in one year that he got the previous year?—I can not say. My experience of opium cultivation is rather limited; I have seen it only in Behar. I have not seen it in any other district.

5336. You do not know much about its cultivation?—No.

5337. Why do you say it would bring serious loss if you do not understand it?—I have heard from gentlemen residing in the opium-producing districts and friends of mine. I have received several letters from them stating that prohibition will cause serious loss to the landlords as well as to the tenants.

5338. That is what other gentlemen have told you?—Yes, the zemindars and the tenants say so.

5339. They have told you so?—Yes.

5340. You referred to the absolute prohibition of sale and manufacture: I suppose you know that no one has ever proposed that?—No, I was aware of it. I did not mean absolute prohibition, but I referred to much reduction in the area of cultivation that will follow reduction in quantity of sale and manufacture.

5341. I suppose you had Mr. Lyall's circular of invitation to prepare your statement?—I received a letter from him.

5342. (Mr. Fanshawe.) I think you have no opium cultivation on your own estates?—No.

5343. You have no personal acquaintance with that part of the subject?—No.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 10-30.

At the Council Chamber, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

NINETEENTH DAY.

Tuesday, 6th December 1893.

PRESENT :

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B. (CHAIRMAN, PRESIDING).

MR. A. U. FANSHAWE.
HARIDAS VEHARIDAS DESAI.

MR. H. J. WILSON, M.P.

MR. J. PRESCOTT HEWITT, C.I.E., Secretary.

MR. H. S. HOWARD called in and examined.

Mr. H. S.
Howard.
6 Dec. 1893.

5344. (Chairman.) The Commission is prepared to receive the evidence which is tendered to us on the opium question in connection with China, and we have arranged to give you an opportunity of making a brief statement in behalf of the important firm which you represent. In our

view, however, the inquiry in relation to China can scarcely be dealt with satisfactorily here in Calcutta. The information which the Commission must possess before it can come to any conclusions with reference to China must be obtained either by communications with China, with the Consular body

and other independent authorities, or else by a personal visit on the part of certain members of the Commission to Singapore, and possibly some of the Treaty Ports in China. I believe you are a member of the firm of Messrs. David Sassoon & Co. P.—Yes.

5345. You desire to give us information with reference to the trade in opium with the Straits Settlements P.—Yes, as far as I possess it.

5346. Will you kindly give us any particulars which you consider it is important for us to have P.—Singapore and Penang take about 14,000 chests of opium annually. For local consumption the authorities there grant a license to the farmers, and about 250 chests are consumed monthly, the rest being exported to the Native States, the Malay Peninsula and China. The Dutch and French Authorities buy their opium direct from Calcutta at the Government sales. The former take 1,000 chests yearly for shipment to Batavia, and the latter about 2,500 chests for Saigon. I am not aware of the excise arrangements under which the opium trade is controlled in the Dutch and French possessions. To Hongkong about 26,000 chests are exported annually from Calcutta. The farming system under which opium is retained in Singapore prevails in Hongkong, where the local consumption of the drug is not very large. The bulk of this opium is bought by the Chinese and sent by them into the interior of China. The importers also ship to the Treaty Ports of China by paying a duty of 30 taels per picul by the Chinese customs. When taken into the interior by the Chinese there is a further tax of 110 taels per picul imposed by the Chinese Government. During my stay of 18 years in China I came in contact with several Chinese belonging to the better classes who smoke opium, viz., merchants, Mandarins, etc., and I have never found them to be the worse for indulging in the drug. On the contrary, they always showed great aptitude for work after a smoke, and completed intricate calculations while yet under influence of the drug. The labourers, too, are more inclined for hard work after their opium pipe. I cannot, however, say that I have not seen specimens of enfeebled Chinese humanity, but these invariably have belonged to the poorer classes, who, while in want of nourishing food, are still addicted to the deleterious, wild, indigenous drug. I have also seen many Indians eat opium, and when they are well nourished they always have a robust and healthy appearance.

5347. Have you any information to give us as to the proportion of the opium consumed in China which is produced locally, as compared with the amount imported from India P.—The country-grown opium of China is about four times the amount shipped from India, and every Chinese opium-dealer with whom I have had an opportunity of conversing has told me that Indian opium is universally regarded as superior to Chinese opium in respect of flavour and body. The Chinese opium, moreover, could not be used to advantage without a small admixture of the Indian drug, and the wealthier classes alone are able to indulge in this.

5348. Can you give us any information as to the opinion which would be entertained in China if a policy of prohibition of the trade were to be adopted P.—Were the importation of Indian opium into China to be interdicted by either

the British or the Chinese Government, it would be regarded by the Chinese nation as a very severe hardship, and might indeed produce disastrous results. The Anti-Opium Society would be doing more harm than good. By being deprived of opium of good quality, the Chinese who are in the habit of smoking will have to fall back upon their own drug. The consumption would, in that case, by no means decrease even by a single grain. On the contrary, it is very probable that they will use almost double the quantity, as their opium contains neither the flavour nor the strength of the Indian drug. The ultimate effects would be most injurious to their general health and constitution. They would suffer in much the same manner as those who are addicted to drink superior brands would, were they obliged to consume inferior liquors. To prohibit good opium would be as sensible as to interdict wholesome liquor. I have never heard of riots in China on account of opium. I was in Tientsin during the massacre in 1870. Opium was not the cause, but something else in which the foreigners were concerned.

5349. (Mr. Wilson.) Is your firm connected with the opium trade P.—Yes.

5350. Is it one of the principal shippers P.—Yes.

5351. Were you in China for thirteen years P.—Yes.

5352. Where P.—At Shanghai, Tientsin, Ningpo, Foochow, Amoy, Satow and Hongkong.

5353. You did not reside in all those places P.—No, I resided in Shanghai, Tientsin, Ningpo, and I visited the other places for a month or, perhaps, fifteen days.

5354. Did you come in contact with any persons in China who objected to the opium trade P.—No.

5355. You never heard of any objection to it P.—No.

5356. When did you first become aware that there was any kind of opposition in China P.—I never heard of any opposition to opium.

5357. Never till this moment P.—Never.

5358. (Mr. Fanshawe.) When you speak of opium being exported from the Straits to the Native States, I presume you refer to the Native States under British protection in the Malay Peninsula P.—I suppose so, and others perhaps, under the Dutch Government.

5359. Can you give any information as to the number of the Chinese population in the Malay Peninsula and these Native States P.—No, I cannot.

5360. You say that you have been brought into personal contact with Chinese of the better classes P.—Yes.

5361. In what light is opium-smoking regarded by them P.—It is regarded by them only as pleasure: they smoke it for pleasure.

5362. From a moral point of view how do they regard it P.—They do not think that they are doing anything wrong in smoking opium.

5363. Messrs. David Sassoon & Co. I suppose, have other business than shipping opium P.—Yes.

5364. What is their general class of business P.—They do business in opium, twist, piece-goods and metals,

The witness withdrew.

Mr. STRAGER called in and examined.

Mr. Strager.

5365. (Chairman.) To what firm do you belong P.—Messrs. Grünberg Brothers.

5366. Have you had any personal experience enabling you to form a judgment with reference to the effects of the opium habit upon the Chinese population P.—During the past five years I have frequently visited the Straits, Cochinchina, Siam, and once Hongkong and Batavia. On some visits I have mixed very freely amongst the Chinese, but I cannot recall a single instance of having come across a Chinaman that was incapacitated through smoking opium. On these visits to and from the Straits, the steamers I travelled by never carried less than 300—400 Chinese deck passengers between Penang and Singapore, sometimes as many as 500—600, mostly coolies. I observed opium-smoking to be almost universal amongst them, and have often watched them smoking, but never noticed it to produce any bad effects on them. In our Singapore office we employ Chinese clerks and a Chinese cashier. Our cashier, who is an old man, told me that he smokes opium regularly. I have never noticed him to be indolent; he is a very shrewd man, and has been in our employ over four years. Like all other of the better class Chinese that I have met, this

man is intelligent, cheerful and bright witted. I have frequently visited the Chinese merchants with whom we do business in Singapore and all the other ports I have been to. Some of them are fine muscular men, although known to me to be habitual opium-smokers. I have sometimes been called into their private rooms, where I have seen them smoking opium, reclining on an easy chair. I never noticed them unable to discuss freely on the subject of my visit and express their views in a clear and business-like way. All the Chinese merchants I have met are good business men with sharp faculties. In our godowns we employ a number of Chinese coolies; these are very illiterate men, but I have never known them to make an error in delivering the wrong goods out of any warehouse. These men are known to me to be regular opium-smokers. I have never found them indolent; in fact, they much prefer to do their work by contract, which through their industry gives them a far better return. Physically, these men are not as a rule well developed, but I have often been surprised at their carrying power. I have noticed two such men carry a bale of goods weighing from 1,000 to 1,200 lb. All Chinese handicraftsmen are said to smoke opium

Mr. Strager. regularly after their day's work; of such men I have seen a good deal, and have no hesitation in saying of them, that they are by far more practical and better men at their work than any others that I have met outside of Europe.

5367. Do you know anything as to the length of life among the Chinese with whom you have been in contact?—I do not know of any reliable statistics on that point, but I have met very old men and very hardy men amongst those that I have come in contact with.

5368. Do you know anything of Java?—Yes.

5369. What are the regulations which apply to opium in Java?—Opium is contraband into Java; the countries requirements, about 700 chests a year, are imported by the Government direct from Calcutta and supplied to any opium farmer who pays the Government a royalty for the right to manufacture and retail it.

5370. Can you give us any particulars of regulations affecting the trade of opium with Siam?—The excise arrangements since the beginning of this year are similar to those at Singapore. The opium farmer pays a royalty for the right to manufacture and retail of opium. Nobody but the opium farmer has a right to import opium into Siam.

5371. What is your estimate of the consumption of opium in Siam?—The consumption of opium in Siam is between 1,000 and 1,200 chests a year.

5372. Do you know anything of the regulations in force at Cochin-China and Tonquin?—The consumption is 2,300 to 2,500 chests a year, which is imported direct from Calcutta. The Government manufacture it themselves and pack it in small quantities ready for use, which they sell at a fixed price to consumers.

5373. Would you compare the arrangement which obtained in Java and Cochin-China on a small scale) with the working of the opium trade in this country under the system known as the Bengal monopoly?—I have not studied the question of the trade in this country at all.

5374. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I have been informed that it is not unusual with Chinese merchants in making business arrangements to have a smoke so as to make them a little more prepared for doing their business; have you noticed that?—I cannot say that I have noticed it.

5375. Will you tell me exactly what you mean by saying that opium is contraband into Java and into Cochin-China?—The importation is prohibited except by the Government. Only the Government have a right to import opium.

5376. What do you mean by the phrase "the right to manufacture"—what is the manufacture?—The opium, as it is exported from here, is not in the state or condition in which it is consumed in the places that I have visited. It goes through the process of manufacture to make it ready for smoking. I do not know the name they give it, but it is certainly made more in a liquid state than the state in which it leaves Calcutta.

5377. Then I may take it that, speaking generally, your evidence here relates to smoking as distinguished

The witness withdrew.

Mr. A. E. J. Abraham.

Mr. A. E. J. ABRAHAM called in and examined.

5394. (*Chairman.*) I believe you see a member of the firm of Messrs. A. E. J. Abraham & Company?—Yes.

5395. What is the nature of your business?—We ship opium, and we do a little business in gunny bags and a little in jute. It is a new firm established within the last three years.

5396. I believe you wish to give us some information with regard to the excise arrangements in Hongkong and China?—I can only speak from hearsay with regard to the excise arrangements in Hongkong; I do not know anything from personal knowledge.

5397. Then will you tell us about any Settlements of which you have personal knowledge?—Yes, Shanghai and Hankow.

5398. Will you tell us what are the arrangements at those ports?—Before the ratification of the Chefoo Convention, opium used to be stored in bond and had to pay a duty of 30 taels per picul on being landed, nothing more. Since the ratification of the Chefoo Convention the sum of 80 taels has been added as *litim* dues, bringing up the whole amount to 110 taels. In this I have to correct Mr. Howard, because I think he said that *litim* dues were not paid until

from eating?—I have very little knowledge of the effects of opium-eating amongst the men I have come in contact with. I have heard that when the Chinese eat it, they take it medicinally.

5378. Your evidence relates chiefly to smoking?—Certainly.

5379. (*Mr. Fanshawe.*) You have spoken of employing Chinese coolies in your godowns. Will you tell us in what places these godowns are?—They are at Singapore.

5380. Have you a branch of your firm at Singapore?—Yes.

5381. Have you been able to form any opinion as to the light in which opium-smoking is regarded by Chinese of the better classes?—Purely as a luxury, from what I have heard from them.

5382. Not causing any harm bodily or mentally?—Not from my observations.

5383. That is their own opinion?—They put it down as a healthy luxury.

5384. You have spoken of handicraftsmen: to what classes of handicraftsmen do you refer particularly?—Masons, carpenters, painters, and engravers.

5385. Have you any information as to opium being re-exported from the Straits Settlements to China?—It can go anywhere from Singapore without being stopped, provided a pass is obtained from the opium farmer.

5386. You are not aware whether it is sent to China, or how much goes to China, re-exported from the Straits to China?—No, I don't think any goes direct to China from Singapore.

5387. Will you explain the exact connection of your firm with the China trade, and tell us whether you carry on any other business?—We do a large business in gunny bags and in the rice trade, also a large business in precious stones, which is our principal business in the East.

5388. (*Mr. Wilson.*) In the course of your travels have you heard of any kind of antipathy or opposition to the introduction of opium or the use of opium?—Not amongst the men I have come in contact with—not amongst the Chinese.

5389. Amongst whom?—Europeans when we have talked over the subject casually.

5390. What do they say?—Some Europeans have thought that it was injurious, and others that it was not. When I mention Europeans I mean tourists that I have travelled with.

5391. I understand from what you said to Mr. Fanshawe that your firm exports opium amongst other things?—That is only a small branch of our business.

5392. (*Mr. Fanshawe.*) Are you the contractors for the French Government?—Yes.

5393. Is that the only opium business that you transact?—No, we have a very small business outside of that.

it was taken into the interior. That used to be the custom before the ratification of the Chefoo Convention, but not after. The different municipal councils, as far as I recollect, licensed the opium shops; they charged so much per shop beyond this I do not think there is any excise duty.

5399. Have you resided long in China?—Ten years—eight years at Shanghai and nearly two years at Hankow.

5400. Did your experience enable you to form any opinion as to the effect of the opium habit on the Chinese?—Yes, I came in contact with men who smoked opium; I saw them nearly every day that I was there, but I did not see that it did them any injury, or that it showed in any way that they were habitual smokers. I have seen rickshaw coolies, coolies that carry opium, and coolies that land goods, men of all sorts, and my own house servants, who smoked opium, but I did not see that they suffered in any way.

5401. What do you think is the general belief entertained by the Chinese themselves with regard to the action now taken by the English Government in relation to the opium traffic in China—I mean with reference to the allegation which has been made that England is forcing the Chinese against their will to accept traffic in opium?

There is no foundation to that; they do not believe it at all. The Chinese used to smoke opium long before England introduced opium into China. They do not believe it at all; they laugh at it.

5402. Have you anything further to say with reference to the duties which are imposed upon the importation of opium into China?—Do you mean the special *likin* dues?—

5403. Yes.—I do not think that justice was done to India in ratifying that treaty. China was given a right to collect a duty which was not recognised till then as a legitimate maritime duty. The word "*likin*" means that the tax was levied for a special purpose.

5404. I believe that it was raised with the purpose of paying for the suppression of the Taipeng rebellion. I cannot vouch for it, and my memory is not very clear as to the meaning of the word "*likin*." But it was not a tax that could be levied on foreigners. It was not a tax recognised by the European powers. It was a tax levied by the Local Governments on Chinese subjects, and each province had its own *likin* dues. If the opium were shifted from one province to another it had to pay double *likin* dues; but as it is, the ratification of that treaty legalizes this duty, and the opium is handicapped in such a manner that no foreigner can land it even in godowns without paying the heavy duty of 110 taels per picul. If the opium is burnt or destroyed by sinking the boats, he is not only liable to pay the full amount of the duty and *likin*, but another duty is added as a penalty.

5405. Do you wish to be understood as coming here among other things, to make a protest against the arrangements that were accepted under the Chefoo Convention?—Quite so.

5406. (Mr. Wilson.) You say in one passage of your printed statement "In conclusion I wish to state that the popular belief that England forced opium on China is not credited by the Chinese themselves?"—Yes.

5407. The popular belief—where?—I mean the popular

belief in England that opium was forced on the Chinese is not believed by the Chinese. *Mr. A. E. J. Abraham.*

5408. What Chinese or what class of Chinese had you any conversation with, with reference to that particular point?—Opium merchants and Chinese in general. I cannot mention the exact class of men I have come across, but I have had conversations with different classes of Chinese on the subject who pooh-poohed this idea.

5409. They were tolerably well-informed men, intelligent men?—Intelligent men.

5410. But do you think that such an impression at all prevails amongst the mass of the population of China?—The masses as distinct from the classes have no ideas about these things themselves. They take opium to protect themselves against ailments and to help them to get on in this world, and they bother themselves very little whether it was forced on them by England or whether it is the natural product of the place. They take things as they come.

5411. When persons with whom you have had conversations have been contradicting and refuting this idea, did they at all admit that it prevailed to any extent amongst their own less educated countrymen?—No.

5412. Do you consider that the Chinese Government is at the present time under any obligation to England to admit opium?—None whatever.

5413. No obligation?—No.

5414. That they could, if they chose, exclude it?—Yes.

5415. Without violating any treaty rights?—Quite so.

5416. Is that the general opinion?—I cannot say; it is my opinion.

5417. That they might, if they pleased, impose an absolutely prohibitive duty, or exclude it without any duty at all?—Not that, but by imposing a prohibitive duty.

5418. They could not say point blank that they would not have it, but they could put on a prohibitive duty?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. R. M. COHEN called in and examined.

5419. (Chairman.) I believe you are a member of the firm of Messrs. David Sassoon & Co. P.—Yes, and Honorary Presidency Magistrate.

5420. May I ask whether you have resided in China, and for what period?—I have been in Singapore one year on the firm's business, and I resided in Shanghai six years, and four years in Neuchang, a province in Manchuria.

5421. From your personal experience derived from that length of residence among a Chinese population, what are the conclusions you have arrived at with reference to the effect of the opium habit upon the Chinese?—After their smoke they never seem any the worse. It calms them and they transact their business cheerfully and with a clear head. I have seen many aged Chinese who have been in the habit of smoking opium, and it has done them no harm. Our own Chinese servants smoke, and I have seen it in Chinese merchants' houses. I used to see them smoking the opium, and then they would transact their business. I have no reason to think that opium produces any bad effect. With regard to laborers, I myself had some experience in Neuchang. The river gets frozen there for three or four months, so that there is no navigation. We have to send our letters by couriers on a very long journey, and it takes days to reach certain places. The only person who can take this journey is a Chinese man who smokes opium, because the weather is so very cold, sometimes 16 or 18 below zero. In my opinion it is the opium which serves him as a stimulant. It is not only the case with men, but I have seen females as well as males smoking opium, and I have not seen any ill-effect from it. I never saw a China lad smoking opium.

5422. That is the general effect of your testimony as to the effect of opium upon the Chinese?—Yes. Soldiers also used to come to the merchants' houses and smoke opium, and I never saw any vice in them during my ten years in China. I never had occasion to dismiss a servant on account of opium, nor have I heard of any Chinaman committing any offence under the influence of opium. I never dismissed any one for being unfit because he smoked opium.

5423. As to the general conditions of health among the Chinese, do you think they are satisfactory?—They take opium as a luxury. They smoke it in our office premises,

and at our residence. It is a fashion with them, and since they have taken to it for a long time it has become a sort of necessary of life. If we deprive them of the Indian drug I think we shall do injustice, especially to high class people; and besides that we shall be raising the prices in China, and there will be more cultivation of the poppy there. It is quite true that the Indian drug will be neglected afterwards, but owing to the adulteration of the drug in China and a higher price in the absence of Indian opium, the people will suffer a great deal, and there will be robbers and others doing mischief simply because people are deprived of their opium. As India is shipping such a large quantity to China, it is a help to them and it keeps down cultivation there to a certain extent, because they do not know what the crop will be in India.

5424. (Mr. Wilson.) Did I understand you to say that you were connected with the same firm as the first witness Mr. Howard?—Yes, we are both managers to the firm.

5425. (Mr. Fasshawe.) I understand that about 1,200 chests of Bengal opium are exported monthly to the Straits Settlements?—Yes.

5426. And that some number are re-exported to China?—Yes.

5427. Can you tell us generally how many chests are re-exported to China from the Straits or from Singapore?—I cannot say exactly. I think about 300 or 400 chests are shipped from Singapore to China, a good proportion in Chinese boats. In order to avoid the heavy duty levied in China they try to smuggle in Chinese boats risking their life and property simply to avoid the heavy duty.

5428. When you say 300 or 400 chests, do you mean in the year?—In the month. Lately in Penang there has been an increase of 40 or 50 per cent. in the consumption of opium.

5429. (Mr. Wilson.) Do I understand that opium is more easily smuggled out of Chinese ships than it would be out of English ships?—Yes, because English ships go direct to Hongkong, and they keep a register of all the opium landed there; while the Chinese can go here and there.

Mr. E. M. COHEN.

Mr. B. M. Cohen. 5430. (Chairman.) Have you anything further that you wish to add from a mercantile point of view?—Judging from a mercantile point of view, I should say that, by Government keeping the monopoly as hitherto, it will decidedly support the opium trade. Besides, Government has the means of knowing the exact quantity of the output of the crop, and restricting the same when needed. They could also limit local consumption and smuggling, and supply to the consumers in India and in China opium of the usual standard quality. It is a harmless drug if taken moderately, and I do not see why the Government should do away with its monopoly without a just cause; any change in the present system of manufacturing will raise suspicion in the minds of the Chinese, and they will

be unwilling to deal in Bengal opium as they do now-a-days. The effect of any change will be less consumption in China to the loss of all concerned in the opium trade in India, Government included. Morally, Government will be held responsible for the loss of this trade to its subjects. In my opinion it is the duty of the Government of India to give its support to the opium trade and sustain it in the interests of the country. I may add that by stopping the supply from India, Persia will take the lead. There have been already 10,000 chests of Persian opium freely imported into China, and if we stop shipping opium, Persia will take the lead. There will also be an increase in the cultivation of the poppy in China. So that so good will be done to the Chinese by our stopping it.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. L. S. Khoo.
Mr. Iyak.
Mr. Kup Ate.
Mr. Pin Yen.
Mr. Assow.

Mr. LIM SIN KHOO
MR. IYAK
Mr. KUP ATE
Mr. PIN YEN
Mr. ASSOW

called in and examined (through an interpreter).

5431. (Chairman.) What are the occupations of these five witnesses?—(Mr. Girard.) One is a book-keeper with Messrs. Eng Hong & Co.; another is a Chinaman of Bentinck Street with a large firm of boot and shoe-makers; another is a Doctor of Medicine; another is a Professor of Chinese, a Schoolmaster, and another is a priest of the Chinese Church in Calcutta.

5432. (Chairman.) I would ask the witnesses what they know regarding the extent to which opium is consumed by the people of China as a medicine, as a stimulant, and as a febrifuge, and what, in their opinion, is the effect of such consumption on the moral and physical well-being of the people. (The Interpreter.) The speaker (Mr. Pin Yen) says that some use opium as medicine and some smoke it.

5433. Does it do them good in the case of certain diseases?—Not all diseases, but for some diseases it is very good.

5434. What do they say is their opinion as to the effect of opium-smoking upon the Chinese generally? Do they think that it does them harm?—Smoking does not do them harm.

5435. Do they think it does them good?—For some sick persons it is very good.

5436. What do they think about it in cases where people are in good health? Is it good for them?—It is not harmful.

5437. Are there many cases among their fellow countrymen in which people smoke to excess and do themselves harm?—If any man takes too much it does him harm.

5438. (Mr. Wilson.) Where does Mr. Pin Yen practise medicine?—In Canton.

5439. Why is he in Calcutta?—He came to see some relations.

5440. Does he smoke himself?—No.

5441. Why?—He says he does not require it.

5442. Would he be better in health if he smoked?—If he were sick it would be very good.

5443. (Mr. Fanshawe.) I should like to ask another witness (Kup Ate) whether he smokes himself, and if so, how long he has been smoking?—Seven years.

5444. What is his opinion as to the effect upon his health?—He began it because he was sick.

5445. What does he say about other Chinamen? Is smoking common amongst them or not?—He knows many who smoke opium.

5446. Why do they smoke?—Some smoke who are sick and some who feel very well.

5447. Do they smoke opium as a stimulant?—It is not like brandy.

5448. (Chairman.) Is it better than brandy?—Opium does not make them drunk, brandy does.

5449. (Mr. Fanshawe.) Do his countrymen regard opium-smoking as a vice, as being anything wrong, or do they think it right?—Neither good nor bad.

5450. (Mr. Wilson.) Where does the witness teach Chinese?—In China.

5451. How long has he been in Calcutta?—Five or six years.

5452. What does he do in Calcutta?—He was with the Amban as Interpreter.

5453. What language does he know besides Chinese?—Hindustani.

5454. When did the Amban come here?—Three years ago.

5455. The witness says he has been here five or six years?—He came before that.

5456. What for?—For trade.

The witnesses withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow at 10-30.

At the Council Chamber, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

TWENTIETH DAY.

Thursday, 7th December 1893.

PRESENT:

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B. (CHAIRMAN, PRESIDING).

THE HON'BLE SRI LACHHMSWAR SING BAHADUR,
MAHARAJA OF DARRANGA, K.C.I.E.
MR. A. U. PARCHAWA.

MR. HARIDAS VEHARIDAS DESAI.
" H. J. WILSON, M.P.

MR. J. PRESCOTT HEWITT, C.I.E., *Secretary.*

MR. JAMES MONRO, C.B., called in and examined.

5467. (*Chairman.*) I believe you were formerly in the Bengal Civil Service in the important position of Inspector-General of Police in Bengal, after that Commissioner in Bengal, and finally (in the public service) Chief Commissioner of Police in London?—Yes.

5468. And you are now engaged in this country in missionary work?—Yes.

5469. You are familiar with the objects which were in view when this Commission of inquiry was appointed?—I am.

5470. We shall be glad if you will make any general statement of your views as to how far there is demoralization caused by the consumption of opium, and whether the connection of the Government of India with the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of opium and otherwise is causing a serious hindrance to the missionary work in India to which you are now devoting yourself?—All the remarks I should like to make refer only to Lower Bengal. I refer to that province because all my service was there, and I have special means of being acquainted with the circumstances of the people. With the other provinces I have only a second-hand acquaintance. All my time as Magistrate, Judge, Commissioner and Inspector-General was passed in the provinces under the Lieutenant-Governor. I mention that, because I do not wish to give any information with reference to other provinces of which I know less than Lower Bengal. I was asked to give evidence, and I wrote a pamphlet about the subject in answer to various questions that were put to me as to the opium trade generally being an obstacle to missionaries. It is with reference to that point alone that any facts which I have acquired in my experience are to be applied. I do not wish to give any opinion, but merely to state facts which I know to be applicable to missionary operations in Lower Bengal alone. As I have stated in my pamphlet, so far as I am aware, the cultivation of opium, and the connection of Government with opium, form no obstacle whatever to missionary operations in Lower Bengal. I base that statement upon my previous experience. With reference to the people at large, and the great majority of the people know nothing whatever about the cultivation of opium, or the connection of the Government with the opium trade in China,—absolutely nothing. You may go miles and miles for days and days, and ask the people in the villages, and they know nothing whatever about opium or the Government connection with it. The reason for that is, that in Lower Bengal, except in the provinces of Behar and one part of Chota Nagpore, opium is not cultivated at all. Therefore I say that, 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. The amount of opium consumed in Lower Bengal is a mere trifle.

5481. Your pamphlet contains some important statistics bearing on the question before us. On page 4 you give figures showing the amount of duty paid to the Government annually by the people and the amount of consumption of opium per head annually. Will you give us those figures?—The revenue is, roughly speaking, six crores of rupees, equal to about four million pounds sterling, while the

income realized by the Government of Lower Bengal from the consumption of opium by the inhabitants of the province is about 16 lakhs of rupees (excluding license fees), or, say, roughly about £120,000—including license fees it will be about £140,000—surely no very large sum to be made from the indulgence in a particular drug by about 70 millions of the population of a province."

"Turning now to the actual amount of opium consumed by the inhabitants of Lower Bengal, the figures are as follows:—In the whole province containing a population of above 70 millions, the total consumption of opium, according to the latest figures published, is about 1,944 maunds (of 82½ avoirdupois);—that is to say, the annual amount of opium consumed *per head* is about 16 grains. Of this somewhat more than a fifth is consumed in Calcutta alone, leaving about 1,525 maunds, or about 14 grains per annum per head, as the total quantity of the drug consumed by the remaining 69 millions of the inhabitants of Lower Bengal. There is, moreover, no reason to believe that the consumption of the drug is increasing while the facilities for indulging in opium in its pernicious forms are being steadily restricted, by reduction of the number of shops for opium-smoking. During the last ten years the amount of opium consumed has not increased beyond the rate of growth of the population of the districts in Lower Bengal in which it is chiefly used; and the number of licenses for opium-smoking shops stands as below:—

Average number of licenses for opium-smoking	
shops from 1885 to 1890	463
Number of such licenses in 1890-91	390
" " " " 1889-90	435
" " " " 1888-89	454
" " " " 1887-88	454

I should mention that the estimate of 70 millions for the population was based on the figures I had access to at that time. According to the last census it would be considerably more.

5482. I believe you have collected some statistics showing the consumption of opium by divisions, each division comprising several districts. We shall be glad to have those figures.—Again I must say with regard to the population that the estimates are derived from the figures I then had access to. I do not say that they are very accurate according to the last census, but they are certainly within the mark:—

Division.	Population.	Annual Consumption.
Burdwan	7½ millions.	326 maunds.
Presidency (including Calcutta).	9 "	653 "
Rajahmundry	8 "	210 "
Decca	9 "	99 "
Chittagong	4 "	58 "
Pटना	15½ "	97 "
Bhagalpore	8½ "	151 "
Orissa	4 "	228 "
Chota Nagpore	4½ "	62 "

Consumption, therefore, is comparatively large in the Capital, Calcutta; in the rural Divisions it is highest in

Mr. E. M.
Cohen.
6 Dec. 1893.

5430. (Chairman.) Have you anything further that you wish to add from a mercantile point of view?—Judging from a mercantile point of view, I should say that, by Government keeping the monopoly as hitherto, it will decidedly support the opium trade. Besides, Government has the means of knowing the exact quantity of the output of the crop, and restricting the same when needed. They could also limit local consumption and smuggling, and supply to the consumers in India and in China opium of the usual standard quality. It is a harmless drug, if taken moderately, and I do not see why the Government should do away with its monopoly without a just cause; any change in the present system of manufacturing will raise suspicion in the minds of the Chinese, and they will

be unwilling to deal in Bengal opium as they do now-a-days. The effect of any change will be less consumption in China to the loss of all concerned in the opium trade in India, Government included. Morally, Government will be held responsible for the loss of this trade to its subjects. In my opinion it is the duty of the Government of India to give its support to the opium trade and sustain it in the interests of the country. I may add that by stopping the supply from India, Persia will take the lead. There have been already 10,000 chests of Persian opium freely imported into China, and if we stop shipping opium, Persia will take the lead. There will also be an increase in the cultivation of the poppy in China. So that no good will be done to the Chinese by our stopping it.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. L. S.
Khoon.
Mr. Iyat.
Mr. Eup Ate.
Mr. Pin Yen.
Mr. Asowai.

Mr. JIN SIN KHOOX
MR. IYAK
Mr. EUP ATE
Mr. PIN YEN
Mr. ASOWAI

} called in and examined (through an interpreter).

5431. (Chairman.) What are the occupations of these five witnesses?—(Mr. Girard.) One is a book-keeper with Messrs. Eng Hong & Co.; another is a Chinaman of Bentinck Street with a large firm of boot and shoe-makers; another is a Doctor of Medicine; another is a Professor of Chinese, a Schoolmaster, and another is a priest of the Chinese Church in Calcutta.

5432. (Chairman.) I would ask the witnesses what they know regarding the extent to which opium is consumed by the people of China as a medicine, as a stimulant, and as a febrifuge, and what, in their opinion, is the effect of such consumption on the moral and physical well-being of the people. (The Interpreter.) The speaker (Mr. Pin Yen) says that some use opium as medicine and some smoke it.

5433. Does it do them good in the case of certain diseases?—Not all diseases, but for some diseases it is very good.

5434. What do they say is their opinion as to the effect of opium-smoking upon the Chinese generally? Do they think that it does them harm?—Smoking does not do them harm.

5435. Do they think it does them good?—For some sick persons it is very good.

5436. What do they think about it in cases where people are in good health? Is it good for them?—It is not harmful.

5437. Are there many cases among their fellow countrymen in which people smoke to excess and do themselves harm?—If any man takes too much it does him harm.

5438. (Mr. Wilson.) Where does Mr. Pin Yen practise medicine?—In Canton.

5439. Why is he in Calcutta?—He came to see some relations.

5440. Does he smoke himself?—No.

5441. Why?—He says he does not require it.

5442. Would he be better in health if he smoked?—If he were sick it would be very good.

5443. (Mr. Fanshawe.) I should like to ask another witness (Eup Ate) whether he smokes himself, and if so, how long he has been smoking?—Seven years.

5444. What is his opinion as to the effect upon his health?—He began it because he was sick.

5445. What does he say about other Chinamen? Is smoking common amongst them or not?—He knows many who smoke opium.

5446. Why do they smoke?—Some smoke who are sick, and some who feel very well.

5447. Do they smoke opium as a stimulant?—It is not like brandy.

5448. (Chairman.) Is it better than brandy?—Opium does not make them drunk, brandy does.

5449. (Mr. Fanshawe.) Do his countrymen regard opium-smoking as a vice, as being anything wrong, or do they think it right?—Neither good nor bad.

5450. (Mr. Wilson.) Where does the witness teach Chinese?—In China.

5451. How long has he been in Calcutta?—Five or six years.

5452. What does he do in Calcutta?—He was with the Amban as Interpreter.

5453. What language does he know besides Chinese?—Hindustani.

5454. When did the Amban come here?—Three years ago.

5455. The witness says he has been here five or six years?—He came before that.

5456. What for?—For trade.

The witnesses withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow at 10-30.

At the Council Chamber, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

TWENTIETH DAY.

Thursday, 7th December 1893.

PRESENT:

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B. (CHAIRMAN, PRESIDING).

THE HON'BLE SRI LACHHMSWAR SING BAHADUR,
MAHARAJA OF DARBHANGA, K.C.I.E.
MR. A. U. FANSHAW.MR. HARIDAS VENARIDAS DESAI.
" H. J. WILSON, M.P.

MR. J. PRESCOTT HEWITT, C.I.E., Secretary.

MR. JAMES MONRO, C.B., called in and examined.

5457. (Chairman). I believe you were formerly in the Bengal Civil Service in the important position of Inspector-General of Police in Bengal, after that Commissioner in Bengal, and finally (in the public service) Chief Commissioner of Police in London?—Yes.

5458. And you are now engaged in this country in missionary work?—Yes.

5459. You are familiar with the objects which were in view when this Commission of inquiry was appointed?—I am.

5460. We shall be glad if you will make any general statement of your views as to how far there is demoralization caused by the consumption of opium, and whether the connection of the Government of India with the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of opium and otherwise is causing a serious hindrance to the missionary work in India to which you are now devoting yourself?—All the remarks I should like to make refer only to Lower Bengal. I refer to that province because all my service was there, and I have special means of being acquainted with the circumstances of the people. With the other provinces I have only a second-hand acquaintance. All my time as Magistrate, Judge, Commissioner and Inspector-General was passed in the provinces under the Lieutenant-Governor. I mention that, because I do not wish to give any information with reference to other provinces of which I know less than Lower Bengal. I was asked to give evidence, and I wrote a pamphlet about the subject in answer to various questions that were put to me as to the opium trade generally being an obstacle to missionaries. It is with reference to that point alone that any facts which I have acquired in my experience are to be applied. I do not wish to give any opinion, but merely to state facts which I know to be applicable to missionary operations in Lower Bengal alone. As I have stated in my pamphlet, so far as I am aware, the cultivation of opium, and the connection of Government with opium, form no obstacle whatever to missionary operations in Lower Bengal. I base that statement upon my previous experience. With reference to the people at large, the great majority of the people know nothing whatever about the cultivation of opium, or the connection of the Government with the opium trade in China,—absolutely nothing. You may go miles and miles for days and days, and ask the people in the villages, and they know nothing whatever about opium or the Government connection with it. The reason for that is, that in Lower Bengal, except in the provinces of Behar and one part of Chota Nagpore, opium is not cultivated at all. Therefore I say that, so far as regards the amount of opium consumed, there is no possibility of the people being demoralised by it, because they do not consume it. The amount of opium consumed in Lower Bengal is a mere trifle.

5461. Your pamphlet contains some important statistics bearing on the question before us. On page 4 you give figures showing the amount of duty paid to the Government annually by the people and the amount of consumption of opium per head annually. Will you give us those figures?—“The revenue is, roughly speaking, six crores of rupees, equal to about four million pounds sterling, while the

income realized by the Government of Lower Bengal from the consumption of opium by the inhabitants of the province is about 16 lakhs of rupees (excluding license fees), or, say, roughly about £120,000—including license fees it will be about £140,000—surely no very large sum to be made from the indulgence in a particular drug by about 70 millions of the population of a province.”

“Turning now to the actual amount of opium consumed by the inhabitants of Lower Bengal, the figures are as follows:—In the whole province containing a population of above 70 millions, the total consumption of opium, according to the latest figures published, is about 1,940 maunds (of 82½ avoirdupois);—that is to say, the annual amount of opium consumed *per head* is about 16 grains. Of this somewhat more than a fifth is consumed in Calcutta alone, leaving about 1,525 maunds, or about 14 grains per annum per head, as the total quantity of the drug consumed by the remaining 69 millions of the inhabitants of Lower Bengal. There is, moreover, no reason to believe that the consumption of the drug is increasing while the facilities for indulging in opium in its pernicious forms are being steadily restricted, by reduction of the number of shops for opium-smoking. During the last ten years the amount of opium consumed has not increased beyond the rate of growth of the population of the districts in Lower Bengal in which it is chiefly used; and the number of licenses for opium-smoking shops stands as below:—

Average number of licenses for opium-smoking			
shops from 1885 to 1890	.	.	463
Number of such licenses in 1890-91	.	.	390
" " " " 1889-90	.	.	435
" " " " 1888-89	.	.	454
" " " " 1887-88	.	.	454

I should mention that the estimate of 70 millions for the population was based on the figures I had access to at that time. According to the last census it would be considerably more.

5462. I believe you have collected some statistics shewing the consumption of opium by divisions, each division comprising several districts. We shall be glad to have those figures.—Again I must say with regard to the population that the estimates are derived from the figures I then had access to. I do not say that they are very accurate according to the last census, but they are certainly within the mark:—

Division.	Population.	Annual Consumption.
Burdwan	7½ millions.	326 maunds.
Presidency (including Calcutta).	9 "	653 "
Rajshahye	9 "	210 "
Decca	9 "	99 "
Chittagong	4 "	58 "
Patna	15½ "	97 "
Bhagalpore	8½ "	151 "
Orissa	4 "	228 "
Chota Nagpore	4½ "	62 "

Consumption, therefore, is comparatively large in the Capital, Calcutta; in the rural Divisions it is highest in

Mr. J. Orissa, least in Patna, inconsiderable in Dacca, Chota Nagpore, Chittagong, and Bhagalpore.

5463. Can you tell us whether you discovered any connection between the consumption of opium in those districts and the state of the population in reference to the maintenance of law and order?—I was Inspector-General of Police for five years, and of course the subject of the cause of crime was a matter of special attention on my part. The whole of the serious crimes of Bengal passed under my review. I also inspected districts, not from my office, but by going to them and mixing amongst the people, by inquiring at the various police stations and hearing all that had to be said upon the subject, and the conclusion which I came to from wide experience was that, so far as regards crime, opium has no perceptible influence in causing it. So far as figures go, it would appear that where most opium is consumed you have a very small amount of crime. I instance the case of Orissa, where most of the opium outside Calcutta is consumed, and there the crime is trifling; there is hardly any such thing as serious crime in Orissa. It was always the province, *quod* police, that we thought was the least important, and there you have the most opium consumed.

5464. Have you had in your view the Patna Division where the greatest amount of opium is grown?—In the Patna Division you have a very considerable amount of crime. There is no doubt that the most important and serious crime is in the districts in Eastern Bengal, such as Jessore, Dacca, Bakarganj, Tipperah and Mymensingh.

5465. In the Patna Division they are very small consumers of opium?—They are very small consumers of opium.

5466. So that in Orissa, where there is a large consumption of opium, the people are, comparatively speaking, law-abiding; and in Patna where there is a small consumption of opium, there is more turbulence and disorder?—Yes, more than there is in Orissa; but they are not nearly so turbulent as in the Eastern part of Bengal. In the district of Gya you have a large amount of crime against property.

5467. Is there a large consumption of opium in Eastern Bengal?—Very little; the average is about 5 or 7 grains per head of the population.

5468. What do you say has been the effect of the opium habit on the village life of the part of India with which you are acquainted?—Practically, no effect whatever. The opium habit in Lower Bengal is almost unknown. The amount consumed in the villages is a mere trifle. So far as my observation goes—and I know the villages of several districts intimately—there has been practically no effect in the way of demoralisation or debauchery produced by the opium habit.

5469. What class of people in your experience are found to be frequenters of opium dens?—They are idle, useless fellows, not particularly or necessarily criminal, but people who have taken to the habit, and who consume opium no doubt in many instances to excess. These are the people upon whom it has a very bad effect; but the general frequenters of opium dens—by which I mean opium-smoking shops as distinct from selling shops, are lazy, idle, useless fellows of all classes; sometimes of the better classes, but generally of a lower class. The people who smoke opium are decidedly of a lower class than those who eat it. They go to the madak shops, or where there is any chandu, to the chandu shops; but the notion of these opium shops being places where the police can find out clues of crime, is a pure myth. You do not find clues of crime in madak shops. It has been stated that just as you would go to the pawnbroker in London to find out crime, you would go to a madak shop here to find out crime. But you do not go to the pawnbroker in London for that purpose; no professional thief ever goes near a pawnbroker. He has his own "fences" who get rid of all the property he has, and he never goes near the pawnbroker. In the same way the police here do not go to the madak shops to find out clues to crime. They may find bad characters frequenting the madak shop sometimes; but they do not go there to find out clues to crime.

5470. Among those with whom you have been brought into contact, and who are engaged like yourself in missionary work, have you heard opinions expressed to the effect that the connection between the Government of India and opium has had a prejudicial effect upon the work in which they are engaged?—I have been for many years a member of the corresponding committee of the Church Missionary Society, and I have come across a good many missionaries in that connection. I have come across many more since I have been here at work, but I do not recall any missionary, to whom I spoke about his missionary work, who ever suggested that the opium trade and the Government con-

nection with it in Lower Bengal formed any obstacle to his work. Since I came here I have made a point of asking all the missionaries whom I have come across, especially in the district of Nuddea, (a district that has been held by the Church Missionary Society upwards of 60 years), and not one of these missionaries has ever experienced any obstacles in his missionary work on account of the opium traffic and its results. I have talked with missionaries in other districts in the same way, and I have not as yet come across any missionary who has expressed an opinion that the opium trade did form an obstacle, or who could show me any facts which warrant any such opinion, supposing he had expressed it. There was one exception. In one of the districts I met one of the zenana ladies engaged in missionary work. When I had talked to her and asked her about the difficulties she had met with, and the progress she was making, she wound up by saying, "Then, Mr. Monroe, there is this dreadful opium trade." I thought I was going to hear some facts, and I said to her, "What do you mean exactly; have you many shops in this place?" She replied, "Well, I do not know, because of course we never go there." "Do you mean," I said, "that you have seen much evil resulting from the presence of those shops where you are stationed?" She then said, "Well, if you put it in that way, I have not." I asked, "do the natives talk about it and say that it is an obstacle to your mission?" "No," she replied, "I cannot say that they do." "What exactly do you mean? how is it that you find opium an obstacle to your missionary work?" "Well, Mr. Monroe," she said, "the trade must be bad." I said, "That is not what I want. I want to know how the trade is bad, and how it is prejudicially affecting your mission work?" and she had nothing whatever to say. She had simply formed an opinion that the trade must be bad, and she fitted in the facts to support that theory. That is my opinion, and a way of adopting fact to theory, that I have often found in use at home in a similar way. That is my experience with reference to missionaries. As a missionary myself, in my own experience, going amongst the village districts where I am perfectly well known, and where the people would not have the slightest hesitation in talking to me, I have never heard an adverse opinion, in regard to opium, expressed. My daughter has been itinerating during the last year in the villages in the north of Krishnagar District, and in neither the zenanas nor anywhere else have the women or the men ever expressed the opinion that opium was in any way an obstacle to missionaries. I say that especially about zenanas. So far as my daughter is concerned, and other ladies that I have met with who have visited zenanas, there is not one of them who can tell me anything about the horrors of the opium trade in the zenanas. And that I believe is the experience up to date of the Secretary of the Anti-Opium Society. Mr. Alexander has so stated—that hitherto he has not been able to get any ladies to come forward and give evidence as to the evils which they saw in the zenanas. That is precisely my experience so far as I hear. Of course I have not visited a zenana, but that is undoubtedly the experience of my daughter and other ladies of the Zenana Mission with whom I have talked on the subject in more than one district.

5471. Turning to the regulation which, I believe, has been recently issued forbidding the smoking of opium in licensed places, do you consider that regulation as likely to have a beneficial result?—I think not, and I base my opinion upon what I have seen in a similar case in London with reference to the closing of public houses after half-past twelve. They used to be open all night. Then (I think in 1875) they were closed after half-past twelve, and the result of that closing has been an enormous increase in unlicensed workmen's clubs, and the evil they have done in London is incalculable. It is heart-breaking to see the evil which the establishment of those clubs, especially in the north, in Hoxton and other places, has caused in London. The increase of those clubs is distinctly attributable to the closing of public houses. I do not say it was a good thing to keep the public houses open all night, but I say that the means taken to diminish the evil have led to a far worse evil—namely, the bringing into existence of those unlicensed workmen's smoking and drinking clubs. The same thing, I anticipate, will happen when you drive out the characters who frequent the opium-smoking dens; you will find they will be smoking in clubs or unlicensed premises, or in their families, which will be far worse. As a matter of fact, I saw it stated in some of the papers that since the order for closing the shops has been carried out in Bombay, resort has been had to the establishment of clubs, and that naturally the Government has failed in prosecuting the owners of those clubs. On that account I think that driving away this evil—admitting, for the sake of argument, that the

smoking is an evil—and bringing it into unlicensed premises over which the police have no control, and especially introducing it into families, will have a disastrous effect. That is my opinion based upon a similar case in London.

5472. You have spoken of opium; have you any observations to make with reference to other forms of stimulants which you think may be more pernicious, as, for instance, ganja and alcohol? Do you consider the facilities for obtaining and consuming alcohol are excessive, and that there would be an advantage in a more restrictive system?—I do not say whether the facilities afforded for alcohol are excessive, because I have not been able to go about the districts lately, but about ten years ago I did not think the facilities afforded were excessive, but I am bound to say that there is much more evil done to India by alcohol than by the consumption of opium, and I think there is very much more evil done by the consumption of ganja, which is absolutely pernicious so far as my experience goes, than is caused by the consumption of opium. I note that specially ganja is grown in the district of Rajshahye, and I believe that the Commissioners heard evidence of the evils done in that district by the consumption of opium; but I did not hear a single complaint as to the evils that occurred from ganja in the district of Rajshahye in which ganja is grown. It is one of the districts in which it is grown, and in that district and in many other districts, and in connection with crime generally, if I were asked my opinion about the connection of ganja with crime, I should say that it had a distinct effect upon crime; and especially it leads, as is shown by figures, to a decided increase in insanity. The proportion of lunatics admitted in the asylums suffering from ganja is very large. I can give no opinion how it can be done, but if restrictive measures could be introduced in any way, I think they would be a decided benefit to the country, and a very much greater benefit than any attempt to restrict opium, which, so far as my experience goes, in no way affects Lower Bengal prejudicially.

5473. (Mr. Wilson.) In the paper before us there is a reference to a memorial which you say was lately presented to the Secretary of State. Have you that memorial?—I have not the memorial here.

5474. Then, in the remarks you are making you are answering something we have not before us?—I did not put the memorial in; I was not asked to do so; I can send it to you of course.

5475. In page 4 of your pamphlet you have given us some figures about the income from the consumption of opium,—18 lakhs of rupees. Do you know what year's figures you had access to at that time?—I think it must have been 1890-91 or 1891-92.

5476. It is not very important, but the figures brought before us by Mr. Gupta for 1890-91 show 21½ lakhs?—That I suppose might include license fees.

5477. That is not so.—Then I will modify it to that extent and say that the present income is 21 lakhs. It was 16 lakhs, and I think the license fees brought it up to 19 lakhs.

5478. You referred to a sum of about £120,000 of opium revenue; are you aware that the duty and the license fees together now amount to 27½ lakhs?—No, I am not aware of it.

5479. Which at the present rate would be £180,000.—I am not aware of it, but I am prepared to accept your statement.

5480. Then the figures will want modifying since you wrote the report?—Yes. Having since seen the figures I wish to add to my answer. The figures are—

YEAR.	NUMBER OF LICENSES ISSUED.				Quantity of opium sold.	REVENUE.		
	Ordinary license for retail sale.	License for the sale of poppy-seeds.	Druggists' permits.	Total.		Mds. R. Ch.	Rs.	Rs.
1890-91	1,700	41	1,330	3,071	1,928 26 0	3,94,318	16,00,000	19,94,318
1891-92	1,808	44	1,188	3,040	2,008 31 14	4,44,167	16,74,000	21,18,167
1892-93	1,714	47	1,366	3,028	1,894 19 10	4,74,808	16,00,000	20,74,808

Add to this about one lakh for madak and chandu licenses.

*Note.—Questions 5473 and 5474 were sent to Revenue Table A appended to Mr. Gupta's notes; Mr. Moore in his answer referred to that duty (Table C) to the same note. The answer to question 5476 was added to after the witness's examination.

5481. You referred just now to the idea that the madak and chandu shops corresponded with the pawnbrokers' shops in London?—I did not draw that analogy. The analogy was drawn, but I did not draw it myself.

Mr. J. Moore, C.B.
7 Dec. 1893.

5482. You do not agree with it?—Not at all.

5483. Do you know that that had been put forward in an official paper by Mr. Gupta on behalf of the Government Excise Department?—I do not know in what capacity he wrote it; it was in an official report by him.

5484. You entirely disagree with it?—Entirely; from my knowledge of the police here and the police in London.

5485. You think it is wrong in that respect?—I think so certainly, and I think if you asked him he would admit it. He served under me for some time.

5486. I asked him two or three days ago and he adhered to it.—He certainly does not know about the pawnbroker in London as I do, and I do not think he knows so much of the police in Bengal as I do. I was a Magistrate for many years, and took a special interest in the criminal classes, and I was Inspector General of Police for five years. Mr. Gupta, so far as I know, never had anything to do with the police in Bengal, except for a time when he was a Magistrate.

5487. What he said was that it was an appreciable advantage to have the criminal classes and the scum of large towns to a large extent focussed and brought under the direct notice of the police. You do not agree with that?—No, not to this extent. His idea was that just as pawnbrokers in London are sources of information to the police about crime, so the madak and chandu shops are sources of information to the police in Bengal, and that it is there that the police go for the purpose of finding out clues. With that statement I entirely disagree. I do not for a moment say you would not find disreputable people at those shops, and possibly some of the criminal classes; but, as I have said already, if I found any police officer in the habit of going to those shops to find out clues about criminals, I should have a very shrewd suspicion that he was going there not to find out clues, but to consume madak and chandu; and I should deal with him accordingly. With regard to the pawnbroker, every practical police officer knows that a professional thief in London never goes near him.

5488. You gave us a case of a zenana lady who did not know anything about it.—She thought she did.

5489. You really do not attach any importance to that incident?—None. She had no facts, and the other zenana ladies told me that they saw nothing. In fact, they have nothing to see or to tell about the evils of opium in the zenanas, and they have never found it an obstacle to their mission work in the zenanas.

5490. In reference to many strong things that have been said by missionaries in connection with the opium question, is it not a fact that they relate largely to China?—Quite so; I am only speaking of Lower Bengal.

5491. Is it not a fact that the strongest expressions used by missionaries solely in regard to opium refer to China?—Principally to China; but India is also included.

5492. I notice that in your paper eight or ten times you quote the phrase "burning moral convictions" in inverted commas. Would you like to say anything as to why you quoted that phrase, apparently in derision?—Not in derision. I saw it in an article in the Spectator, and it struck me as very appropriate to the way in which, in some quarters, the opium discussion was being conducted. A great many, no doubt estimable, men are firmly convinced and have burning convictions about the evil caused by opium without knowing very much about it, and they allow their burning moral convictions to overcome their discretion, their regard for facts, and their Christian charity, because they absolutely denounce everybody who, whether he has had experience or not, disagrees with them.

5493. And you thought it worth while to put it before us in inverted commas ten times?—I thought that was the root of the whole thing—burning convictions without discretion or regard for facts.

5494. (Mr. Fawcett.) With regard to the Patna Division where the poppy is largely cultivated, you will admit that it is a common belief that a certain amount of opium is kept back by the cultivators?—No doubt.

5495. Speaking, therefore, of the effect of the opium habit on crime in that division, as judged by the statistics of the opium consumed, would you wish your view to be qualified by that consideration?—Yes. I mentioned that in the pamphlet. I have served in the Behar Division in three or four districts.

Mr. J. Moore, C.E. 5498. I understood you to express an opinion as to the danger of generalizing in India from the experience of one province or even of one district; have you any remarks to make upon that subject?—That certainly is what I have always felt, and that is one reason why I confined my remarks to a province about which I know something. The same circumstances of Lower Bengal are in no respect the same as, we will say, those of the Punjab, or Burma, or Madras. The circumstances of different districts even in Lower Bengal are all different. I can instance that very well in reference to two districts—Nuddea on the one side, and Jessore on the other. If you attempt to carry out the same policy in those two districts, you will surely fail; the circumstances of the ryots in one are quite different from the circumstances of the ryots in the other. Having been in Jessore I went to Nuddea, and if I had carried out the same policy there as I had in Jessore, for example, in times of famine, I should have failed absolutely. That shows how, even in given provinces, the circumstances of each district are often very different. The circumstances of Behar, for example,

are totally different from the circumstances of Orissa and Lower Bengal; the people are of different races. And *d fortiori* if you extend the generalization from districts to provinces the argument will have greater force.

5497. You regard it as of great importance in an inquiry of this nature that the infinite variety of circumstances in Indian life should be constantly borne in mind?—Certainly.

5498. With regard to the closing of licensed smoking shops, your view is clear, is it not, that the wiser policy would be to keep them open because the people visiting them would be subject to police control?—Yes.

5499. Though you do not say that bad characters necessarily go to them, you think that idle men do congregate there, and that the wiser policy would be to keep them open because they would be under direct police control, that is your view?—Yes, just in the same way as it is better that public houses should be under police control in London than that gambling clubs, into which no policeman can enter, should be established.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. T. M. Gibbon.

Mr. T. M. GIBBON, C.I.E., called in and examined.

5500. (*Chairman*) I believe you were formerly a Member of the Legislative Council of the Viceroy?—Yes.

5501. Will you state to us briefly the nature of your employments and your experiences in India?—I arrived in India in December 1854, or 39 years ago. Roughly speaking of that time, I spent 2 years in the Gorakhpore district as assistant in a *semdari*, 2 years in Calcutta in a merchant's office, 11 as an indigo-planter in Champaran, 22 in charge of the British Estates (in Champaran, in Tirhoot, in Saran, and in Gorakhpur), and 2 years in England.

5502. Will you state what you know with reference to the growth of the poppy and the consumption of opium amongst all classes of the population. I believe you desire to tell us that you know that it is largely given to children?—It is given to them when they are first born.

5503. Is it largely used by people who live in malarious districts?—Yes.

5504. Is there a general consumption of it by the non-agricultural portion of the community?—Yes.

5505. Have you observed that the consumption of opium by the different classes who use it has caused them serious moral or physical injury?—None whatever.

5506. How do you compare it as a stimulant with ganja or the country toddy or alcohol?—The consumers of ganja and alcohol are nearly always very noisy and quarrelsome, and force themselves on your notice wherever you go; but the consumers of opium are neither noisy nor quarrelsome, nor have they in any manner their senses uncontrolled; they have thorough control over themselves.

5507. Would you say that opium was principally used by the people among whom you have lived as a medicine or is the nature of medicine?—Yes. Some people who have come to us from the North-West having once taken to opium cannot throw it off, and they take it as a stimulant.

5508. What do you say to a proposal to prohibit the use of opium in this country for any other than medical purposes; do you believe that such a prohibition could be worked out in practice?—I think it would be impossible.

5509. What is your view as to the willingness of the people to bear the cost of prohibition, that is, to pay other taxes and other dues in lieu of the payments which are now made for licenses and otherwise in respect of opium?—They would not be at all willing; they would not understand why you were making them do so; in fact, they would resent it.

5510. Do you think that prohibition would interfere in a manner which would be exceedingly unpopular with the personal habits of the population?—Yes, to a very great extent; but I think also that if it were prohibited they would smuggle it in from neighbouring States, especially from Nepal, where it is largely grown in the Tarai.

5511. Are you in favor of the suspension of licenses for what are called smoking dens?—Yes.

5512. In regard to the facilities which the natural configuration of the country afford for smuggling, in case a policy of prohibition were adopted, will you tell us what you know on that subject?—Our Government is a strong Government, and poppy is a crop easily seen and detected where

grown; the cultivation could of course be prohibited in British territory and stopped, but the growth could not be stopped just outside our frontiers. Poppy or opium is at present grown largely in the Nepal Tarai, running for 150 miles along our Behar frontier; a portion of the opium produced is at present used in Nepal, a portion sold to the British Government at the Government godowns within our frontier, the rest is smuggled through our province to the up-country States. If the Government prohibit the cultivation in the province, the cultivation in Nepal will be largely increased and opium smuggled into the province instead of through it. To prevent smuggling from Almora to Jalpaigori, I look upon as an impossible feat.

5513. Do you believe that if opium is to be grown at all and if the production is to be controlled it must be grown as a Government monopoly?—Yes.

5514. Will you explain that?—If opium is to be grown at all, if its production is to be controlled, it must be grown as a Government monopoly. As it is at present, it is a profitable and, on the whole, a secure crop to the cultivator. Whether it would continue to be a profitable crop to the cultivator, or to the merchant who ventured to purchase the crop from the cultivators for exportation, would depend upon the margin of profit the Government would be willing to leave to the latter to commence operations upon. Were Government to throw the trade open to the public, it would cause an immediate and enormous increase in its production. The only change I would recommend in the public interest is the suppression of smoking dens, and in the interest of the cultivators, that the Government should be more liberal to them in bad seasons and know their own minds better regarding the area they wish to put under poppy cultivation. At present after a good season the Government try to decrease the area and strain every nerve to increase it after a bad one, whereas the cultivators' wishes run the other way: the cultivators wish to increase after a favourable season and to try other crops after an unfavourable one.

5515. Do you believe that it is for the interest of every class engaged in the agriculture of this country that the poppy cultivation should continue?—It is to every one's interest that the poppy cultivation should be retained, to the interest of the tax-payer, the merchant, the land-holder and cultivator. To the tax-payer and merchant in so much that the loss of revenue to the Government would have to be supplied by direct taxation or by duties levied on other goods. To the land-holders as it enables their tenants to meet their rents. To the cultivator it is profitable in many ways,—first, the price paid by Government is a fair one, and an average yield per acre pays a fair profit on cost of cultivation; there are often great prizes, that is to say, the profits are often extraordinarily large, the work or labour to be bestowed on it is light, all members of the family can take part in it, the cultivator is sure of his market, he is assured of being able to dispose of his produce, he receives comparatively large sums in advances without interest, the receipt of such advances enables him to pay his rents and pay for his clothing. Poppy may be sown any time between the 15th October and 10th December, according to season and heat of sun. He receives two or three advances in the season. Did he not receive such advances to meet his rents he would have to sell the produce of his summer crops just as they were reaped when prices are at their lowest. He therefore makes a treble profit on the cultivation of poppy.

the actual profit on cost of cultivation, the use of money without interest, and a saving on sale of his other crops. It is also profitable to many who have large areas to be brought under the plough, in so much that it may be sown late, and the cultivator may sow it last of all if he so wishes. Oats are the only crop I know of that may be sown with a chance of success after poppy. Wheat, barley, peas, gram, oil-seeds, etc., etc., must all be sown quickly, or the season is lost. Larger profits may be made from other crops than is received from poppy, but I know of no other crop that can take its place. Ginger will yield larger returns, but all lands will not yield turmeric, and only special castes grow it. Sugarcane also, but sugarcane requires heavy labour; uses the land for the whole year, and I have known gur or crude sugar to be drug on the market, uncalculable in some seasons. Tobacco in some few cases gives enormous profit and is increasing enormously in cultivation, especially in Tirhoot, but tobacco-growing requires special knowledge, great care and hard labour, monopolizes the soil in most cases for a twelve month, and cannot be grown on all lands. The produce of Behar is considered good enough by native smokers who hide the taste of the tobacco with other articles, such as gur and pineapple, but Behar will never produce tobacco good enough for the European market from the amount of salt in the soil and the dust the leaf absorbs in the west winds; these give a biting taste to the tobacco that Europeans cannot endure. Poppy, on the contrary, is a cold season crop; the cultivator first gets his Indian-corn, his early rice or some other rainy season crop off his land and then his poppy; he is paid for his opium and sells the poppy-seed, and if the season is an early one, he may probably get a crop of cheena off it also. If the cultivator deems it necessary to take an advance on his other crops from a trader, he must pay heavy interest on the advance and also dispose of his crop at less than the market value and at a time when the produce is at its cheapest. I do not think the prohibition of poppy cultivation will affect the rate of rent.

5516. Have you communicated with other people and ascertained their views as to the policy of prohibition?—I have asked as many natives as I could get to talk upon it, and they were all against it.

5517. (Mr. Wilson.) Have you known persons who have been stupid and nervous before taking the morning dose of opium, and bright and clear-headed afterwards?—Yes.

5518. In reference to the character of the poppy crop you consider that it is a profitable crop?—Decidedly.

5519. You are aware that in some places and at certain times there has been great difficulty in getting people to cultivate it?—That has not been my experience. I know that sometimes after they have taken advances from Government they have failed to cultivate and some pressure has been brought to bear on them to make them fulfil their contracts. No pressure is needed to make them take advances, but when they have taken advances, pressure may be needed to make them fulfil their contract. In fact, many people take the advance for the sake of the advance.

5520. Are you aware that in some Government papers it appears that there has been considerable difficulty in getting people to cultivate the poppy?—No; but I know that there is sometimes a difficulty in getting them to fulfil their contract.

5521. (Chairman.) They are ready to take the advance, but not always willing to cultivate the poppy?—Yes. After they have sown the poppy they collect the dust in ridges in order that the seed may not be affected by the heat of the sun. People take an advance, and they make these ridges simply to hide their failure to sow it.

5522. What happens in the case of a person who takes an advance and does not grow poppy?—He has to return the advance when the time comes; but if it can be shown that he has absolutely failed to sow he is punished and fined. The man who takes an advance and does not sow seed will be fined, but if he sows the seed and it happens not to germinate he cannot be fined. To make believe that he has sown the seed he will take the dust and put it aside in ridges.

5523. (Mr. Wilson.) These people are excessively poor, are they not?—That is not my opinion of them.

5524. Can they pay their fines with facility?—Not always.

5525. What happens if a man cannot pay his fine?—He generally pays the fine, but he does not always return his advance until he is forced to do it.

5526. We have understood that some of them are very poor. In the event of a man not paying the fine or not repaying the advance is he imprisoned, or what happens?—I have never known a man imprisoned. When a man has made up his mind not to fulfil his contract he is generally in a position to pay his fine when the time comes. Others who have failed to fulfil their contract, but are not fined, have to return the advance on failure of the contract; those men raise every difficulty in the way of returning the advance.

5527. What is the security that the Government gets for the advance?—None. They have power to force these people under the law to return the money, just the same as any other contractor.

5528. Are there any societies or bailmen?—None whatever; there is the bundaswar who often takes the advance for the whole village and divides it, and he is expected to pay it back; but when the advance is given to a ryot into his own hands he alone is responsible for the advance.

5529. You said just now that under certain circumstances some pressure had to be used—what kind of pressure?—That is very difficult to explain. The whole district is divided into zillas, and the zilladars, or the people who expect to superintend the cultivation, bring moral pressure to bear. I do not know any other way. You have to be constantly nagging at a man to do a certain thing; you cannot strike him or punish him or fine him. It is a moral influence—the influence of the name of the Government. I do not know of any other pressure.

5530. Is the zilladar an officer of the Opium Department?—Yes, with a salary of six or seven rupees a month.

5531. Who is the next superior officer?—There is the gomastha and then the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent.

5532. Do they exercise a little persuasion too?—I do not know how to explain it. A man is under the contract, and he knows exactly what the penalty is. You cannot beat him or strike him, but you can persuade him. If he is dilatory you can bring moral pressure to bear upon him.

5533. I mean before he has entered into the contract?—There is no pressure whatever. The only man that can possibly influence him to enter into the contract is the bundaswar.

5534. What has he to say?—He often receives the whole of the advances from the Sub-Deputy Agent to distribute among the ryots. He is the head villager. First, there is the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent, he possibly has two or three gomasthas in the district; under them are the zilladars, and to assist them there is the bundaswar.

5535. You have referred to the area to be brought under the plough; is the opium land ploughed?—Decidedly.

5536. Some one spoke of it as being a market garden and gave the impression that it was spade land?—They must first use the hoe to take the stalks out of any heavy crop, such as Indian-corn. After that it is entirely under the plough and hand-weeding.

5537. Is gur another name for crude sugar?—It is taken out from the sugarcane, pressed out and then taken to the refiners and boiled down.

5538. What is cheena?—A very small millet that is grown.

5539. You have referred to alcohol and ganja; are you a teetotaler?—I am not.

5540. If you had sons or nephews you would not object to see them taking a little alcohol in some form daily?—No.

5541. Would you have an equal complacency in their taking a little opium daily?—It is contrary to our customs to take it; I do not exactly know whether I would or not.

5542. That is all you wish to say on that point?—I really have not thought it out; I do not know whether I would or not.

5543. (Mr. Thacker.) With regard to the question put to you by Mr. Wilson about men appearing stupid and nervous, are you referring to men who take large quantities of opium or small quantities?—Large quantities.

5544. Is it a prevalent belief among the people with whom you have been thrown for so many years that opium is a preventive against chills or malarial influences?—It is.

5545. Can you speak from experience that this has been known to you for many years?—Many years.

5546. In the Bettiah Estates have you any actual poppy cultivation?—A large area.

5547. We have it before us that 630,000 cultivators, in round numbers, cultivate the poppy in the Behar Agency

Mr. T. H. Gibbon, C.I.E.
7 Dec. 1899.

Mr. T. M. Fiddon, C.L.E.
7 Dec. 1898.

and 550,000 in the Benares Agency. Will you tell us with your knowledge of the country and of actual poppy cultivation whether it is possible that those men can generally cultivate under compulsion?—Certainly not.

5548. You have spoken of the use of opium as a stimulant, and also of its use as a medicine for one or two complaints. In your experience how far has it been taken in connection with complaints, and how far, as we might take alcohol, as a mere stimulant?—The people that take it as a stimulant are habitual takers; they are people living in towns, not so much among the cultivating classes as among merchants, sepoys, the men in our service; they take it as a stimulant and have become habituated to it. The cultivators take it medicinally to ease pain.

5549. Do I understand you to mean that the beginning of the habit is in connection with some definite disease?—These habitual takers have taken opium for many years long before I had the pleasure of their acquaintance. I do not know how they took to it or where they began.

5550. You have touched on an interesting point which has also been referred to in the statements of other witnesses—that the medical and non-medical uses of opium merge very much into each other; is that your experience?—Decidedly.

5551. One cannot well distinguish between the two?—No.

5552. The man who takes it habitually has often begun to eat opium in connection with some disease, and then he retains the habit of using opium as a stimulant?—Yes.

5553. Your view with regard to sugarcane appears to be that the substitution of this crop for the poppy would be limited by the conditions of labour and also by the demand in the market?—By both.

5554. Would you not also say that the supply of the requisite manure for sugarcane would have to be taken into consideration?—Manure would be very difficult to procure for the sugarcane, decidedly.

5555. If there is to be a large area brought under sugarcane you must have a sufficient supply of the requisite manure; would it be available generally or not?—Not if it were largely increased. But I may also say that there are many soils in which neither the sugarcane nor other crops can grow unless they are irrigated. Sugarcane is a crop that you must begin to grow at the beginning of March or the end of February. From February to the end of June is one long drought, and unless they are able to irrigate their sugarcane it would be a failure to a certain extent unless the soil is a moist one. In other places, as in Shahabad, the irrigation placed at their disposal has largely increased the cultivation of the sugarcane.

5556. You can irrigate the sugarcane from canals?—Yes, but if you irrigate from canals you will raise the whole of the zemindari influence against you, because they are thoroughly impressed with the opinion that drainage from the canals brings out the salts in the soil, making it useless and barren, and that any irrigation to be beneficial on any land, whether for poppy or sugarcane or tobacco or any other crop, must be well water, and only well water irrigation, not drenching.

5557. May I put it in this way, that in dealing with the question of substituting sugarcane for opium we must take into consideration the extent of the market, the extent of the supply of the manure, the character of the soil, and the predilection or acquired knowledge of the cultivators?—Yes.

5558. That is correct?—Yes.

5559. I understand you to regard tobacco as the crop which could be best substituted for opium if a market were available?—There is one other crop that may run opium close—oilseeds; but they depend so entirely on the state of the market that you cannot take that crop into account. Oilseeds have risen about 40 per cent. in value within the last fifteen years, since the year of the famine, 1875. Were the market to run the other way and go down, oilseeds would not be in the race with opium.

5560. Can they be grown on the same class of soil and under the same conditions as opium?—Yes, that is the only crop that can be grown under the same conditions.

5561. As things stand, tobacco is the crop which you regard as the main substitute for opium?—Provided there is a market and that people can acquire a knowledge of the special conditions.

5562. Have you any reasons for thinking that a large extension of the market for Indian tobacco is likely?—No; certainly not. I believe that all home-grown tobacco must be consumed in the country.

5563. It is exported to Burma and elsewhere from

Behar?—I know they take it away to adulterate other tobacco.

5564. But even that you do not regard as a prolific source for a new market?—No.

5565. Mr. Wilson asked you a question about the unwillingness of the cultivators to cultivate opium being known to the Government officers in the past; are you aware that some years ago there was a belief in some quarters that other crops were tending to compete successfully with opium?—I am aware that in Sarun a few years ago they thought that potatoes would compete with opium, and many thought of abandoning the cultivation of opium and substituting potatoes. They tried it one year, but they did not try it another.

5566. As matters stand you do not think there is any crop which can successfully compete in that way?—None. The only crop likely to compete is oilseeds, but they depend so entirely upon the market that nobody dares risk it; there is no permanency about them.

5567. If your view is correct that the prohibition of poppy cultivation will not affect the rate of rent, then I take it that the landlord will not suffer directly?—There is nothing in the law which compels a landlord to reduce his rent simply because the ryots desist from growing a special crop. There is nothing that would force us to reduce our rent. The only alternative that the ryot would have on our refusal would be to give up his lands.

5568. If that view is correct, the landlord would not suffer directly?—He would find a little difficulty in recovering his rents.

5569. He would suffer indirectly, would he not?—Simply in the difficulty in collecting his rents, but he would eventually get them, and he would get the same high rent for his lands were the poppy swept off the ground to-morrow.

5570. Then your view is that the poppy cultivator is looked upon as a good solvent tenant?—Yes, a good rent-payer.

5571. (Mr. Wilson.) You have told us that after a good season Government tries to decrease the area; I suppose as a matter of fact it is decreased?—Yes, it is; it is decreased in east-of bad lands.

5572. One sees by the tables that it is sometimes largely decreased?—There are good lands and bad lands under poppy. Every Sub-Deputy Opium Agent will do his best to keep up the outturn, but when the order comes from head-quarters to decrease, he has to decrease, and he does decrease. He knows who his good ryots and contractors are, and he will give up their lands in preference to others. It therefore often happens that the cultivation is decreased without decreasing the outturn.

5573. According to your view as to the profitable crop those people lose a profit?—They lose a profit by giving it up.

5574. In any case, had they any compensation for being deprived of the license?—No. It is a mutual contract. The Government are at liberty to throw it up this year, and the ryot has nothing to complain of. On the other hand, the ryot may refuse, and the Government cannot complain.

5575. You also say that after a bad year Government strains every nerve to increase it?—Yes.

5576. That is, by this process of persuasion through the zilladars?—No, they simply say that they will give advances to anybody who will come and take them. My contention is that the ryot should get more notice of the intentions of the Government. It is not enough immediately after a bad season to say "we want so much extra land." It is not enough to tell them after a good season "we will not take this land for the next year."

5577. (Mr. Fanshawe.) You expressed an opinion with regard to the closing of licensed smoking shops. Would you go further and prevent smoking at clubs, or would you make the possession of madak and chandn a criminal offence?—Do you think that this would be possible?—I do not know of the existence of any native club; I never heard of it.

5578. It is not within your range of experience?—No.

5579. But how far would you go? Would you stop smoking in private houses?—Not at all.

5580. You would allow it in private houses or among people who met together for purpose of smoking opium?—Yes.

5581. You do not think that this could be interfered with in the conditions with which we have to deal?—No. Until this Commission was appointed I did not know that there was a smoking place in my town, but since it has been appointed I have made a few inquiries; beyond that I have no personal knowledge with regard to smoking.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. S. E. PEAL, F.R.G.S., called in and examined.

5582. (*Mr. Fensholt.*) How long have you resided in Assam, and what opportunity have you had of learning the habits of the people?—I have had considerable experience of the use and effects of opium, extending over 30 years in Sibsagar; having employed Assamese, Kachari and Bengali labour for clearing, and cultivation, issuing the drug myself; the monthly supply for some 10 or 12 years amounted to about 40 pounds.

5583. In what capacity have you been living in Assam?—As a tea planter.

5584. During the whole of this time?—Yes.

5585. Sibsagar, I believe, is one of the chief tea-growing districts in Assam?—Yes.

5586. In what part of the district do you grow tea?—On the rolling lands that are above the level of the water, and not on the swamps on which they grow rice; we grow tea on the small hills around the valley.

5587. On the small hills?—Yes. It is grown largely in the plains as well as round the valley. It is grown all over the valley up to the foot of the hills.

5588. Are those tracts where tea cultivation is carried on considered malarious?—Yes. The whole of Upper Assam is a very level country, and perhaps 60 per cent. of the area is completely flooded in the height of the rains. In the dry weather the water is carried off by the rivers.

5589. And the conditions are regarded as malarious?—Quite so.

5590. Will you tell us more fully of what classes of the population you have had practical experience during your management of a tea plantation?—When I went there in 1863 I opened the tea estates entirely by Assamese labour. There were no Bengalis at that time. The villagers were induced to come in and work for the planters by the issuing of opium as a means of currency. They came in large numbers for the purpose of the clearance and cultivation of our tea gardens.

5591. You are speaking of the pure Assamese?—Yes, of the Assamese. In the early days there were no Bengalis.

5592. What classes of labour do you use now?—Bengali labour almost exclusively.

5593. Imported labour?—Yes. Imported from Bengal.

5594. And Kacharis?—Kacharis we receive to a small extent from Western Assam.

5595. Are they residents of the Sibsagar district?—They are residents in Western Assam and travel over the country to the east, and during the rains they remain there as labourers and then go back again.

5596. What has been your experience in regard to the use of opium among the people of this district?—As far as my experience and inquiries went, I never knew boys to indulge in it, and young men very rarely—unless as a medicine; its use was confined to middle-aged and elderly people—as a stimulant and sedative, never producing injurious results at all comparable to the use of spirits among the European working classes, of whom I had an extensive experience for seven years in London, ere coming to India. I could seldom detect an opium-eater by his personal appearance and general habit, and when exploring across the frontiers, east and south-east of Assam, for six weeks at a time, often under very trying circumstances, have been surprised to hear the men of my party of ten or twelve call for the "kassar" (local name for opium-eater) when anything extra difficult or hazardous had to be done. On several occasions I have found out, by this means, that some of the best and most powerful and vigorous of my party were the opium-eaters or smokers—a fact which I was not prepared for from imported prejudices. The staying power and recuperative effect of the drug I have often had opportunities of observing on those expeditions, as also at other times when prolonged physical exertion was necessary, similar, apparently, to the effect produced by cocaine. Its effect on old people seems to be notoriously beneficial. I have known of but one death due to it, and that was a case of determined suicide by a P'nguli coolie.

5597. You have spoken of the use of opium as a stimulant among middle-aged people and of its staying and recuperative property when prolonged physical exercise is required. It is a common belief, I think, that the use of opium is also a preventive against chills and malaria. Is that within your knowledge?—Precisely. It was

generally supposed to be begun in that way as a preventive and also as means of curing attacks of fever and malaria.

5598. Is that a prevalent belief amongst the people of the district?—It is the universal belief.

5599. Do you consider from your own observation that there is any justification for that belief?—I do.

5600. Why?—People have come to me for opium in order to cure them.

5601. That has been within your own experience?—Yes.

5602. It has been stated on the other hand that persons who eat opium are specially liable to be carried off by sickness and dysentery. What has been your experience on that point?—I have not known that; I have not noticed it.

5603. Are you in a position to give us any general idea as to the proportion of people in Assam who eat opium?—No. I can hardly say that.

5604. Is it a large proportion of the people amongst whom you have been thrown?—I should say a large proportion in Assam.

5605. Can you tell us anything about the average quantity eaten, and how many times a day it is taken?—No, I could not say that. I had simply the issuing of it. I never observed the quantities taken.

5606. Will you explain rather more fully what this issue of opium to which you refer was?—It refers to our working under trying circumstances. The climate is very much against the people,—very wet.

5607. You say that for 10 or 12 years you issued opium to your workmen?—Yes.

5608. What were the actual circumstances in which you issued it?—It was issued to my people.

5609. And largely used as a circulating medium?—Very largely as a circulating medium. It passed all over the country. I was very isolated,—a long way off from the station.

5610. How long ago was this?—In the early days, 30 years ago.

5611. In your experience have you come across any cases of excess in opium-eating?—I have known one case of suicide. I have not known any cases of habitual excess in eating.

5612. Will you tell us on the broad results of your long experience in Assam, whether you really think that the effects of opium-eating on the people are prejudicial or not?—I think as it is consumed it is not generally prejudicial, but it is possible that occasionally it may be carried to such an excess as to be very injurious. But I have no cases of that kind before me. My own opinion is that the consumption is not prejudicial.

5613. Can you tell us how the opium-eating habit is looked upon by the people of Assam. Do they regard it as a vice, or in what light do they regard it?—I am not aware that they look upon it as a vice.

5614. How do they regard it?—They regard it as we regard the smoking of cigars or tobacco. I think much in the same way.

5615. Have you had any experience of opium-smoking amongst the natives?—I have seen opium smoked. It is also taken mixed with water and drunk. I have seen it taken both ways.

5616. With regard to smoking, have you seen much of it in Assam?—Yes, a good deal.

5617. Have you seen any ill-effects from it?—No.

5618. How do the people of Assam regard smoking opium as compared with the practice of eating it?—I am not aware of any difference.

5619. Do you think it would be practicable to prohibit the use of opium in Assam?—Any prohibition of the drug generally would be, I think, most disastrous in Assam, and would result in its being at once extensively cultivated in all the hills around among the many savage hill tribes, over whom we hold no jurisdiction. It would be extensively smuggled in as it was in the past. I have seen large quantities in former years taken by Nagas, to sell in the bazaars, and used to have samples of it done up in rolls like tobacco. This illicit growth and sale of the drug by these hill savages has ceased entirely through the Government opium being of such superior quality.

Mr. S. E.
Peal,
F.R.G.S.
7 Dec. 1893.

Mr. S. E.
Peal,
F.R.G.S.
Dec. 1898.

5620. Have you had any special opportunities of making journeys among the Naga Hills?—Yes. I have frequently gone on expeditions across the frontier towards China and Upper Burma in old days when it was desirable to ascertain where the passes were. I used to take ten or twelve men with me. Under these circumstances it used to be exceedingly trying, and travelling was in some cases very dangerous. Great physical exertion was frequently necessary among the people, and my experience is that in cases of that kind opium is frequently beneficial. I saw the beneficial effects of it.

5621. That is what you have already referred to?—Yes. On these expeditions I have also seen opium cultivated by these villagers on large patches that were beyond our boundary. We have no control over the country.

5622. Can you tell me whether ganja (the hemp plant) is largely grown in Assam?—I think not.

5623. Is it grown among the Naga Hills?—Possibly.

5624. Not within your own knowledge?—I know it is grown in the hills, but I have not seen it. I have seen opium which has been carried into the provinces to be sold in the bazaars done up with tobacco. I have frequently come across it. I think it would be utterly impossible to expect to suppress the cultivation of opium among the hills around us, when we cannot get a stop to the head-hunting and other customs of the people.

5625. So you think it would be hopeless to prevent opium cultivation among these hills?—Yes.

5626. And that it would be also a matter of difficulty to prevent smuggling?—It is utterly impossible.

5627. (Mr. Haridas Yeharidas.) Do you take opium?—No. I do not.

5628. Were you in the habit of giving opium to your servants and distributing it?—I have distributed it.

5629. You afterwards discontinued it: did you feel any uneasiness on that account?—No.

5630. (Mr. Wilson.) You have said that you used to employ Assamese labour, and that is now superseded by Indian; could you tell us why?—Formerly there were no Bengalis in Assam. When I came out there were no Bengalis in the country; there were Assamese labourers, and the cultivation of tea was on a small scale. Local labour was sufficient for the purpose of cultivating the small areas then opened out, but later on, as cultivation was increased, there was a great demand for labourers; the Assamese labour was not sufficient, and we imported from Bengal. This has gone on to such an extent that the labour is now almost entirely Bengal labour. The Assamese instead of labouring at our factories grow rice and vegetables which they sell to our Bengali coolies. They make their money in that way. At present our labour force is almost entirely Bengali; in former days it was almost entirely Assamese.

5631. Your answer is that the increased tea cultivation made it necessary to obtain large supplies of outside labourers, and the Assamese fell back to cultivating their own land and supplying food to this imported labour?—Yes. The increase is enormous.

5632. The supply of opium that you mention, was it for the Assamese, or for the Hengalis, or both?—The Assamese. I supplied it to a very large tract of country, probably an area of 200 square miles. These villagers used to send their boys or their younger brothers to me to labour; and they took back opium for their parents in the villages. It was over a very large area. I was not near a station.

5633. That does not continue now that you have Indian labourers?—No. No planter now distributes opium. I think it is distributed at centres,—opium shops. Unless a man takes a license from the Government he cannot supply the opium to his coolies. That was given up 20 years ago.

5634. What you speak of as the monthly supply was not a supply for the consumption of persons working for you, but was the payment of wages?—I did not employ probably 1 per cent. of those who really consumed the opium; it was a very small percentage.

5635. Practically you paid it in wages and they took it back to the districts they came from?—They took their wages back in the shape of opium.

5636. Do I understand that they were so fond of opium that they would come and work for it more readily than they would work for money?—The opium habit seemed to have been a very old one; it may have been several hundred

years old. When we came into the country the Government opium was found to be so superior to the native that they invariably came to me for it in preference to their own opium. I went into the country about the time when the prohibition against growing it was promulgated; and the habit having been handed down from generation to generation the people came to me for pure Government opium and took it away for their parents and others in the villages.

5637. My question was, were they so fond of opium that they would rather work for it, and that money was not so much an inducement?—If they took opium from me they got it in a few minutes, but if they had taken money, they would have had to travel five days' journey to get the same amount of opium. Therefore, they naturally preferred taking the opium from me.

5638. Do I understand that this 40th a month was some considerable proportion of the remuneration which you paid for labour?—Yes, over 50 per cent. probably.

5639. You say that you have not seen boys take it, and young men rarely; did they not suffer from malaria equally with other people?—They may have done so, but I have never known cases of boys taking opium as a habit.

5640. If the district were malarious, and if opium were a valuable prophylactic, you would expect that the boys and young men would be advised to take it equally with their elders?—It may have been given to them by their parents medicinally, but I have not known it as a habit among boys.

5641. Had you either for yourself or for the people working for you any available medical assistance?—For a portion of the time I had; in the earlier days I had none. For the first two or three years I had not any medical assistance. Subsequently we had native doctors.

5642. Practising according to the European system?—Yes.

5643. Did they recommend the habitual use of opium as a prophylactic against malaria?—No, I cannot say that. The Assamese will not take medicine from a practitioner as a rule.

5644. I did not perfectly understand what you said about the *kania* when you were exploring. Were you exploring on your own account or on behalf of the Government?—On my own account. I sent reports to the Government. It was with regard to the height of the passes and the possibility of passing outside to Burma.

5645. In a party of ten or twelve there will be one or two opium-eaters of the kind you mention, *kanias*?—Yes, probably two or three.

5646. And they would call upon a man of this sort to do a special job?—Yes. The man who takes opium is called a *kania*. If the others are not *kanias* they always call them *kanias* to distinguish them.

5647. They put on him a tough job if they do not want to do it themselves?—Yes, I have seen it several times.

5648. What is the price of opium in Assam?—In the earlier days it was Rs. 20 a seer. I think it is Rs. 40 now. With opium at that price a facility is given for growing it in the hills inhabited by these uncivilized people.

5649. I suppose it is still very easy to smuggle?—I do not think there is any grown now. I have no evidence to the side of 20 years of anything being grown in the hills. I mean on the borders of Assam. Towards China a long way off you may see it.

5650. Rs. 40 is so high a price as to encourage smuggling across those hills?—No. I think the crop is so far precious and the danger in smuggling so great that the quality of the Government opium would outweigh the inducement on the other side.

5651. Are you a teetotaler?—Practically so.

5652. Do you dissuade young men from alcohol in any form?—As a rule I think I do.

5653. From that point of view do you regard opium and alcohol as on the same level?—I think alcohol infinitely worse than opium for the native.

5654. For Europeans?—I do not know any Europeans who take opium.

5655. Would it make any difference in your estimate of a man if you knew that he was habitually consuming opium?—I should say that for the native the man who takes liquor is infinitely worse than the man who takes opium, even if he takes it in moderation; but he is much more liable to take liquor in excess than opium in excess.

5656. My question was whether it would alter your opinion of a man if you knew that he was a habitual consumer of small quantities of opium?—I could hardly answer that question.

5657. (*Mr. Fanshawe.*) You have been thirty years in Assam?—Yes.

5658. Can you tell me whether opium-eating is more common or less common now than it was when you went there thirty years ago?—I should think it was less common.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. JAMES WILSON called in and examined.

5661. (*Chairman.*) I believe you are the proprietor and were lately the editor of the *Indian Daily News*. As many of the witnesses who have been called before us are directly connected with the service of the Government of India we recognise that in your position you have had exceptional means of gauging the state of public feeling in this country with reference to the question that has been placed in the hands of the Commission for inquiry. You have means of judging the opinion not only of what may be called the official classes, but the population at large?—Yes.

5662. We shall be glad to have a general explanation or statement from you of your conviction as to the opinions which are entertained by the people of this country with reference to the policy which ought to be adopted in relation to opium.—I believe I have enjoyed a considerable share of the confidence of the people of this country. In my capacity of journalist during the last quarter of a century, I have necessarily become acquainted with their opinions on this subject through the native press which I have had to read, and also very largely through the personal communications I have had with gentlemen, and likewise in the way of correspondence from all parts of the country. I find the general feeling to be adverse to the abolition of the traffic in opium. The grounds of that feeling are fiscal and moral. On moral considerations the people say that if opium were suppressed, greater evils would arise from the consumption of inferior drugs—drugs of a more obnoxious character, and that there would also be a very large increase in the consumption of alcohol. I came across the other day an expression of this view in *Reis and Kayyet*, a native paper, as its name ("Prince and Peasant") implies. It is in an account of some proceedings at a fair at Sonepore. The writer says "That there was much alarm in the opium camp, and the proceedings of the Royal Opium Commission were hotly discussed by the opium-eaters as well as by the cultivators who come in large numbers to Sonepore. We hear a private meeting of the Behar Opium-Eaters' Association was held on the 24th November at midnight to curse the Commission and the Anti-Opium party in England. Their idea is that the people of England want to abolish opium and force alcohol down their throat, instead. They cannot understand the philanthropic, although impracticable, motive of the anti-opiumists. They decided to emigrate to Native States if opium were abolished. They say that they have been so much disturbed in their minds on account of the Royal Commission, that their ordinary dose of opium cannot give them rest and sleep, and so they are obliged to take double doses in order to pacify their mental torture." It would have been better if the Commission had held a sitting at Sonepore, where it could record the evidence of many notable and confirmed opium-eaters. The popular notion seems to be that in order to spread the liquor traffic in an extensive manner, all this fuss is being made. The people of this country are very credulous and believe anything without properly considering it. We hope they will understand and appreciate the high philanthropic motives of the Englishmen which have brought them here to see and to examine for themselves what is the real state of affairs."

Personally I have had very little experience of opium. I have had a number of men in my employ during the last quarter of a century, and some of them have been opium-eaters, but I cannot say I ever observed any particular effects from the use of the drug. The men who are naturally stupid remain stupid whether they take opium or not. The other day one of my assistants occupying a very responsible position told me a fact that I never knew before, that for the last ten years he was an opium-eater. He said he began ten years ago and found great relief from small doses of opium. He assured me that for ten years he had taken every day the same amount, namely, one pie worth, which he divided into two pills, one for the morning and the other for the evening. I asked him whether he felt any need or desire to increase the quantity, and he said, "not in

but I have very little means of judging, for I have not given out opium for twenty years perhaps. I should think it was less now than it was in the old days.

5659. Are you aware that the price of opium has been greatly increased and that the number of shops has been reduced?—The price is about double.

5660. And are you aware that the shops have been very much decreased?—I think so.

the least," he found the quantity was sufficient for him; it answered his purpose, and it gave him ease and comfort. He said he believed that a similar feeling pervaded the whole community, and expressed his belief that as people advanced in life they really needed some such stimulant. The general opinion is that if opium is superseded by alcohol the moral effects will be far more deleterious to this country than are the effects of opium at the present time. With regard to the fiscal considerations, there is undoubtedly great reluctance on the part of the native population to lessen the revenue at present derived from opium. The reasons are two-fold. They fear that some attempt might be made to supply its place by alcoholic beverages and duties, and also (that is the great fear) by direct taxation. They have no hope whatever that England will compensate India for the loss of the opium revenue, and they form that conclusion from the fact that in every case, apparently, whatever expense can be put upon India is put upon India, whether it was to be for wars or frontier expeditions with which India has no special connection. With regard to certain sources suggested as substitutes for the opium revenue, these does not appear to me to be anything hopeful in them. A tax on tobacco has been suggested, but I think that any tax upon tobacco would be extremely objectionable, as stated in an extract from the *Hindu Patriot* which I should like to read:—"The so-called objectionable 'missionary witnesses who have appeared before the Opium Commissioners is characterised by an absence of common sense, which is no doubt highly complimentary to their moral fervour. They propose the sacrifice of the opium revenue, and suggested that the loss should be re-occupied by the imposition of a duty on tobacco. Now, we venture to say that a tobacco tax is about the very last thing which could be recommended for a country like India. Tobacco is the one luxury within reach of the poorest, and to deprive them of their solace in an ordinarily cheerless existence would be the very height of cruelty which a Christian missionary ought to be ashamed to propose."

There is no doubt that there would be great difficulty in levying a tobacco tax, for the reason there stated. Tobacco of a quality that would satisfy the ordinary people of this country could be grown anywhere, and the cultivation could not be suppressed, except by an army of excisemen far exceeding the number employed upon 1,500 miles of the old line, to prevent smuggled salt from the Native States before Lord Mayo agreed with the Native Governments for the British Government to take over the manufacture.

5663. As to the income-tax?—I think that would be even more obnoxious still. When Mr. Massey imposed the income-tax, Mr. David Cowie was a representative of the mercantile community in the Governor-General's Council. I was present in my editorial capacity. Mr. Cowie appealed to Mr. Massey to raise the initial amount subject to income-tax from Rs. 20 to Rs. 500, stating that an income of Rs. 200 per annum was too little to be taxed, in fact not enough on which a man could ordinarily support himself and his family. Mr. Massey at once in a very imperious manner said, "I am not prepared to sacrifice the property of the rich in the interests of the poor." Mr. David Cowie's contention during the collection of the income-tax proved to be correct. There was an army of tax-gatherers and assessors sent out, and they assessed everybody by street row, and many cases of oppression were brought to my notice. They were very largely given to me by missionaries. The Rev. George Kerry brought to my notice very many cases of oppression and desired me to expose them, and I did so. A number of those cases were investigated and proved and embodied in a pamphlet which I sent to every member of Parliament. I do not know whether it was ever read; I much doubt it. It was found that the oppression was so great under Mr. Massey's tax, that when Sir Richard Temple became Finance Minister, Mr. Cowie's idea of making

Mr. S. F.
Peal,
F.R.G.S.
7 Dec. 1898.

Mr. J.
Wilson.

Mr. J. Wilson.
Dec. 1893.

the initial incidence Rs. 500 was carried out. Sir Richard Temple said that that met the objection that the tax was oppressive to the poor, and he affirmed that the tax would not affect more than half a million people. Some said that to tax half a million for the benefit of 300 millions was unjust; nevertheless it was done. There is no doubt that the tax did affect many more than the half a million people that Sir Richard Temple mentioned. There is a village of Singheri, a few miles south of Government House. I went there with Mr. Kerry who agreed to meet the Commissioner of the Presidency Division to investigate a number of cases. I do not know whether it is necessary to go into them in detail. There were not two persons in a whole village liable to be taxed, but at least twenty had been assessed. It was done in this way. A man goes with his paper and says, "You are assessed to the tax so much;" the man says to him "I am a poor man, I cannot pay, why am I assessed?" "It is the Government order; you must pay five rupees." "I cannot." "Then give me one rupee and I will strike your name off," and he does it. The assessor gets a rupee out of the man who is not liable to pay anything; and these cases may be numbered by the thousand. He goes to another man and says "You are assessed at Rs. 100; you are a rich man." "I cannot pay," says the man; "then give me twenty rupees and I will write your name off."

5664. You give us generally this conclusion that the income-tax could not be substituted for the revenue from opium?—That is the general bearing of it. As it is objectionable to have an excise duty on tobacco, direct taxation in any form would be objectionable on the ground that I have mentioned, that taxation of that kind will not pay for honest assessment. I may observe also that the same idea has also been put forward that there should be an addition to the salt-tax. I think that is quite as objectionable.

5665. Summing up the conclusion you have arrived at from your wide general knowledge of Indian opinion, what do you say is the result?—I think the course to be adopted would be to re-impose the cotton duties.

5666. If the opium revenue were withdrawn?—Whether it is or not, I say the cotton duties should be re-imposed.

5667. We must not go further into that; but we understand you state to the Commission that from your opportunities of judging native opinion you believe it to be opposed to a change of policy and action on the part of Government in relation to opium?—Yes.

5668. (Mr. Wilson.) You have quoted an article from *Reis and Kayyot*. Do you attach the slightest importance to it?—I do attach importance to it.

5669. Is not this article from which you have quoted rather a sketchy and satirical account of this fair?—Not that paragraph. I attach importance to it from my knowledge of the editor of the paper.

5670. Do you consider that the article was written by himself?—That I cannot say; I do not suppose that he would have published it if it had not received his approval.

5671. Are we to understand from this paragraph that there exists a Behar Opium-Eaters' Association?—There may be; I do not know it.

5672. Are we to understand from the paragraph that such an Association exists?—The paragraph mentions it, but whether it exists or not I cannot tell.

5673. Do you think that the paper seriously puts it before us that there is at Behar an Opium-Eaters' Association?—He may call it an "association" though there may not be one. It is not printed in capital letters like the Anti-Opium Association.

5674. You believe yourself that a serious Association sat at midnight for the purpose of cursing this Commission?—I believe that something of the kind might have been done, I do not say it was, I have no evidence beyond that.

5675. Can you tell us what phases of opinion the *Hindu Patriot*, which you have quoted, represents?—I should say public opinion generally, on this question.

5676. Generally what phases of opinion does the *Hindu Patriot* represent in the city?—The native communities generally.

5677. As a whole?—As a whole, certainly.

5678. Have you the least idea of the circulation of the paper?—No.

5679. Should I be wrong in suggesting that it is very small?—I have not the slightest idea.

The Witness withdrew.

Mr. W. H. Ryland.

Mr. W. H. RYLAND called in and examined.

5680. (Chairman.) I believe you are President of the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association?—Yes.

5681. And you desire to place the views of the Association before the Commission?—Yes.

5682. You have had extended personal experience of this country?—I have been 40 years in the service of Government.

5683. In what capacity have you served the Government?—During the first portion of my service I was in charge of the Excise Department in two or three districts of Eastern Bengal. I was also in charge of the Excise Department in Calcutta for some time.

5684. Will you make a short general statement to us of the views of the Association with which you are connected and which you have come here to present for our consideration?—The general opinion of the Association is—(1) That the present inquiry has not been called for by any recent development of the circumstances connected with the produce and use of opium. (2) That opium is comparatively innocuous as compared with alcohol and other intoxicating stimulants. (3) That as a narcotic and prophylactic opium has been largely and beneficially used for generations in a variety of disorders and by great numbers of the people all over India without immoderate indulgence or exhibition of evil effects to an extent which needs national interference. (4) That the system of cultivation adopted by the Government under State control is in itself a check upon excessive production and a restriction upon inordinate consumption. (5) That the stoppage of the system would inevitably extend the area within which the plant is capable of growth and cause very much distress among the present cultivators; while absolute prohibition of the use of opium could no more be enforced than the use of other stimulants in every country (Great Britain included) and without the introduction of greater evils. (6) That as regards China and other foreign countries dependent upon India chiefly for the supply of the article, to prohibit its export would only remove the bar to production in other countries where the

plant can almost equally well be cultivated (not excepting China itself) and where benevolent sentiments do not prevail. (7) That it is not less within the power of China, if so disposed, to prevent the traffic if it be in reality regarded with disfavour, though such from most accounts would not appear to be the case. (8) That if the revenue from opium be discarded, there is no other substitute that can be devised without introducing further taxation which would press heavily not only upon those who contribute to the revenue by the consumption of the drug, but upon those also who are innocent of its use. The Association, therefore, so far as India is concerned, considers inquiry to be unnecessary, and would offer a respectful but strong protest against the imposition of any portion of the cost or of any fresh taxation, as its result, upon India.

5685. Do you desire to supplement the general representation of the opinion of your Association by any personal observations from your own experience?—With regard to my first paragraph, I may observe that the tendency for many years past has been to limit the consumption, to reduce the number of licenses, and to increase the rate of taxation. I know also from my own experience that the orders and policy of Government have been to raise the revenue by preventing illicit smoking and manufacture without stimulating consumption. And those officials have been considered the most successful who have best carried out these objects. From some figures I have collected, I have found that the number of licenses for opium has been reduced within the last 20 years.

5686. We have had those figures before us very fully from official sources.—The consumption of opium has increased 80 per cent., while there has been very much more largely an increase in spirits,—115 per cent. within the last 20 years. That shows, at any rate, that opium is the least objectionable of articles of excise in that way so far as the increase of consumption is concerned. With regard to the second point, that it is comparatively innocuous as compared with alcohol and other intoxicating stimulants, I think we

are bound to regard this question relatively and comparatively. The experience of those who have had anything to do with the Excise Department has shewn that if an interference is exercised, and the consumption of any one article is checked, it leads to the consumption of some other stimulant. For instance, I believe that the result of raising the tax on spirits has been that the consumption of tari, which is a much cheaper article, has considerably increased. Opium is also less opposed to religious prohibition and prejudice. To the Mahomedan, spirits are forbidden and he never takes them, but he takes opium and other drugs. The Sikhs are forbidden strictly to use tobacco, and they largely take to opium. The use of opium, I may say, so far as I have known, is considered less disgraceful generally. In fact, I have heard opium-smoking called a princely form of intoxication.

5687. That is hardly a recommendation, is it?—I do not say that it is. The natives consider it in a less degree harmful and disgraceful than spirits.

5688. Still you are speaking of it as a harmful thing?—Yes, I consider that it is like excess in the use of any other stimulant. Comparing it with other drugs, we find no such excess amongst the consumers of opium as amongst those who take alcohol. You do not find that people who take opium are drunk and incapable and disorderly.

5689. As a narcotic and prophylactic it is said that opium has been largely beneficial?—I was in the districts of Dinajpore and Kungpore, two notoriously unhealthy districts where malaria fever was very prevalent. Opium in its raw state is very commonly used there, and it is believed by the people to be very serviceable to them. I think that the circumstances of the people here in this matter also to be considered. They have not the means to resort to medical advice. The Kabirajis commonly recommend the use of opium for dysentery and fever, aches and pains. When a ryot or poor labourer is suffering, he goes to his friend and asks what he would recommend, and his friend advises him to take a little opium. In this way I believe the habit is increased. As a common practice, I think very few people would know of the use of opium without very minute inquiry. People do not exhibit it in a way that attracts observation. With regard to other forms of opium, madak and chandu-smoking; madak, I believe, was introduced by the Mahomedans, and chandu is a form of smoking which has been introduced by the Chinese. It is not we that have taught it to them, but they have brought it to us. These are probably the most enticing and most alluring forms of the use of opium, and if it were possible in any way further to exercise a supervision over it, I think it would be desirable.

5690. Have you any recommendations of a specific character to make as to the action which Government might take?—I have noticed that this prohibition of allowing madak and chandu to be consumed in the shops has led to the establishment of dens. Where there was one smoking place there are probably now ten or twelve. These places are less subject to supervision.

5691. You mean clubs?—Sometimes they call them clubs. People hire places and get together, each man, as I have been told, contributing so much towards the use of the place. The custom of coming together in this way and smoking in company is liable, I think, to encourage the habit.

5692. Do you think the Government should interfere with the formation of these small clubs?—If they are not allowed to smoke in shops I think these dens or places should be open to some sort of supervision.

5693. Do you think that those domiciliary visits could be paid by a Government officer without exciting public discontent?—I think there would be discontent. But I think the people themselves look upon these places as nuisances. That is the only way in which I have known the use of opium to be objectionable. With regard to China, from inquiries that I have made the question seems to be whether they should grow it themselves or purchase opium from us. I have been inquiring of the Chinese and of others whom I have met, and I understand that some years ago the Government there attempted to prevent, not the use of opium, but the use of imported opium.

5694. We have had a great deal of evidence on that point.—As regards the abolition of the revenue from opium I really do not see what substitute could be found for it. I think that to abolish it would very much cripple the Government. I have heard of retrenchment being suggested as a means of meeting the deficiency; but I think that Government are in such circumstances that their resources are needed for other calls upon them, and any retrenchment that might be made could not be diverted to this object.

As regards the Commission, we are very thankful that there is this interest excited and that this public spirit has been shewn in the matter, but we think that it should not be forced upon the people by any legislative measures or any attempt to prohibit the practice. I think it would be attended with some danger. The soldiery are known to be addicted to the use of opium, and any interference with their habits might lead to very serious disorder. A very much smaller thing raised the mutiny in this country.

5695. (*The Maharaja of Darbhanga*.) I think you stated that opium is the only intoxicant allowed to Mahomedans; will you kindly state on what authority you make that statement?—I did not intend to convey that impression. It is not the only intoxicant; but many strict Mahomedans, those who profess to be orthodox, do not use spirits.

5696. (*Mr. Wilson*.) Will you tell us what are the objects of the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association of which you are President?—The objects are to advance the political, moral, social and intellectual improvement of the community in this country; and of course we are in a large manner interested in anything that concerns the revenues or taxation or anything that might follow upon any general measure of the Government.

5697. When was it established?—I think within the last ten or twelve years.

5698. Can you give us any idea as to the number of its subscribers?—I think about 400 or 500.

5699. Chiefly in what part of the country?—In Calcutta and out of Calcutta, at various places; there are branches at Madras, Allahabad, and Bombay.

5700. You have given us what you call the general opinion of the Association; may I ask in what way that has been expressed?—Through the representatives of the Association, who were assembled in committees, and considered this matter.

5701. Have they seen this statement that you have read to us?—They have.

5702. It was submitted to them?—Yes.

5703. And approved by them?—Approved by them generally.

5704. By resolution?—By resolution.

5705. Will you give us the date?—I have not got it.

5706. You state that the present inquiry has not been called for. Are you aware that the Anti-Opium party did not call for this inquiry?—I believe they did; it did not originate in this country as far as I am aware.

5707. My question is, are you aware that the Anti-Opium party in England did not ask for the present inquiry?—I was not aware of that.

5708. You say in No. 5 that the stoppage of the system would inevitably extend the area within which the plant is capable of growth. I imagine the area within which opium is capable of growth depends on the climate and the soil?—It does, but the poppy will grow anywhere, in anyone's garden.

5709. I do not understand how any legislation can extend the area which will be capable of growing the poppy?—I believe it is not intended to prohibit the cultivation altogether; it is intended to confine it to medicinal purposes. It would be very difficult, indeed, to prevent a man from obtaining a license for medicinal purposes and applying it to other purposes.

5710. You do not understand me. I imagine that the area within which a plant is capable of growth does not depend on legislation of any kind. If the plant will grow in one case and if it cannot grow in another, no legislation can alter it?—No.

5711. What do you mean by saying that it would cause distress among the present cultivators?—I think the advances they get from Government are a very great assistance to them.

5712. Do you think that other people would cultivate it?—Yes.

5713. Then the benefit would be transferred to other persons?—It would undoubtedly.

5714. Then it would be as broad as it is long?—No; others will take it because it will be more profitable; they can sell it at their own prices; at present they are bound to deliver it at a certain price.

5715. Where does the distress come in?—The distress among the present cultivators; they would lose the advantage of these advances which they now derive, and which

Mr. W. H. Ryland.
7 Dec. 1893.

Mr. W. H. Ryland.
7 Dec. 1898.

are a very great help to them. If the restrictions were removed they could sell at their own price instead of accepting Government price. Not these ryots alone, but others would step in and begin to cultivate. At present Government circumscribes the area.

5716. If a certain class of cultivators lost the benefit, do you mean that another set of cultivators would share the benefit?—No; they would get no advances, that is, supposing the Government stopped their system.

5717. You say you know from your own experience what is the policy of the Government in this matter; how does your own experience enable you to judge of the policy of the Indian Government or the Home Government?—I judge from the orders that were issued to me when I was in the service that that was the policy of the Government as far as we could make it out.

5718. You drew your own inferences from what you heard?—And we acted according to the instructions we received. I may say that public opinion of course has had a very great effect.

5719. You state that the number of dens has increased, and that there are twelve now where there was one before?—When I say twelve I mean that they are much more numerous.

5720. How do you know?—I have been round and have seen them.

5721. Do you think there were many before the prohibition of smoking on the premises?—Each shop was itself a den.

5722. At that time?—At that time—that is, only within the last year.

5723. Do you not know that there were then a great many illicit dens?—They were punishable.

5724. Do you know that there were a great number of illicit dens then?—I am not aware of it. If they were illicit of course they were established secretly and they were liable to be stopped.

5725. You are not aware that Mr. Gupta told us that there were before the prohibition of smoking on the premises scores of illicit opium dens in Calcutta?—I was Collector in Calcutta, and such a fact never came to my notice; if it was known we should have immediately pounced upon it and stopped it.

5726. Do you think that Mr. Gupta knew something that you did not?—I do not pretend to contradict him. In my experience I was not aware that there were any opium dens permitted.

5727. Do you not know that there are a great many now?—Yes.

5728. Could you find them?—Yes.

5729. Could you take me to a dozen now?—Yes.

5730. (*Mr. Fanshawe.*) Your Association represents Anglo-Indians and others who have thrown in their lot with this country and are mainly resident here?—Yes, and therefore they are interested in anything that concerns India.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. D. Zamin called in and examined.

Mr. D. Zamin.

5731. (*Chairman.*) I believe you represent the Calcutta Trades Association, of which you are past-master?—Yes.

5732. And you are Honorary Presidency Magistrate?—Yes.

5733. We shall be glad to hear from you in general terms your view as to the effects of the opium habit upon people with whom you have been brought in personal contact?—I have had considerable experience amongst native workmen during a long course of years, and I have noticed numbers of opium-eaters among them from time to time. Among the men attending daily a large establishment I should say that there were about ten per cent. who took opium; they were all men of good physique, and, except very occasionally,

when they were drowsy or a little heavy, they always did their work efficiently.

5734. Coming to the point on which you consider your testimony would be more particularly important, we shall be glad to hear your opinion with reference to any prohibitive measures in the direction of preventing the free purchase and use of opium for non-medical purposes?—My belief is that it would be exceedingly distasteful to the people generally, and will cause a great deal of discontent. It will also probably lead to considerable misapprehension of the intentions of the Government.

5735. You therefore consider that such prohibition is not desirable?—I do not think it is.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. T. N. Mukharji called in and examined.

Mr. T. N. Mukharji.

5736. (*Chairman.*) Will you explain to the Commission the position which you occupy in the Public Service?—I was first of all Personal Assistant to the Director of Agriculture and Commerce in the North-Western Provinces; then I was Officer in charge of the Exhibition branch of the Government of India, and in connection with that office I was sent to England during the Colonial and Indian Exhibition; I also went to make arrangements for the Glasgow Exhibition. I now hold the post of Assistant Curator in the Economic and Art Section of the Indian Museum.

5737. Having had the opportunities you have explained to us of visiting England and observing the moral and social condition of the people there, and comparing their condition with that of the inhabitants of this country, you can tell us in a general way what is your view as to the relative effects of the use of opium and the use of alcohol?—Alcohol is many times worse than opium; that is my opinion. I may mention how I came to study the subject of opium. It was 27 years ago when I was engaged in a very arduous work. It was the hot season, and I felt very drowsy. A friend gave me a little pill, and it had a marvellous effect upon me. It removed all drowsiness, and I felt capable of doing a giant's work. Since that time I have been studying this subject. I have been to a good many parts of India, and wherever I went I asked the people about opium, the extent of its use, the manner of using it, and its effects upon the human constitution. I have been paying attention to this subject since 1866.

5738. You are not a professional man, and we have heard very fully from the medical profession a statement of

what they think are the effects of opium. Will you give us your impression in general terms?—My impression is that Europeans entertain a very unreasonable prejudice against opium, especially missionaries. We cannot understand how people who have lived so many years in this country and have freely mixed amongst the people can shut their eyes to the harmlessness of opium, at least in comparison with alcohol. I live in a malarious village, and I have been in various parts of India, and my impression is that opium prolongs life by arresting decay after a certain age. It is no doubt a poison, but people think it necessary to use a certain kind of poison to counteract other poisons. Our people have to work from morning till evening under a tropical sun; they have to stand knee-deep in mud to transplant rice, heedless of torrents of rain from the monsoon sky; they have to stand waist-deep in putrid water to extract jute during some of the most unhealthy months of the year; they breathe air full of miasmatic effluvia and drink impure water. With all these conditions of disease and death surrounding them, I think it would be most cruel and mischievous to forbid them the use of a stimulant or narcotic or sedative, though it be a poison, which their instinct tells them is good for them. That is my opinion with regard to the use of opium in this country. I have known many old people among my relatives and friends who after a certain period of life felt the discomforts of age and then began to take opium; they found it beneficial, and they continued it. Others find that it produces constiveness, and they give it up after a short trial. I have also known younger people suffering from chronic diarrhoea, rheumatism and other diseases, whose life has been a burden not

only to themselves but to others, who, when all other treatment failed, took to opium and got well. I know hundreds of suffering people now enjoying health by the use of opium. I have known many families ruined by alcohol; I do not know a single family that has been ruined by the use of opium.

5739. What do you think would be the feeling of this country if Government were to attempt to promulgate an edict for the total prohibition of the use of opium?—There would be universal dissatisfaction and disaffection all over the country, because things like opium, when not abused, are the poor man's solace. Besides, it is not necessary thus arbitrarily to interfere with the liberty of the people. When opium was sold at Rs. 2 a seer, the good sense of the people prevented them from using it to excess, because they did not like to contract a habit of that kind, however harmless. Now it is Rs. 32 a seer. I think you may depend upon the good sense of the people that they will not abuse it. The people think that all this agitation has for its ultimate object the introduction of more whisky and rum into this country. Our people have read what the European races have done to non-European races in other parts and the world. They have read how Europeans poisoned with strychnine the wells of the aborigines of America, and how they scattered among these people clothes infected with small-pox virus, and how during a famine in Australia, European settlers distributed flour mixed with arsenic to the famishing aborigines, and how finally they are now plying them with fusil-oil whisky and poisonous rum. We cannot understand why agitation should not in the first instance be directed against all these cruel things and why it should be directed against a harmless habit of the people here.

5740. You think they are not prepared to give credit to the Anti-Opium Association as being actuated by the purest motives?—We cannot get the uneducated people to understand this. Personally, I understand the sincerity of the movement, but most of our people cannot understand it. The other day I was sitting in a meeting of the Landholders' Association where a Pleader, a very intelligent man, remarked: "Their vices may remain, but whatever little vice we have must go." In 1890 I recommended the English people to take opium instead of alcohol. These are the words I used:—"Cannot we induce the people of England to eat opium instead of annually spending more than two hundred crores of rupees in the consumption of alcoholic liquors? Opium is amazingly cheap, duty included; it prolongs life after a certain age, and it can be asserted with all the force of truth and seriousness that its substitution in place of alcohol, if that is possible, will bring back happiness to thousands of families in Great Britain and Ireland where there is no happiness now. It is a pity that European Doctors in India have no spare time in their hands, otherwise we would have long heard a strong protest against the attitude of philanthropists, who, leaving their own country steeped in alcoholic drinks, should go so far as China to prevent people there taking a substance which is a thousand times less harmful than alcohol, if not actually beneficial after a certain age and in a certain climate. It will greatly benefit England if her people take to opium, and it will enable us to pay off the "Home charges" by means of this drug with the fictitious value put upon it by the monopoly. It will be an evil day for India if these philanthropists

succeeded in abolishing our opium trade with China, and it is time for rival faddists to spring up with the object of extending the consumption of the Indian opium in England, Europe, and America."

Mr. T. N. Mukharji.
7 Dec. 1893.

5741. And you adhere to those views now?—I know that it is impossible for the English people to take opium instead of alcohol, but my firm belief is that it would do immense good to England if the Anti-Opium Association would direct their attention to that point, i.e., to persuading the people of Great Britain to take to opium.

5742. (Mr. Wilson.) You have stated that the habit of taking opium arrests natural decay after the age of fifty. I can understand that that is an impression on your mind, but I want to know if you have any absolute facts or statistics of any kind in support of your statement?—It is an old saying in the country.

5743. I want to know if you have any statistics or any other way of establishing the fact besides old proverbs?—Such things cannot be proved by statistics. When I see a man of 60 or 65 years of age sleek and young-looking, I look at him and I say at once: "Here is a man of 65, but he looks 50," and then I ask him "Do you take opium?" and he replies "Yes." The other day I met a friend. He does not take opium, but he lives where opium is prepared. He is 46, but he looks 30 or 35. I have known many cases in which old people have looked sleek and young, and almost by looking at their faces I could say "This man takes opium."

5744. You say that the habit of taking opium in excess among those who cannot afford it leads to petty theft? Have you any actual evidence of that?—Yes. When the poor who smoke opium cannot afford to buy it, they generally in the evening go about people's houses and steal a little brass cup or something worth a rupee or so. I was once a police officer and I came across many cases of this kind.

5745. Do you know that of your own personal knowledge?—Yes.

5746. Have you any statistics on the subject?—No statistics are kept. These people are stealers of trifles.

5747. Do some people abstain from opium because they are afraid of contracting the habit?—Many.

5748. Is it a fact that after a man has passed 50, feeling the discomforts of age, a friend will advise him to take opium; that he thinks many times before he takes it, and says "If I can help it I will not be a slave to a drug, however beneficial it may be"?—I have known many such cases.

5749. (Mr. Fanshawe.) Do I understand that you eat opium yourself or not?—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*.

5750. You have taken opium personally, but you are not a habitual consumer?—No, I am not a habitual consumer.

5751. As the result of your inquiries you state that the habit of eating opium frequently grows out of some disease; is that the general result of the attention you have given to the subject?—That is so as a rule.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow at 10-30.

At the Council Chamber, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

TWENTY-FIRST DAY.

Friday, 8th December 1893.

PRESENT :

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B. (CHAIRMAN, PRESIDING).

THE HON'BLE SIR LACHMINSWAR SING BAHADUR,
MAHARAJA OF DARBHANGA, K.C.I.E.
MR. A. U. FANSHAWE.

MR. HARIDAS VEHARIDAS DEBBI,
" H. J. WILSON, M.P.

MR. J. PRESCOTT HEWETT, C.I.E., *Secretary*.

Mr. E. Steel.

Mr. ROBERT STEEL called in and examined.

8 Dec. 1893.

5752. (*Chairman*.) Will you state to the Commission what have been the positions you have filled in India, and how long you have been here?—I have been 22 years in India as a merchant, and during that time I was 4 years a Member of the Viceroy's Council. I have been 16 years Port Commissioner, and have been generally occupied with the affairs of the place.

5753. Have you been concerned as a merchant to any extent in the opium trade with China?—Not in any way.

5754. You are here to speak to the Commission, and no one can be more competent to do so with reference to the trade between India and China in opium regarded in its commercial aspect.—My object in coming here was to represent public opinion as to the financial aspect of the question. Like every one else, I have formed my own opinions, but they have been formed on evidence which has been brought before the Commission, and it is therefore unnecessary for me to repeat them.

5755. The Commission would be exceedingly glad to hear from you, on behalf of the commercial community, their general view of the question.—The commercial community are satisfied that no evils result in India from the consumption of opium. Rather they consider the reverse. On the financial question they consider that it is impossible for us to do without the opium revenue; that no substitute can be found for it. They consider that it would be bitterly resented by all classes throughout India if an attempt were made to take away the opium revenue.

5756. Would you develop more in detail the reasons why, in the opinion of the commercial community here, the revenue derived by Government from opium is indispensable?—The Government of India is in severe financial straits already. If the opium revenue be taken off, it would be necessary to find some substitute, and I am not aware of any substitute. The only possible thing that might be done, would be to put on an import duty on piece-goods which would not produce more than a third or a fourth of the present revenue from opium, or to double the salt-tax, to which, as you know, there are many objections.

5757. Will you explain as fully as you can to the Commission in what way the loss of the trade with China in opium would prejudicially affect India's position in regard to the general balance of trade?—On the assumption that the exportation of opium was prohibited?

5758. You can discuss it upon that assumption.—Assuming that the other produce were grain instead of opium, and that the whole of that produce were exported, the value of that produce would not be more than a quarter of the value of the opium which is exported, and the balance of trade would be affected, according to my estimate, to the extent of six millions sterling.

5759. How would that affect the ability of the Government to sell its bills in London?—The power of the Government to maintain the value of the rupee at a higher point than its silver equivalent depends upon the balance of trade. They cannot permanently maintain the rupee above the value of uncoined silver, except by maintaining a balance of trade sufficient to defray the obligations of the Government of India in London. They may do it temporarily, as they

are doing it now, by borrowing gold in London and locking up silver in India; but that must come to an end; it is only a question of time how long they can go on.

5760. We have been told that the Chinese indebtedness to India in respect to its importations of opium is partly adjusted by the exportation of silver into India; do you know anything of that?—Occasionally small quantities of silver come from China to India, but the trade is comparatively unimportant. China pays for her imports from India of opium and yarns; she pays in London by the produce of the silk and tea that she sells in London. Through the exchange banks the matter is adjusted in London. Occasionally some adjustment is required by sending bullion one way or the other, but that is comparatively unimportant.

5761. I take it from you that the adjustment of China's liabilities to India by the exportation of silver bullion to this country is not sufficiently considerable to exercise a prejudicial effect on the value of the rupee in this country?—No.

5762. Looking at the question from your independent stand-point, may I take it that you would view with regret any substantial change in the policy of the Government in relation to the opium revenue?—I should view it with great regret. In my opinion any proposal to do away with the opium revenue would be met by such a tremendous agitation throughout India, that no responsible Government could possibly venture to go on with it.

5763. Assuming that the growth and exportation of opium were not prohibited, but permitted as at present, have you any suggestion to offer with regard to the regulation under which the trade is now permitted to be conducted? Do you know from any knowledge of your own that there is occasion for a greater strictness in the regulation of the licenses for the retail sale of chandu or madam, or otherwise?—I have no knowledge of my own which would lead me to that conclusion. During my 22 years in India I have never known a case of anybody being injured by eating or smoking opium.

5764. Looking at the question from a moral stand-point, do you consider that the position of the Government in Bengal, where it has a monopoly of the trade, is less satisfactory than its position in Bombay, where it only appears as the collector of an export duty, and in fact it may be regarded generally as exercising a restraining influence upon the trade?—I see no moral distinction between the two courses; it is a question of expediency.

5765. Are there any other points upon which you would like to speak to us?—We lay the greatest stress on the objection to the finding of any other revenue in place of this.

5766. You declare it to be impossible?—Utterly impossible. I believe the agitation would be so tremendous that nothing could stand before it; it would be a very serious political danger.

5767. As to whether it would be reasonable to claim from the Home Government that it should take a larger share in the loss and relieve the Government of India of some portion of their charges, you do not feel perhaps that

you are particularly called upon to offer an opinion?—According to my calculation it would cost 200 millions sterling; the Commission are the best judges as to whether the House of Commons is likely to sanction such an expenditure.

5768. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Is the Chamber of Commerce chiefly composed of natives of Europe?—Entirely of natives of Europe.

5769. It represents what may be called the European commercial community?—Yes.

5770. Is it the Chamber of Commerce of Calcutta?—Of Bengal.

5771. You referred to the amount of bullion that is sent from China occasionally; can you give us any figures upon that point?—I have not the figures with me, but they will be at the command of the Commission from some one who has them accurately.

5772. The amount you mention sounds very large; can you say what proportion it constitutes of the total trade?—It varies extremely, in some years perhaps none; in other years a crore and a half. I think that is the greatest amount I remember. I would rather not speak definitely as to the figures.

5773. Would your Chamber be able to furnish the figures?—I have no doubt they would.

5774. You just now spoke of 200 millions; what claims do you include in that?—The capitalization first of the revenue, and I include a sum which will be required to compensate the Native States for their loss of revenue; then there would be possible claims made by cultivators for the diminished value of their land, but I will not speak of that, because there are others who can give better information on that point. Altogether not less than 6 millions sterling per annum would have to be found, which we may take to represent a capital sum of 200 millions.

5775. You have referred to the possibility of compensating cultivators; did you ever hear of any cultivator being compensated?—No, I have not heard of any.

5776. (*Mr. Fanshawe.*) May I ask if you have not had in many ways an intimate knowledge of the tax-payers of the country, so that you may claim to represent their views with some authority?—I have.

5777. Your remarks would apply largely to the tax-payers of the country?—Entirely so.

5778. I understand that you speak more directly as to the interests of the trade of India?—I wish to speak in the interest of the tax-payers of India.

5779. How would you regard the abolition of the opium revenue as between the interests of Indian trade and the interests of English trade?—It appears to me that it would be to the interests of neither.

5780. Has it occurred to you that it would affect the interests of England perhaps more directly in increasing

the trade from England to China?—I think not. I think the Chinese will have their opium, and if we do not give it, they will grow it for themselves.

5781. You would not distinguish between the effect of the abolition of the opium revenue on the trade of India and on the trade of England with China?—I do not wish to distinguish in that way.

5782. With regard to the effect of exchange, it has been stated in a memorial before us that the stoppage of the trade in opium would in all probability have a very beneficial effect on silver exchanges "by putting an end to the drain of silver from China to India in favour of opium, thereby enabling the Chinese to substitute the use of silver for their present encumbering copper coin, thus tending to check depreciation of silver, which is at present so serious an embarrassment in the finance of India." Can you express an opinion as to whether the stoppage of the trade would tend to check the depreciation of silver?—It would have a directly contrary effect.

5783. Will you explain your reasons for holding that view?—The only way in which the value of the rupee can be maintained at a higher level than its metallic equivalent is by maintaining the balance of trade in favour of India to a sufficient extent to pay her indebtedness in England, and also to pay for any bullion which is required to be imported. The financial measures of the Government of India taken last June have already greatly interfered in my opinion with the balance of trade, and have brought upon them serious difficulties; but if by the prohibition of the exportation of opium you take another sum of 5 or 6 millions from the balance of trade, the situation is hopeless, and the rupee must fall to its metallic equivalent.

5784. I do not know whether you have read the opinion of Sir David Harbour given before the Commission on that point; practically you seem to take the same view as he did?—Sir David Harbour, I think, ridiculed the suggestion, and I would take the same line. I do not know that he answered in detail so much as I do. Supposing other produce to be grain in place of opium, and supposing that produce to be exported, its value would be so much less than the value of the opium which we now export, that the balance of trade would be affected to the amount of 6 millions.

5785. (*Mr. Wilson.*) You said in reply to Mr. Fanshawe that you spoke rather from the point of view of the Indian tax-payer?—I did.

5786. I thought when you were speaking to him you were speaking from the stand-point of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce?—I am able fortunately to speak for both.

5787. Will you tell me what opportunities you have of knowing exactly the views of the Indian tax-payer?—I have had great opportunities during my time of constant communication with natives as well as Europeans, and I claim to speak with a certain confidence of the opinion of India.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. W. H. CHEETHAM called in and examined.

5788. (*Chairman.*) I understand that you have been intimately connected with the industry of this country, employing over 6,000 natives?—Yes.

5789. How long have you been in India?—Twenty-eight years.

5790. What has been the nature of your engagement here?—For the first 17 years I was engaged in the piece-goods trade; since that time I have been connected with a firm which has very large industries in cotton spinning, indigo factories, tea factories, steamers, collieries, and shellac works.

5791. Are these industries exclusively connected with Bengal?—Yes, including Assam of course.

5792. Does your experience give you confidence in expressing an opinion as to the disposition which the people of India may manifest towards any proposal for substituting other forms of revenue for the revenue derived from opium?—As far as the industries situated in Calcutta are concerned it does.

5793. What is your opinion would be the feeling that natives would entertain towards any change of taxation arising out of the loss of the opium revenue—what would they say to increased direct taxation?—They would object to it very strongly.

5794. Is there any form of indirect taxation that you think would be accepted?—Absolutely none.

5795. You cannot suggest any?—I cannot suggest any tax. I think that every tax which could possibly be levied has been considered by the financial advisers of the Government and has been criticised in every possible way, only to be condemned.

5796. May I take it that people would not like an increased tax on clothing imported from Lancashire and elsewhere?—That would probably be the least objectionable tax which could be imposed.

5797. Would such a tax be likely to be productive?—I think it would produce at the rate at which it was last levied about a crore and a half. The rate formerly was 5 per cent. on piece-goods, and 3½ per cent. on yarns; at this time it would be found to produce about a crore and a half irrespective of any excise on Indian mills which, I presume, we should have to submit to.

5798. Such a tax would be least objectionable to the people of India and most objectionable to the people of Lancashire?—Just so.

5799. You have discussed salt and tobacco. What do you say to that?—I do not think that the people of Bengal get enough salt. The tax on salt is five times its value.

X

Mr. E. Steel.
8 Dec. 1893.

Mr. W. H.
Cheetham.

Mr. W. H. Cheetham.

8 Dec. 1898.

and I should object strongly to an increase of the salt-tax, except under the direst necessities of the Government.

5800. Among the large number of working people with whom you are connected as an employer, is the use of opium widely prevalent?—Our resident native doctors inform me that about 5 per cent. of the working people eat opium. They draw a wide distinction between eating and smoking opium.

5801. Do the majority of those who use opium take it in a solid form, or do they smoke it?—In what you call a crude or solid form.

5802. What is the opinion of your native doctors with reference to the effects of opium upon your working people who use it in a solid form?—Their opinion is, that as long as the people are well nourished, the use of opium has no bad effect whatever upon them.

5803. Do they think that sometimes it has a good effect?—Yes.

5804. As to smoking?—Smoking is only indulged in by about six people out of a population of 3,000 in the village close to the mills, and those people are regarded as outcasts by the rest of the community.

5805. So that to the consumption of opium in the form of smoking the natives entertain a general objection, and you believe that the practice is harmful?—Yes.

5806. Can you suggest any means by which the Government could restrain more efficiently and directly than

The witness withdrew.

Mr. FERDINAND SCHILLER called in and examined.

Mr. F. Schiller.

5813. (*Chairman.*) I understand that you have been delegated to appear before us as a representative of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce?—Yes.

5814. You are here, are you not, to give evidence as to the possibility of substituting other taxation for the opium revenue?—Yes.

5815. You have heard already Mr. Steel and Mr. Cheetham; may I ask you on this subject whether you concur in their views?—I entirely concur in their views. I absolutely know no taxation that could be substituted for the opium revenue. You might double the salt-tax and double the petroleum duties, and introduce a tobacco-tax, but you would still have an enormous deficiency. You might of course introduce the Manchester duties again, which would be very much resented at home, but they would be the least onerous upon the population, because the people who clothe themselves and can pay such a tax would be chiefly the wealthier classes: the poorer classes chiefly use country cloths.

5816. What do you think of the tobacco-tax?—That, I am afraid, would be very difficult to collect. Every native

The witness withdrew.

Mr. NIL BATAI SIRCAR, M. A., M. D., called in and examined.

Mr. Nil Batai Sircar, M. A., M. D.

5820. (*Mr. Wilson.*) You are a Master of Arts?—Yes.

5821. And Doctor of Medicine?—Yes. I am also a Fellow of the Calcutta University in the Faculties of Arts and Medicine, and I am Lecturer of Forensic Medicine in the Calcutta Medical School.

5822. What classes, races or castes have you had experience amongst?—Amongst Hindus and Mahomedans of different classes.

5823. For how many years?—I have been in practice as a medical man for the last six years, but I was qualified about twelve years ago.

5824. What special opportunities have you had for observing?—I was for two years House Surgeon of the Mayo and Chandney Hospitals, where the daily average of outdoor attendance exceeds 300. I have also to deal with opium-eaters professionally every now and then.

5825. How far is opium-eating or drinking prevalent amongst these classes more than opium-smoking?—In my opinion, 10 per cent. in the upper and middle classes, and barely 1 per cent. amongst the lower classes take opium. This, of course, includes cases of opium-smoking. Opium-eating is prevalent more among the upper and middle classes

it now does the practice of smoking opium in this country?—I cannot.

5807. You think that native opinion is the best force to employ to keep that practice in check?—If there is any harm arising from the use of opium, it can only be removed by the growth of education.

5808. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I may take it that on most of the points to which Mr. Steel has referred you substantially agree with him?—I do.

5809. You say in your printed statement "I understand my evidence is required chiefly upon the willingness or otherwise of the people of India to accept additional taxation to make up for a substantial loss of the opium revenue"?—Yes.

5810. I suppose you are aware that the agitators in England have maintained that that ought to be borne by England?—I am.

5811. With regard to salt, do I understand you to mean that a large portion of the population of Bengal is unable to obtain sufficient for domestic use, or for manufacturing purposes?—I mean for domestic use.

5812. You are not referring to any large consumption for special purposes?—No. May I state that the native doctor of our mills told me that one-third of the population of Bengal is unable to get salt, and that the people burn the stems of plantain trees to get a little saline matter to mix with their food?

would grow tobacco, so to speak, in his ring fence in his homestead; it would be extremely difficult to tax it.

5817. Do you think that interference on the part of the Government with the growth of opium would be resented by the great mass of the people?—I do think so. I think the people would see in it the first step towards interfering with their religion and their habits.

5818. Is there any other essential point upon which you wish to speak to us?—No, except the impossibility of substituting other taxes.

(*Chairman.*) It is important that the Commission should have before it the opinion upon that question of the important body which you represent. You have declared your views or the views of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce upon the subject, and I do not know that it would make them more emphatic if I call upon you to repeat the same statement over and over again.

5819. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I understand that you agree substantially with what the two gentlemen who preceded you said?—Yes, with Mr. Steel and Mr. Cheetham.

than among the lower classes; whereas opium-smoking is almost confined to a section of the lower stratum of the middle classes. People belonging to the masses rarely take opium. 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.

5826. When is the habit generally acquired?—The habit is generally acquired between the 30th and the 40th year, though cases of opium-smoking have been known to commence earlier.

5827. What are the motives which induce people to take opium?—In most cases indulgence and luxury. Some take it as an aphrodisiac. I may add that when taken as an aphrodisiac, I have also seen it administered to their wives in many cases.

5828. Is it easy to abandon the habit when once formed?—It can be relinquished but with difficulty. In some

cases most dangerous and evil consequences have taken place after relinquishing opium. I know cases of that sort. But ordinarily the habit can be relinquished with some difficulty.

5829. Is there a marked difference between moderate and excessive consumers?—That is a question which I could not thoroughly understand; it was rather vague, and I could not answer the question definitely.

5830. The question is whether you draw any particular and marked distinction between those who are in the habit of taking opium in small quantities or in moderation and those who take large or excessive quantities?—In the case of alcohol it is easy to make a distinction, but in the case of opium, it is not easy. Under one ounce of alcohol, corresponding to two ounces of brandy, it would be almost harmless; but in the case of opium it is different.

5831. What proportion of income does each habitual smoker spend on opium?—The proportion varies in different classes. It is very trifling with the members of the upper class. It is a pretty good drain upon the income of the members of the middle class; and it is not less than one-fourth of what a member of the lower class earns as his day's wages.

5832. Is there any general tendency to increase the dose?—Yes, at first a small dose is sufficient to fulfil the desired object, but as the victim becomes more and more habituated to the drug, he generally not only requires a larger dose, but also at a shorter interval.

5833. What do you say as to the results of the habit, physically, mentally, and morally?—When habitually taken opium acts as primarily a stimulant chiefly of the brain, but also to some extent of the circulatory system. When taken in small doses (less than 1 grain for the first few weeks), this stage of excitement lasts for 5 or 6 hours and is followed by sound sleep. The after-effects when the primary sleep and excitement have passed away, are nausea, headache, depression, and listlessness. As the habit becomes confirmed the excitement diminishes and the miserable after-effects become more marked and more prolonged. To combat this depression of spirits, a larger dose is often had recourse to. When the victim sticks to a very small dose and when he can manage to live upon milk and other similar nourishing articles of diet, the evil effects of the habit are not so well marked for a fairly long time, but the process of digestion being slowly impaired, mal-nutrition is sure to supervene in the long run. As a rule, however, the dose is indefinitely increased in most cases; the process of general nutrition suffers materially within a short time; the power of resistance to disease generally becomes diminished, and the opium-eater becomes pre-disposed to some diseases, for example, cold, bronchitis, diarrhoea, dysentery and dyspepsia. The power of repair becomes also slow; and hence the confirmed habit of opium-eating is looked upon by surgeons as a disadvantage in operation cases. 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 re-action on the system. As a rule opium-eaters die of very trivial complaints; opium has no dietetic value. The exhilaration of mind produced in the first stage of opium intoxication, together with the sense of freedom from anxieties and sufferings of all sorts, is the great temptation of opium. In a beginner this effect is extremely deluding, and if he sticks to a small dose it may last with him for a fairly long period. But with a confirmed opium-eater who often takes to an increased dose gradually, this effect vanishes soon. Sooner or later torpor of the mind supervenes and the victim becomes dull, apathetic, enfeebled in intellect and, in fact, almost demented. The moral nature of the victim is also slowly but steadily affected. He becomes gradually more and more idle, sluggish, shy and cowardly; he has no scruples to give false evidence in Court; he has no scruples to steal other people's property. In many cases the moral sense becomes almost perverted. All these effects are much more pronounced in the opium-smoker than in the opium-eater.

5834. Have you any knowledge as to the experience of Life Insurance Companies on this subject?—Yes, I am connected with a Life Insurance Company in this city. Ordinarily we do not pass opium-eaters, but if any candidate takes small quantities we pass him at a higher premium.

5835. Can you give any opinion as to the proportion of injurious results that follow from opium-eating?—In three-fourths of the cases in some shape or other.

5836. What do you say in regard to any popular opinion as to opium being a protection against fever?—I do not

think that the public have the idea that opium is a protection against fever.

5837. Do you think that it is?—No, I do not. There is no evidence to prove the supposed prophylactic action of opium against fever.

5838. Is the use of opium specially useful in malarious districts?—I do not think it has ever been used as a useful medicine in malarious districts, either as a prophylactic against fever, or as an antiperiodic in the course of the fever. It has, however, been tentatively used by Dr. O'Shaughnessy in malarious fever in the intermission stage as an antiperiodic, but as regards this action he himself says: "The antiperiodic virtues of the drug are scarcely procurable from any safe doses." I have been to several of the malarious districts of Central and East Bengal, and nowhere have I noticed opium appreciated by the people as a preventive against malarious fever; on the other hand, I have noticed opium-eaters equally affected with malaria with abstainers.

5839. Do you consider that opium is useful, or that the people believe it to be useful to enable working people to get through their work?—Certainly not. In Bengal the working people are much better without opium. The use of opium would make them much more idle, dull and torpid than they actually are. On the other hand, I have been credibly informed that the lower class people of Assam and certain hill people who take opium are extremely idle and leave the greater part of their manual work to their wives and daughters who take less opium and are much more active. Compared with the opium-smoking chair-coolies of China, who on the authority of Mr. Cooper could work well as long as they got their daily supply of opium, but "became wretchedly weak and miserable after a single day's absence, and who would be down with water streaming from their eyes, listless, disinclined to eat and unable to sleep" without opium, our working people, malaria-stricken and ill-fed as they are, are much more advantageously situated, being much more regular, steady and hardy in their work. I have a very poor idea of the working capacity of the opium-smokers. I speak of Bengal only.

5840. Do you think that the taking of opium is regarded as disgraceful or discreditable?—Yes. The words *afim-khor* (opium-eater) and *gooli-khor* (opium-smoker) are terms of reproach.

5841. In reference to the licensing system, do you think that the existing method of granting licenses for the sale of opium tends to the spread of the habit, or to its restriction?—To the spread of the habit.

5842. Has the closing of the shops for consumption on the premises been fully carried out in your opinion?—Not in Calcutta so far as I know.

5843. Can you tell us whether you think that the results of prohibiting consumption on the premises have been so far beneficial?—I have not formed any opinion on that point.

5844. Do you think it would be desirable to prohibit the sale of opium except for medical purposes?—Yes.

5845. Do you think that the public opinion of India would justify anything of that kind?—So far as I can gauge public opinion, they will support it.

5846. Have you formed any opinion as to the mode of dealing with the loss of revenue?—I think myself not competent to speak on that subject.

5847. If there were any further restriction or prohibition, would it be desirable to make special provision for the wants of those who are already accustomed to the use of opium?—Yes, at least for some time.

5848. Do you suggest what means could be adopted for doing that?—It may be a doctor's prescription, as other medicines are sold.

5849. Is it not the case that there are large parts of Bengal in which there are no medical men available?—Yes, there are some places, and in those places I think it may be sold through Post Offices, as quinine is now sold to malaria-stricken people by the Government.

5850. Are you acquainted with Sanskrit books of medicine?—Some of them.

5851. Do you wish to say anything in reference to the introduction or the use of opium as mentioned in Sanskrit books?—All I know is that the word "opium" does not occur in early Sanskrit works. The date of Veda Prakas, the earliest work in which opium is mentioned, has been fixed by Dr. Wise as three hundred years ago. There is a particular disease mentioned in that book which prevailed first amongst the Portuguese and is called Firingi

Mr.
Nil Kant
Sircar,
M.A., M.D.
8 Dec. 1893.

Mr.
Nil Katan
Sircar,
M.A., M.D.

8 Dec. 1898.

Rog. That is the name under which syphilis is described in Vaba Prakas. That shewed that the book must have been compiled after the Portuguese had been in India. Besides that a remedy for the disease is also mentioned.

5852. I dare say you are aware that we have had some native practitioners here according to the Ayurvedic system who have told us that opium was recommended in some of their books eight hundred years old?—Yes, but I do not think Vaba Prakas, the earliest work in which opium is mentioned, is eight hundred years old.

5853. You are aware that we have had a good deal of medical evidence here of a very different nature from your own: are you able to tell us anything of what you believe to be the general opinion of your profession in Calcutta practising according to European methods, whether European gentlemen or Indian? Can you tell us whether the views you have expressed or the views expressed by Dr. Crombie and Dr. Harvey are the more generally held by members of your profession?—That is a question I am not competent to answer.

5854. (Mr. Fanshawe.) You say that your professional experience extends over six years?—Yes.

5855. Has it been limited to Calcutta?—Not entirely limited to Calcutta. I have made frequent tours in Eastern Bengal and Central Bengal and other places. Calcutta is the principal field of my practice.

5856. Have you made the opium habit among the people a subject of any special inquiry or study?—Not of special inquiry, but I have frequently come in contact with opium-eaters and I have noticed them and formed my opinion about them.

5857. In the medical profession I think the opinion of a medical man carries weight in so far as it represents a wide experience, or the results of what might be called adequate statistical inquiry; would that be so?—Of course.

5858. In one of your answers you have stated that the cultivators and the fishermen who pass the greater part of their time in the marshy parts of Bengal are not in the habit of taking opium?—Yes.

5859. Where have you acquired your experience of these classes of people?—In several districts. I belong to the 24 Parganas, and am a native of where cultivators and fishermen never take opium. I have several times been to Eastern Bengal where I have met many of the lower class people and fishermen living on the banks of the river. I have inquired of them, and they never take opium. The only thing that many of them take is ganja.

5860. On what occasions have you been to the districts of Eastern Bengal, and what opportunities have you had of studying the habits of the people there?—I have been there frequently on professional and friendly visits in Mymensingh and Dacca.

5861. Lasting for any length of time?—Lasting for one week, sometimes two weeks, sometimes ten days—different lengths of time.

5862. On these occasions were you brought into contact with the fishermen and the labouring classes?—On several occasions I have come in contact with them.

5863. It is only on these occasional visits to these districts that you gained your knowledge of these people; is that correct?—I have been to Eastern Bengal several times. I am a native of this district, 24 Parganas, but I have relatives and friends in different districts of Eastern Bengal. Noakhally and Chittagong are the only districts I have not visited.

5864. You have further stated that the lower class people spend on an average one-fourth of their day's wages on opium?—Yes. Those who take it.

5865. What do you regard as an average dose? How much opium do these people take in the day?—Four grains in the morning and four in the evening.

5866. What would the price of that be in Calcutta?—About two pice, or half an anna.

5867. It has been stated that five grains in Calcutta could be obtained for one pice.—About four grains for one pice, or eight grains for two pice.

5868. Then do you mean that two pice represent one-fourth of the average daily wages of the work people?—I have explained that.

5869. You mean two pice plus additional expenses on account of extra diet?—That is what I mean.

5870. You speak of sweetmeats not ordinarily forming part of the family diet; does that apply to persons of the

middle class?—Ordinarily that applies to middle class people; they do not take sweetmeats every day.

5871. In 1887 I was a president of a small committee to enquire into the comparative cost of living in Calcutta and Simla. We took the evidence of a number of Bengali clerks who gave the details of their articles of daily food, and in every case, according to my recollection, they stated that they ate sweetmeats as a matter of ordinary diet: is that correct or not?—In my opinion that is not correct so far as the average middle class people are concerned.

5872. Sweetmeats do not form part of the ordinary diet during the day?—Some of them take it at tiffin.

5873. Then they do form part of their ordinary diet during the day?—Not to all, and the opium-eater requires more.

5874. You have stated that the confirmed habit of opium-eating is a great disadvantage in operation cases: have you performed operations in the case of opium-eaters?—I have not, but I know Surgeons who have avoided it, unless it was an operation of emergency.

5875. What was their reason for this?—My own professor, Dr. McCleod, used to say that it was a disadvantage, and in his own book he mentions it as a disadvantage.

5876. You are aware that other medical witnesses have expressed a different opinion?—Yes.

5877. You are therefore not speaking of your own knowledge?—Yes, of my own knowledge. I would avoid operations on opium-eaters.

5878. You have also said that as a rule opium-eaters die of very trivial complaints: do you mean eaters in excess or eaters in moderation?—With but few exceptions confirmed opium-eaters run to excess.

5879. "Confirmed" is a general word; I understand it to mean habitual; do you mean habitual eaters in excess?—I cannot draw a sharp line of demarcation between one eating it in excess and one in moderation. If it is taken a long time it generally runs to excess.

5880. You think that the habitual use generally leads to excess?—Yes.

5881. Then what do you mean by saying that opium-eaters die of trivial complaints?—Complaints that would be extremely trivial in other cases—ordinary slight fever which may run to 102, with slight bronchitis, diarrhoea, ordinary attacks of dysentery; extremely trivial complaints in other people, but dangerous in the case of opium-eaters.

5882. Have you had experience yourself of such cases?—Yes, several.

5883. Do you mean five or six?—More than that.

5884. You have also said that the opium-eater has no scruples about giving false evidence in Court; is that within your own experience?—I passed my younger days with opium-eating young men in my village, and I knew opium-eaters who gave false evidence in Court. I do not mean all opium-eaters.

5885. Then you would like to qualify that statement?—Yes.

5886. Will you tell us what you really mean?—I mean many confirmed opium-eaters and opium-smokers.

5887. And your knowledge on the subject is what you gained as a boy and a youth in your own village?—Yes.

5888. You further say that the opium-eater is unscrupulous about stealing other people's property?—That has special reference to opium-smokers in our village. If any petty theft occurred, say, losing an ordinary household utensil, or having any orchard robbed, people would go to the opium-smokers at once, and in nine cases out of ten the article would be recovered.

5889. You qualify your former statement, therefore, by saying that these remarks apply to opium-smokers?—Yes; to confirmed opium-eaters in excess and to smokers. That is the rule, but I do not mean it to be taken as a universal proposition.

5890. You said you have never heard anything of the use of opium in malaria; are you aware that the people of the country have a belief that it does prevent chills or malarial influences?—I am not aware of it.

5891. You have never come across that belief in any district?—I have frequently come in contact with the masses, but they never told me that they had that belief. I have inquired whether they had that belief, and they said they had not.

5892. You have said that you have been credibly informed that the lower class people of Assam, and certain

hill people who take opium, are extremely idle, and so on : to what classes do you refer?—I refer to the labouring classes.

5893. The cultivating classes?—Yes, it includes the cultivating classes.

5894. Have you made any inquiries on that point?—Yes, I have made inquiries of my friends, and I have been informed that the class of people who do not take opium are much more active and laborious than ordinary opium-eaters.

5895. (Chairman.) You have no personal knowledge?—I have not.

5896. (Mr. Fanshawe.) You have used the word *goli-khor*; I believe that means a smoker of *madak*?—Yes.

5897. And that would be employed as a term of reproach?—Yes.

5898. Does *goli-khor* represent as regards opium what the term "drunkard" would represent as regards alcohol—does it mean an opium eat or an eater in excess?—It means the opium-eater.

5899. An opium-eater generally, or one who eats opium in excess?—It means the confirmed opium-eater.

5900. (Chairman.) You have expressed the opinion that opium is of no dietetic value whatever?—Yes.

5901. Do you entertain a similar opinion with regard to alcohol?—No; alcohol has a dietetic value of its own. It contributes energy to the body when taken in small quantities, and it acts as an article of food in small doses.

5902. Do you recommend that persons in ordinary bodily health should in any way, however small, be regular consumers of alcohol?—No, certainly not.

5903. Would you only recommend alcohol to be used for medical purposes?—For medical purposes, and when it is so used it has one advantage, *viz.*, that it has a dietetic value of its own.

5904. (Mr. Wilson.) With reference to those special articles of diet—milk, ghee, sugar, sweetmeats, &c.—that do not ordinarily form part of the family diet, are you referring to the poor people or the middle class people?—I am referring to the poorer classes and the middle classes, at the same time—the lower stratum of the middle class—considered from a pecuniary point of view, and also lower class people. In our country we cannot make any class distinction exactly on a pecuniary basis. There are middle class people who are on the brink of starvation, but still called middle class, and among them there are many who do not take those things.

Mr.
Nri Ratan
Sircar,
M.A., M.D.
8 Dec. 1893.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. HERAMBA CHANDRA MAITRA, M.A., called in and examined.

Mr. Heramba
Chandra
Maitra,
M.A.

5905. (Mr. Wilson.) I believe you are Professor of English in the City College?—Yes, I am also an Examiner of the Calcutta University.

5906. In what?—In English.

5907. What is the City College, and how far does it carry its students?—It is one of the great private institutions of the city, and it has about 1,500 students in all departments.

5908. Young men or boys?—There are college classes for young men and school classes for boys.

5909. Where do you belong?—To the Nuddea district.

5910. Is that a malarious district?—Yes.

5911. Amongst your acquaintances and friends and neighbours, do you think that opium is used as a preventive or prophylactic against malaria?—No, I have never seen it so used, nor have I heard of its being so used.

5912. Is it ordinarily used as a domestic medicine?—Ordinarily it is not used; it is only used in some few cases.

5913. What do you wish to say about its physical and moral effects?—As far as I have been able to observe, its physical effects are injurious in the extreme. Want of energy and vigor manifests itself almost in every way. The people are generally able to distinguish opium-eaters or opium-smokers from those who do not use the drug, by their emaciated features, sunken eyes, and their lethargy and indolence. In the case of a very well-to-do man who can afford to take plenty of milk and other nourishing food, the injurious physical effects of the drug are to a great extent counteracted; and I remember one case in which the physical effects of opium-smoking were not perceptible. I cannot account for this exceptional case otherwise than by supposing that the physical constitution of this man was sufficiently strong to resist the effects of the drug. But in the vast majority of cases opium-smoking is disastrous in its results. Opium-eating is less injurious than opium-smoking, but, except when used for medical purposes, it is seriously harmful. Very often opium-eaters and opium-smokers die a premature death from dysentery or other diseases. I have known some most painful cases of premature death from the effects of opium. As to the moral results of the consumption of opium, in most cases all manhood is crushed out of a person addicted to it. The habit is so terrible in its power over its victim, that he is driven to the sacrifice of all considerations of health, respectability, and usefulness for its sake.

5914. What do you say in reference to public opinion in connection with opium-eating?—That the habit of taking opium is looked upon as disgraceful, is easily proved by certain well-known facts. In the first place, the extreme secrecy with which the habit is indulged in indicates the strong reluctance of opium-eaters or smokers to allow their habit to be known. Secondly, the terms *goli-khor* (opium-smoker) and *goli-khor* (opium-eater) are regarded as most abusive, being taken to cover the meaning of the words

"insane," "dishonest," "indolent." They would be resented by any one to whom they might be applied. Thirdly, if any one looks very lean and emaciated, people say of him "he looks like an opium-smoker or opium-eater." I may mention two more facts to show how extremely disgraceful and degrading the habit is considered to be. An aunt of mine was advised to take opium as a medicine in consequence of certain disorders from which she suffered; she said with a very sad look: "If I must take opium, I shall submit to it as an inevitable affliction." My father suffered from chronic diarrhoea for nearly twenty years before his death. He once said in my presence that he had been advised by many to take opium, but he would never do it even for the sake of his life.

5915. Have you any suggestion to make as to how the loss of revenue might be met provided there was a loss and England did not make it up?—The point from which I look at the matter is this. If the traffic can be shown to be injurious and degrading, we must submit to the inevitable loss and must make it up as the Government of India is now bound to make up the loss it has inflicted upon itself by granting an exchange compensation allowance to its European servants. I am not a financial expert, and can only speak of the question from a moral aspect. I would further suggest that a curtailment of expenditure might be profitably tried in certain departments of administration in order partially to meet the loss.

5916. Have you anything to say as to any further steps that ought to be taken for restraining consumption short of prohibition?—In my opinion the sale of opium ought to be permitted only at dispensaries and on the prescriptions of medical men.

5917. Is it not the case that there are many parts of Bengal in which there are no medical men to give prescriptions?—Certainly such is the case, but I would rather have people go without opium than have it placed within their reach, as is the case with other poisons that are not vended except in dispensaries.

5918. In the cases in which there are no medical men who could give these prescriptions, is there any class of persons in the Bengal villages who you think might be entrusted with a discretionary power to supply it for medical purposes and to refuse it where it was not so required?—I am certainly aware of various classes of men who practise though they are not qualified. There are some whom I would not entrust with the sale of opium; on the other hand, there are others who have had some training; they have not passed the examinations of the Medical College of any Indian University or of the medical schools, but they have studied at these places or seats of learning for several years and, therefore, have some little knowledge of medical subjects. Such men I would entrust, and also those who have had some little training in the old Hindu method of treating cases, the *Kabirajis*.

5919. Do I understand that you have been invited to give evidence here by the Indian Association?—Yes.

Mr.
Heramba
Chandra
Maitra,
M.A.

8 Dec. 1893.

5920. The Indian Association consists of natives of India?—Certainly.

5921. No Europeans?—No Europeans, I believe.

5922. You have also been invited to give evidence by the Brahmo Samaj?—Yes.

5923. (Mr. Haridas Voharidas.) Would you compare the effects of opium with those of alcohol taken in excess?—I would rather avoid making any comparison, because I regard both as extremely injurious.

5924. Can you not compare one with the other?—I would not prefer one to the other.

5925. Both are equally bad?—Yes, in different ways. It may be that alcohol stimulates, and opium enfeebles and overmatures—that is the only difference. Nature in both cases is ruined, disordered; in the one case by being pushed beyond its normal limits, and in the other by being enervated, and enfeebled.

5926. If you were asked which you would prefer?—I do not know that it is quite fair to ask me to answer that question after what I have said.

5927. You say that the opium habit and the alcohol habit are two evils; if you were asked which you would prefer?—It would be like asking me whether I would prefer to die of cholera or paralysis.

5928. (Chairman.) You regard the indulgence in alcohol or in opium as a vice?—Yes.

5929. (Mr. Haridas Voharidas.) Which would you deal with first?—From a financial point of view, I do not know that I can make any suggestion of any value; but I might suggest that a further restriction of consumption might be practised in both fields.

5930. (Mr. Fanshawe.) From your own knowledge of the country do you think that the alcohol habit is doing more harm than opium, or less harm?—I confess it is rather difficult to make any comparison. I have known people who have been ruined by indulgence in alcohol, and I have known people who have been ruined by indulgence in opium.

5931. You are not prepared to express any opinion as to the comparative harm which from your point of view they are doing?—It would be difficult for this reason, that the proportion of those who indulge in alcohol or opium varies considerably at various places. If I saw in certain villages that opium was doing a great deal of harm I should be inclined to do away with it, and if in another place I saw alcohol was doing harm I should be inclined to do away with that.

5932. You have spoken of the opinion of the classes which you know as regards opium; what is their opinion as regards the drinking of alcohol?—They regard it as disgraceful.

5933. Do your remarks as to the physical and moral effects apply more particularly to the eating of opium in excess or also to the eating in moderation?—I confess I find it very difficult to make a distinction between eating in excess and moderate eating, though I can make a distinction between those who eat opium for medicinal purposes and those who use it merely for the pleasure they derive from the narcotic effects of the drug.

5934. We have been told by various witnesses that many people who eat opium habitually begin the habit on account of having to take opium for some disease and afterwards

retain the habit, while in other cases opium is taken as a stimulant: are such cases within your knowledge?—I have known cases where the opium habit has been begun not from any intention to improve or restore health, but merely for the pleasure of smoking or eating; but certainly there are cases where the use of it has begun only from the motive of preserving health.

5935. How is that regarded?—That is not regarded as equally disgraceful with those cases in which it is used merely for its narcotic effects; but even in these cases people regard it as a necessity to which they must submit with reluctance. They would rather not indulge in opium in any form, even for medical purposes, if they could avoid it. There is one distinction between the habitual use of opium for medicinal purposes and the occasional use. A sufferer from certain complaints might be advised by his doctor to take opium for a day or two, and that would not be regarded as disgraceful, but if, even from motives of health, he took to the use of opium daily his feeling would be that he would not be quite understood, that his conduct might be misinterpreted.

5936. If he takes opium habitually in moderate doses, having started with the medical use, how is that regarded by the people?—That is regarded not as being quite as disgraceful as those cases in which it is used merely for its narcotic effects.

5937. Or merely as a stimulant?—Yes, that word may be used.

5938. Does the word "afim-khor" mean an opium-eater in excess or in moderation?—I have not known people make a distinction between the moderate and the excessive use of opium when they saw that the habit was confirmed.

5939. I want to know whether this term of reproach is applied to those who eat opium in moderation or only to those who eat it in excess?—I do not know what is the quantity of opium which must be taken daily to justify the word "afim-khor." It would not be used as a term of reproach to those who took opium only for medical purposes.

5940. Do you mean to those who use it habitually for medical purposes?—If habitually used, all I can say is that it would be unjust to them, but people would apply it even to them.

5941. I did not quite understand what you said about the opium habit in the Nuddea district; is it fairly common there?—In one sense it is not common; only a small proportion of the population take it.

5942. Is it used among some number of the inhabitants of this district?—The proportion of opium-eaters or smokers varies considerably in different localities. In some places 40 per cent. of the people take it. In a place near my own native village 50 per cent. of the people at least are consumers of opium, but in my own native village I have not seen a single person using opium.

5943. Can you give any reason for that?—The only reason I can think of is that the habit is contagious, and that it spreads in those places where there have been opium-smokers for a long time.

5944. Do the people of this village eat or smoke opium?—Both.

5945. Is opium-smoking at all common in Nuddea?—No, neither is opium-eating. I do not know whether there is much more opium-smoking than eating. I have known both opium-smokers and eaters in my own district.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. H. M.
Rustomjee.

Mr. H. M. RUSTOMJEE called in and examined.

5946. (Chairman.) I believe you are here to represent the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce?—Yes; I am one of the Vice-Presidents.

5947. The questions I should address to you naturally relate chiefly to the commercial aspect of the subject before us. I observe that you have been an Honorary Presidency Magistrate for more than 16 years; will you state to us generally your opinion as to the effect of the opium habit upon the people of this country?—I do not ever remember having a very serious case of a criminal addicted to opium-eating.

5948. Is it your impression that those who make use of opium in a solid form are a small proportion of the whole population?—I could not exactly state in what proportion, but I think that opium-eaters in the solid form preponderate over opium-smokers.

5949. But the opium-eaters are relatively few as compared with the general mass of the population?—That may be so.

5950. Of those who consume opium in the solid form, do you consider that the majority are consumers in moderate amounts?—Yes, to my knowledge.

5951. In their case do you think that the use of opium is beneficial, or is it an indulgence, but not a harmful indulgence?—It is beneficial and harmless.

5952. What have you to say to us with regard to allegations which have been made that the present easy means of procuring opium increase a number of suicides?—I do not think that the number of suicides can be judged by the means of obtaining opium; that would depend on the state of society. If there were further restrictions, suicides should still take place, I may say that suicides attempted

by opium are often frustrated under medical treatment, while other poisons might have a more fatal effect.

5953. Referring to the aspect of the question before us which is more strictly connected with the National Chamber of Commerce, do you consider that taxation as at present levied in India falls very heavily on the people of this country?—Very heavily indeed.

5954. Do you desire to say that if fresh taxation were imposed in consequence of the adoption of a policy which will put an end to the opium revenue, it would be resented by the people of the country?—Very strongly; they will not be able to bear any fresh taxation, and it would create great discontent and dissatisfaction.

5955. Do you think if the use of opium were prohibited, it will lead to increased consumption of wines or alcohol?—I should think so decidedly.

5956. Do you think that that change would be disadvantageous from a moral point of view?—Certainly, it would demoralise the people.

5957. Do you desire to appear here as an advocate for leaving things as they are?—Yes.

5958. Do you think that the loss of revenue which would arise from the prohibition of the growth and consumption of alcohol could be met by economies in various departments of the Government, by a reduction in the Civil expenditure or in the Military expenditure?—I would hardly think so. There could be no possible reduction in salaries; I do not think it would be advisable, because if you have a certain standard of ability it must be paid for accordingly. I do not think that any reduction in that way would be advantageous to the country.

5959. You believe that if you reduce salaries you would impair the efficiency of the Government?—Yes, you would get an inferior class of men in the Government service.

5960. Are you of opinion that a material reduction in the number of English officials would be at the present time disadvantageous?—I should think so.

5961. (*Mr. Wilson.*) What is the exact position of an Honorary Presidency Magistrate; do you take part in trying cases?—An Honorary Magistrate in a Presidency town enjoys the same privileges as a Stipendiary Magistrate, and he is occasionally asked to preside in the Police Courts and to try such cases as are placed before him by the Chief Magistrate.

5962. Do you take part in that?—Yes, we possess all the powers which a Stipendiary Magistrate possesses, with

this difference that we have sittings of two or three Magistrates; some try cases singly.

5963. You take part in that occasionally?—I have done so for the last 17 years.

5964. You say that it has not come under your observation that any brutal act or heinous crime has been committed under the influence of opium?—No, it has not.

5965. Would you say that it leads to petty offence?—It might lead to petty offence, but I do not remember having any cases connected with petty offence.

5966. Or any offences where people were addicted to opium-smoking?—Not to my knowledge.

5967. In reference to what you said in reply to Lord Brassey about any retrenchment, I understand that you would not be prepared to advocate any retrenchment or economy either in the Civil or Military service?—I would, so far as it would not impair efficiency.

5968. Do I understand you to mean that you think any retrenchment would impair efficiency?—I cannot be a judge of that.

5969. I think it is your opinion that it is not desirable in the interests of the Government that there should be any retrenchment or reduction of salaries in the Civil or Military service?—That is my opinion so far as you do not impair efficiency.

5970. You do not desire to see the natives of India more largely employed than at present to the displacement of Europeans?—Of course they should certainly be employed where they are found fit.

5971. Do I understand you to think that they are not fit for any position that they do not now occupy?—I do not say so.

5972. Do you wish to say that they are chiefly employed?—Certainly, where they are found efficient and able.

5973. I think you are a member of the Parsee community?—I am.

5974. Is there much opium-eating in your community?—I do not think there is any in Calcutta; my experience has been in Calcutta.

5975. If it is so beneficial, why do not your friends take it?—I cannot say; I can only speak for myself.

5976. If you had a son grown up to be a young man, would you like him to take opium habitually?—I should not.

5977. (*Mr. Fanshawe.*) When speaking of opium as a cause of suicide, you refer to your experience in Calcutta?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. NIL COMUL MOOKERJEE called in and examined.

5978. (*Chairman.*) I believe you are a Port Commissioner and a Member of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce?—Yes.

5979. Do you come here to represent the views of that Chamber?—Yes.

5980. We have had evidence from several representatives, may I ask whether you concur in the views put before us by the other members of that body?—I do.

5981. Speaking generally with regard to the use of opium that in a great majority of cases it does no harm?—As far as my experience goes in the society in which I move, many of my friends use it and are doing very well.

5982. Do you believe that the use of opium in moderate quantities is in numerous instances attended with dangerous results?—I do not believe that the use of opium in moderate quantities is in numerous instances attended with dangerous results.

5983. What you say as to the use of opium in the form of *madak* or *chandu*; do you recognize that the use of opium-smoking in those forms is injurious?—They are mostly used by a very low class of people. I do not know any gentleman that uses them.

5984. Are you brought at all in contact with people who use *madak* or *chandu*?—Yes.

5985. Do you see that in their case the practice does not do any harm; they are not doing any harm; they are doing their work well.

5986. Turning to the outlying districts, are you from your own knowledge able to say that among the ryots opium is extensively used for medical purposes?—I had the management of the Nagore Estates in Rajshahy, Mymensingh, Pubna and Krishnagarh, and I often came into contact with the poorer classes, specially in the Pubna district, where I found many official men using opium.

5987. What has been the result of your observation the opium habit with reference to the poor ryots in outlying districts?—The poor ryots in the outlying districts who may never have seen a doctor take to it from tradition, and I believe in the great bulk of cases, if not entirely, from necessity alone, the cost being too great to allow of its being otherwise than as a special luxury or a medicine. To these men it often means life, and I cannot but think, looking to the life of privation they lead, that, if deprived of opium, they would simply be driven to use spirits, *ganja* and other much more deleterious drugs. Nor can I think that this side of the question has had the necessary attention from the people who are raising it, or they would have hesitated before creating an opening for the extension of the use of wines and spirits which, I understand, have proved such a curse in every country, and which, I think they will readily admit, is infinitely more in need of repressive measures.

5988. A question has been frequently put this morning as to willingness of the people of this country to bear in whole or in part the cost of prohibitive measures. Do you agree that they would have a general objection to bear any increased taxation which might fall on the country if the opium revenue were no longer at the hands of the Government?—Yes.

Mr. H. M.
Rustomjee
8 Dec. 1898.

Mr.
Nil Comul
Mookerjee.

Mr.
Haramba
Chandra
Maitra,
M.A.,
9 Dec. 1893.

5920. The Indian Association consists of natives of India?—Certainly.

5921. No Europeans?—No Europeans, I believe.

5922. You have also been invited to give evidence by the Brahma Samaj?—Yes.

5923. (Mr. Haridas Voharidas.) Would you compare the effects of opium with those of alcohol taken in excess?—I would rather avoid making any comparison, because I regard both as extremely injurious.

5924. Can you not compare one with the other?—I would not prefer one to the other.

5925. Both are equally bad?—Yes, in different ways. It may be that alcohol stimulates, and opium enfeebles and enervates—that is the only difference. Nature in both cases is ruined, disordered; in the one case by being pushed beyond its normal limits, and in the other by being enervated, and enfeebled.

5926. If you were asked which you would prefer?—I do not know that it is quite fair to ask me to answer that question after what I have said.

5927. You say that the opium habit and the alcohol habit are two evils; if you were asked which you would prefer?—It would be like asking me whether I would prefer to die of cholera or paralysis.

5928. (Chairman.) You regard the indulgence in alcohol or in opium as a vice?—Yes.

5929. (Mr. Haridas Voharidas.) Which would you deal with first?—From a financial point of view, I do not know that I can make any suggestion of any value; but I might suggest that a further restriction of consumption might be practised in both fields.

5930. (Mr. Fanshawe.) From your own knowledge of the country do you think that the alcohol habit is doing more harm than opium, or less harm?—I confess it is rather difficult to make any comparison. I have known people who have been ruined by indulgence in alcohol, and I have known people who have been ruined by indulgence in opium.

5931. You are not prepared to express any opinion as to the comparative harm which from your point of view they are doing?—It would be difficult for this reason, that the proportion of those who indulge in alcohol or opium varies considerably at various places. If I saw in certain villages that opium was doing a great deal of harm I should be inclined to do away with it, and if in another place I saw alcohol was doing harm I should be inclined to do away with that.

5932. You have spoken of the opinion of the classes which you know as regards opium; what is their opinion as regards the drinking of alcohol?—They regard it as disgraceful.

5933. Do your remarks as to the physical and moral effects apply more particularly to the eating of opium in excess or also to the eating in moderation?—I confess I find it very difficult to make a distinction between eating in excess and moderate eating, though I can make a distinction between those who eat opium for medicinal purposes and those who use it merely for the pleasure they derive from the narcotic effects of the drug.

5934. We have been told by various witnesses that many people who eat opium habitually begin the habit on account of having to take opium for some disease and afterwards

retain the habit, while in other cases opium is taken as a stimulant; are such cases within your knowledge?—I have known cases where the opium habit has been begun not from any intention to improve or restore health, but merely for the pleasure of smoking or eating; but certainly there are cases where the use of it has begun only from the motive of preserving health.

5935. How is that regarded?—That is not regarded as equally disgraceful with those cases in which it is used merely for its narcotic effects; but even in those cases people regard it as a necessity to which they must submit with reluctance. They would rather not indulge in opium in any form, even for medicinal purposes, if they could avoid it. There is one distinction between the habitual use of opium for medicinal purposes and the occasional use. A sufferer from certain complaints might be advised by his doctor to take opium for a day or two, and that would not be regarded as disgraceful, but if, even from motives of health, he took to the use of opium daily his feeling would be that he would not be quite understood, that his conduct might be misinterpreted.

5936. If he takes opium habitually in moderate doses, having started with the medicinal use, how is that regarded by the people?—That is regarded not as being quite so disgraceful as those cases in which it is used merely for its narcotic effects.

5937. Or merely as a stimulant?—Yes, that word may be used.

5938. Does the word "afim-khor" mean an opium-eater in excess or in moderation?—I have not known people make a distinction between the moderate and the excessive use of opium when they saw that the habit was confirmed.

5939. I want to know whether this term of reproach is applied to those who eat opium in moderation or only to those who eat it in excess?—I do not know what is the quantity of opium which must be taken daily to justify the word "afim-khor." It would not be used as a term of reproach to those who took opium only for medicinal purposes.

5940. Do you mean to those who use it habitually for medicinal purposes?—If habitually used, all I can say is that it would be unjust to them, but people would apply it even to them.

5941. I did not quite understand what you said about the opium habit in the Nuddea district; is it fairly common there?—In one sense it is not common; only a small proportion of the population take it.

5942. Is it used among some number of the inhabitants of this district?—The proportion of opium-eaters or smokers varies considerably in different localities. In some places 60 per cent. of the people take it. In a place near my own native village 50 per cent. of the people at least are consumers of opium, but in my own native village I have not seen a single person using opium.

5943. Can you give any reason for that?—The only reason I can think of is that the habit is contagious, and that it spreads in those places where there have been opium-smokers for a long time.

5944. Do the people of this village eat or smoke opium?—Both.

5945. Is opium-smoking at all common in Nuddea?—No, neither is opium-eating. I do not know whether there is much more opium-smoking than eating. I have known both opium-smokers and eaters in my own district.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. H. M.
Rustomjee.

Mr. H. M. RUSTOMJEE called in and examined.

5946. (Chairman.) I believe you are here to represent the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce?—Yes; I am one of the Vice-Presidents.

5947. The questions I should address to you naturally relate chiefly to the commercial aspect of the subject before us. I observe that you have been an Honorary Presidency Magistrate for more than 16 years; will you state to us generally your opinion as to the effect of the opium habit upon the people of this country?—I do not ever remember having a very serious case of a criminal addicted to opium-eating.

5948. Is it your impression that those who make use of opium in a solid form are a small proportion of the whole population?—I could not exactly state in what proportion, but I think that opium-eaters in the solid form preponderate over opium-smokers.

5949. But the opium-eaters are relatively few as compared with the general mass of the population?—That may be so.

5950. Of those who consume opium in the solid form, do you consider that the majority are consumers in moderate amounts?—Yes, to my knowledge.

5951. In their case do you think that the use of opium is beneficial, or is it an indulgence, but not a harmful indulgence?—It is beneficial and harmless.

5952. What have you to say to us with regard to allegations which have been made that the present easy means of procuring opium increase a number of suicides?—I do not think that the number of suicides can be judged by the means of obtaining opium; that would depend on the state of society. If there were further restrictions, suicides should still take place. I may say that suicides attempted

6042. Many of the witnesses who have appeared before us have recommended that prohibitive measures should be adopted with a view to prevent entirely, except for medical purposes, the use of opium; supposing such prohibitive measures were adopted, what do you think would be the possible consequences? Would you anticipate any evil consequences from such a change?—The danger of prohibitive measures would be immense; people would have recourse to other intoxicants, and alcohol, which is one of the principal causes of poverty in this country, would be largely consumed, and the lower classes would take to ganja-smoking.

6043. If a policy of prohibition were attempted, do you believe it would lead to an increase in smuggling?—Yes.

6044. In your experience can you say of your own knowledge that there are districts in which the people use opium too freely?—Yes, several districts.

6045. Could you name those districts?—Patna and Gujarat and in our country, Rajputana.

6046. In those districts where opium is used, according to your own knowledge, to excess, do you see any measures that you could recommend to be taken on the part of the Government with a view of diminishing the consumption?—I can suggest nothing.

6047. (Mr. Wilson.) Can you give us any idea of the proportion of the Rajputs and Sikhs who take opium as a

daily ration?—About 70 or 80 per cent. of both Rajputs and Sikhs.

6048. (Mr. Fanshawe.) You represent the Marwari community, do you not?—Yes.

6049. Is that a large community in this city?—Yes.

6050. Chiefly employed in business?—Yes.

6051. Is the habit of eating opium fairly common among the Marwaris?—Yes.

6052. You say that the habit is generally begun about the age of 40; is that the case among the Marwaris?—Yes.

6053. Are you in the habit of visiting your own country occasionally, or do you reside chiefly in Calcutta?—I have been four or five times in my country among the Rajputs.

6054. You reside in Calcutta as a rule?—Yes.

6055. Is your own country Bikanir?—Yes, the State of Bikanir.

6056. Among the Bikanir people is the habit of opium-eating common?—Yes.

6057. When you said that 70 or 80 per cent. of the Rajputs eat opium, were you referring to Bikanir?—Yes, to the Rajputs, not our caste; the Rajputs and Sikhs.

6058. Have you any personal knowledge of the Sikhs?—Only what I have heard.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow morning at 10-30.

At the Council Chamber, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

TWENTY-SECOND DAY.

Saturday, 9th December 1893.

PRESENT:

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B. (CHAIRMAN, PRESIDING).

THE HON'BLE SIR LACHHMSWAR SING BAHADUR,
MAHARAJA OF DARBHANGA, K.C.I.E.
MR. A. U. FANSHAWE.

MR. HARIDAS VEHARIDAS DESAI.
" H. J. WILSON, M. P.

MR. J. PRESCOTT HEWETT, C.I.E., Secretary.

MAHARAJA BAHADUR SIR NARENDRA KRISHNA, K.C.I.E., called in and examined.

6059. (Chairman.) Maharaja, the Commission would be glad to hear from you, what in your view are the effects of taking opium among the people of Bengal?—Generally the people of Bengal, especially in malarial, low and swampy districts, take a small quantity of opium as a tonic to preserve their health; the dose daily used is not exceeded by them, and it has no deleterious effect either on their moral or physical condition. People begin to take it for medical purposes, though after the disease is cured they continue it to prevent a relapse.

6060. It has been urged upon us that it would be desirable in the interest of morality that the growth of the poppy and the manufacture of opium should be prohibited. It is obvious that if such a prohibition were to be enforced the Government would lose a considerable amount of revenue, and that other taxation would be necessary to compensate the deficiency. Would you state to the Commission whether in your opinion such a change, as has been recommended, would be popular with the people of Bengal?—The prohibition of the cultivation of poppy lands would deprive the Government of a large amount of revenue derived from the manufacture and sale of opium, and I do not know that the Government can devise any other easy mode of raising this large income. Besides, the moderate use of opium does not lead to the commission of heinous offences. It is beneficial to health; it is better than brandy or whisky.

6061. Do you think that if regulations were promulgated with a view to enforcing a policy of prohibition there would be any risk of an illicit trade and of smuggling?—Certainly,

In foreign States people cultivate the poppy plant, and prepare opium, which they smuggle into the places where people are addicted to opium.

6062. Supposing that the Government of India were to continue to adhere to their present general policy in dealing with the opium revenue, do you consider that the existing arrangements in connection with the Bengal monopoly, and the rules which are enforced and observed in relation to licensing persons who may carry on a retail trade are practically satisfactory?—In the first place, in my opinion the Government monopoly should not be abolished; in the second place, the licensing of opium shops brings some amount of revenue to the Government, and I do not see why that source of revenue should not be collected.

6063. If there were no licensed shops, do you think that there would be an equal amount of opium consumed in places not under the observation of the police?—The abolition of licensed shops would increase the consumption of opium among the people, because the vendors at licensed shops are not allowed to sell more than a certain quantity of opium to any person.

6064. Have you zemindaris in the poppy-growing districts?—I have not.

6065. You have no special personal interest in this question?—I have no personal interest in it, but I do not like the Government to be deprived of the large amount of revenue obtained from the manufacture and sale of opium.

6066. You came here, as I understand, to tell us that in your belief the consumption of opium in moderate quantities

Maharaja
Bahadur
Sir Narendra
Krishna,
K.C.I.E.

Maharaja
Bahadur
Sir Narendra
Krishna,
K.C.I.E.
9 Dec. 1893.

is not prejudicial to the people of this country?—Certainly. The consumption of a moderate quantity of opium is not harmful to the persons who take it. It does not affect the brain, and it has no depressing effects afterwards like the drinking of alcohol.

6067. Do you consider that indulgence in alcohol in this country is far more pernicious than the consumption of opium?—Indulgence in alcohol brings on delirium tremens. People cannot take excessive quantities of opium without their stomachs swelling up; they are unable to take excessive quantities.

6068. (Mr. Wilson.) If you had sons or young men in whom you were interested, would you like them to begin taking opium regularly?—Not in their younger days. I would not allow them to touch opium, but when they have arrived at a ripe age, say 50, if their bowels get into disorder, I would have no objection to their taking a grain or two of opium. In their younger days I would object to their touching opium or any intoxicating drink.

6069. I think it is your opinion that the people of Bengal, especially in malarial, low, swampy districts, take opium to preserve their health?—I think so.

6070. To what districts do you particularly refer?—Districts which have low lands, where the water is clogged.

6071. Which districts have you special knowledge of?—In the 24 Parganas ryots take little opium. In Murshidabad and in the eastern districts they generally use opium to ward off the effects of malaria.

6072. Is that what you have heard from other people, or what you know of your own knowledge and your intercourse with those persons?—It is difficult to speak on the subject, but I am stating generally what I have heard from others about the effects of opium.

6073. If there are any districts that are malarial and low and swampy with which you are personally acquainted, will you tell me what they are?—Generally the eastern districts of Bengal.

6074. Will you mention one or two towns or villages if you know them personally?—Farridpore, Dacca, Murshidabad.

6075. Do you know those districts personally?—I have not visited them all.

6076. (Chairman.) You have visited some of them?—Yes, when I was Deputy Magistrate in the service of the Government, I visited some of the eastern districts—Dacca, Farridpore, Mymensingh, and the people in those places take opium, not all but a portion of them take opium in moderate quantities.

6077. (Mr. Wilson.) How long is it ago that you were personally acquainted with those districts?—More than 40 years—about 45 years.

6078. Have you any connection with the Government?—No connection whatever.

6079. Are any of your family connected with the Government?—My present eldest son is Officiating Magistrate and Collector of Pubna; he belongs to the Statutory Civil Service.

6080. Any others?—No.

6081. He is your eldest son?—My present eldest son.

6082. Did he pass through the usual course of examination?—Certainly. I think so, or how could he have got promotion? He is an M. A. of the Calcutta University.

6083. May I ask how long you have lived in Calcutta?—I was born in Calcutta, and I have lived in Calcutta all the time except 8 or 10 years when I lived in the mofussil.

6084. Where are your estates?—In Tipperah and in the 24 Parganas and other places and districts.

6085. Have you resided many years on those estates?—No. In Calcutta we zemindars do not generally reside on our estates.

6086. Do you visit them regularly?—I have visited my zemindari in the 24 Parganas.

6087. How often have you visited them?—Once, I believe.

6088. When?—About 16 years ago.

6089. You referred just now to the restriction of the sale of opium in shops?—Yes. That is the Government rule.

6090. Of what use is that?—Probably Government does not like people to have an unusual quantity of opium in their possession.

6091. A man can buy 5 tolas?—Yes.

6092. And then he can go again and buy more?—Not in that shop; probably in another.

6093. There is nothing to prevent his going ten times a day; is there?—I do not know.

6094. I think you signed a joint letter from the British Indian Association?—Yes, in my capacity as senior Vice-President.

6095. It is stated in the letter that prohibition would reduce rents; will you explain in what way it will reduce rents?—The opium cultivators pay more rents to the zemindars than the cultivators of other food crop or grains.

(Chairman.) I apprehend if the cultivator is prohibited from growing a profitable crop, he necessarily pays a less amount of rent.

(Mr. Wilson.) That is my point.

6096. Is the rent fixed according to the crop that the cultivator grows, or according to the piece of ground that he has in his possession?—According to the piece of ground that he has in his possession.

6097. If he were to grow sugarcane or anything else upon it, the cultivator could not claim a reduction of rent?—I think not—not if the ryot cultivates sugarcane and other plants of his own inclination in the poppy-growing lands.

6098. If the cultivator has not got his license to grow poppy, does the zemindar reduce the rent?—How can the zemindar ask his ryots to pay the rent which is derived from the cultivation of the poppy?

6099. I want to know as a matter of fact whether zemindars do reduce their rents?—I do not think they would demand the same rent as is allowed for the poppy-cultivating land.

6100. Can you give me a case in which the zemindar has reduced the rent because the Government has withheld the license to grow poppy?—I have no lands in the poppy-growing districts; how can I cite a case?

6101. Then you do not know?—No.

6102. So far as this part of the letter of the British Indian Association is concerned, you do not know about that?—The other members of the Association who have lands in the poppy-growing districts and who have signed the letter can tell you.

6103. (Mr. Haridas Vekaridas.) If your son contracted the opium habit, would you be as much displeased with him as you would be if he took drinking liquor?—I should not like my son in his early youth to take to opium. Of course I detest the drinking of brandy or whisky for young men.

6104. If he took it by chance, would you be as much displeased with him if he took to drinking alcohol?—I think the habit of opium is not so bad as that of drinking.

6105. You would not be so much displeased with it, as you would be, if he took to drinking?—I should certainly be displeased if my son took opium unnecessarily, or if he got addicted to the drinking of wine.

6106. You would get very much more displeased if he drunk liquor than if he took opium?—I would certainly be greatly displeased if he took brandy or whisky in place of opium.

6107. (Mr. Farnshaw.) Is it your opinion from the knowledge of the country that the habit of eating opium is generally begun by middle-aged people?—I think so. People after arriving at the age of 50, when they find that their digestive power is weakened, take small quantities of opium.

6108. As far as your knowledge goes, that would be a general reason for taking to the opium habit?—I think so.

6109. (The Maharaja of Darbhanga.) I suppose the chief objection of the East Indian Association to the abolition of the opium monopoly is that, in case the opium revenue were done away with altogether, Government would very likely have recourse to direct taxation, and I suppose the people of the country prefer the opium monopoly to any direct taxation; is that the view of your Association?—They think that the opium monopoly should not be abolished.

6110. (Mr. Wilson.) With reference to these malarious districts, are there any statistics to show that Dacca and Mymensingh are more malarious than Nuddea and Jessore?—I ought to have mentioned Jessore and Nuddea as being malarious; I think they are more malarious than Mymensingh and Farridpore and Dacca.

6111. Is there any reason to suppose that an interference with poppy cultivation might tend to disturb the permanent settlements in Bengal?—I do not know whether there is any intention at present on the part of the Government to break off with the permanent settlement.

The witness withdrew.

MAHARAJA DURGA CHURN LAW, C.I.E., called in and examined.

Maharaja
Durga
Churn Law,
C.I.E.

9 Dec. 1898.

6112. (Chairman.)—Are you at the head of a large commercial concern?—Yes.

6113. Do you come here as a representative of the British Indian Association?—Not as a representative of the Association.

6114. But to represent your own individual views?—Yes.

6115. So far as people who consume opium have come under your own personal observation, do you say that they have taken it as a remedy against what are called miasmatic influences?—Not only miasmatic influences, several other diseases, such as diabetes, complaints arising from cold, bronchitis and others.

6116. In the districts with which you are acquainted where opium is most largely consumed, do you see any signs of physical deterioration among the people?—My experience does not extend beyond Calcutta and Chinsura. Of the places where opium is largely consumed I have no experience.

6117. Looking at the subject generally, do you observe any indication that led you to the belief that indulgence in the use of opium is a cause of moral depravity?—I have not heard of a single case of moral depravity among people who are accustomed to take opium in moderation. On the contrary, I have always heard of the good effects of opium among people after they have reached about 50. It prolongs life; that is the general impression, and I believe it is a fact. It gives tone and spirit to the man who takes it.

6118. Will you in a summary way give your general conclusions with reference to the opium habit?—Practically opium is not used for purely pleasurable or vicious purposes. It is, so to speak, an instinctively adopted indigenous remedy or preventive against what are known to be the effects of the unhealthy surroundings of the people. A man taking opium for the sake of pleasure would find the effect very disagreeable on the following morning.

6119. Will you tell us how you think the people of this country would view any new taxation which they were called upon to bear in consequence of the loss to the Government of its present revenue from opium?—They would not like it; there would be a general discontent among the people if a new tax had to be imposed upon them in lieu of the revenue derived from opium which they all consider, at least the people of Bengal, perfectly harmless.

6120. Do you think that such a prohibition would tend to make the English note in India unpopular?—It would.

6121. Would an edict of prohibition be regarded as an unjustifiable interference with the rights of property?—I think it would.

6122. Can you suggest any better arrangements than those which at present exist for regulating the Bengal monopoly?—In the first place I have never thought of it, and in the next place I do not think I could suggest any better arrangement.

6123. We understand that the interests in the opium districts which are bound up with the cultivation of the poppy are very considerable?—So they are.

6124. Would the zemindars suffer in the opium districts if the cultivation of the poppy were prohibited?—Not only the zemindars would suffer, but the ryots would suffer.

6125. The zemindars would lose their rents?—Yes, they could not get the same rents for their lands that they are now getting from the opium cultivators.

6126. The zemindars would not get so much rent because the ryot who cultivates the land would earn less?—Yes.

6127. And therefore it is obvious that the landowners and cultivators in the opium districts would be opposed to any change?—Yes.

6128. (Mr. Wilson.) Is there not in Bengal a permanent settlement with fixed rent?—Not the rent of the ryot; it is the rent to be had from the zemindars. The zemindars rent which the Government receives has been fixed.

6129. Under the Tenancy Laws can the ryot claim a reduction of his rent if he ceases to grow poppy?—I think he can.

6130. Do you know of any case in which he has got a reduction?—I am not aware of any case.

6131. I think you are a zemindar as well as a merchant?—Yes.

6132. Do you take any personal part in the management of your estates?—I do not take a large interest in the management of my estates now-a-days. The active management is left with my son.

6133. Do you receive the rents direct from the ryots?—In some cases we receive them direct from the ryots; in other cases we let out a portion of the zemindari and we receive the rent from the lessees.

6134. Do you receive the largest portion of your rent direct from the ryots or from the middleman?—From the ryots.

6135. May I ask how often you have visited your estates?—I do not think I have ever visited any of my estates.

6136. You have signed a letter of the British Indian Association?—It is not a letter of the British Indian Association; we have signed it on our individual account; we have merely signed it altogether, that is all. It is not from the British Indian Association that the letter has been sent.

6137. It is dated from 18 British Indian Street; is that the office?—That is the office of the Association.

6138. And I think the last signature is the signature of your Secretary?—Yes, but he does not sign as Secretary.

6139. The first signature is the signature of one of your Vice-Presidents?—Yes.

6140. This was given to me as a letter from the British Indian Association, is that wrong?—It was a mistake.

6141. Still you signed it and it expressed your opinion?—Yes.

6142. Now will you explain it a little? In paragraph 3 you state that "where a monopoly is so strict as that of opium is in India, it becomes practically prohibitive to the general body of the people"; that is your opinion?—Yes, it is as far as possible.

6143. Then you say that "prohibition of the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium would practically mean unjustifiable interference"?—So it will be.

6144. But then it is already interfered with as regards the general body of the people?—Yes, so long as the poppy is allowed to be grown it is not a prohibition.

6145. But so far as the general body of the people is concerned it is prohibited?—In cases where it is already allowed, if prohibition is to take effect, it will interfere with the rights of the people. It is already allowed by the Government to be grown in certain districts; on what ground is the Government to take away that right from the owner of the place?

6146. I must not answer questions, but ask them. I want to know why you say that prohibition is unjustifiable interference when in the greater part of India it is absolutely prohibited?—It is absolutely prohibited in other parts of India, but where prohibition does not exist, if Government tried to withdraw or to prohibit in these parts, it would be an interference with the rights of property there.

6147. In the case of Assam prohibition of the poppy was enforced twenty years ago; do you consider that was unjustifiable interference with the rights of private property?—I have no knowledge of that interference, and therefore cannot answer that question. If the Government were bent upon poisoning the whole or the greater part of its subjects, I would certainly prohibit opium everywhere, but such not being the case, I do not see why there should be any attempt made to urge the Government to prevent the cultivation of opium.

6148. If it is an interference with the rights of property and the liberty of the subject, is not that liberty already interfered with as regards the larger part of India?—We see that it is good for the country that that prohibition is made, because if the whole of India was allowed to grow opium, there would be a famine every year.

6149. Then if it is good for the country that the prohibition is made, to prohibit it entirely would be justifiable?—I do not think so.

6150. (Chairman.) If you thought that opium was necessarily a poison you would consider that the policy of the Government should be changed?—Yes, I would.

Maharaja
Durya
Churn Law,
C.I.E.
9 Dec. 1893.

6151. Your opinion of the policy depends upon your opinion of the effects of the opium?—Yes.

6152. (Mr. Wilson.) Can you explain whether the prohibition of poppy would reduce rents, and if so, how?—It would certainly reduce rents, because any other crops would not yield the same profits to the cultivator as opium does.

6153. You told me a little while ago that you did not know any case in which rent has been reduced on that ground?—No; I do not.

6154. In the last paragraph of the letter you say that so far as you know, the cultivators would be opposed to the change?—No; I do not.

6155. How do you know the opinions of the cultivators?—It is fair to conclude that when their interests suffer they would be opposed to the change; it is not that I have consulted them.

6156. Then you speak not from what you know but what you conjecture?—I have not consulted them.

6157. (Mr. Fanshawe.) Have you any poppy cultivation in your own zemindari?—No.

6158. You have no practical knowledge of it?—No.

6159. I believe the cultivation of the poppy has been carried on for a long time in Behar?—For a long time.

6160. Your opinion as to interference has reference to Behar as matters now stand, I suppose?—Yes.

6161. You have had very long experience of your own countrymen, can you tell us generally how they regard the habit of eating opium in moderation?—They regard it very favourably after a certain age when taken in moderation as it generally is.

The witness withdrew.

Maharaja
Sir Jotendro
Mokun
Tagore,
K.C.S.I.

MAHARAJA SIR JOTENDRO MORUN TAGORE, K.C.S.I., called in and examined.

6162. (Chairman.) We know that you occupy a position of great personal influence in Calcutta, and that you are a Knight Commander of the Star of India. I understand that you are an extensive landowner, and that your property does not lie in the poppy-growing district?—It does not.

6163. I should be sorry to trouble you unnecessarily by repeating questions which you have heard addressed to others. I would simply point out that the main, essential and primary point upon which this Commission has to form a judgment relates to the effect of the use of opium among the people of India. May I ask what is your view as to the effect generally of the use of opium among your people? Do you think the effect is good or bad?—Generally speaking its moderate use is beneficial to the people, but if there be cases of abuse it may bring on injury. Generally where it is used moderately my opinion is that it is perfectly harmless. In many cases it is of great benefit to the people who use it.

6164. Do you think that the cases of abuse and excess are relatively few?—Very few.

6165. As far as you are competent to judge, do you think that the opium used medicinally is of great value to the people of India?—Very great value.

6166. What is your opinion as to the proposals which have been put before us for our consideration for the prohibition of the growth of the poppy and the sale of opium for other than medical purposes?—I think it would create a great deal of dissatisfaction among the people and do more harm than the good that is expected to arise from a prohibition of this nature. It will make people perfectly dissatisfied with a policy of this kind.

6167. Do you think it would drive them to an increased use of alcohol?—Certainly it would in many cases.

6168. (Mr. Wilson.) I think you have signed a letter with five other gentlemen and have also put in a paper of your own?—Yes.

6169. Have you heard the questions which I have put to the two gentlemen who preceded you?—Only one.

6170. I do not know whether you can throw any further light on the question which I put to him about reducing rents. In what way would it reduce rents? Under what law could the cultivator claim a reduction?—The question stands in this way. When the ryots grow a crop which is less profitable than another, the zemindar is bound to reduce the rent by no legal act, but it is for his own interest as well as the interest of the estate that he should not claim the same amount of money or rent from him which the ryot used to pay when cultivating a crop which paid him better.

6171. As a matter of fact when the Government withhold the license to cultivate the poppy from any ryot, does

the zemindar reduce the rent?—Most likely he will have to do it. It was never tried.

6172. I want to know if he does, and where and when?—It was never in my estate. As far as I know there has not been a case of this kind, so that I cannot speak from personal experience as to the reduction. I may say, however, that when a cultivator has been cultivating betel-leaf or sugarcane, and when by rotation or by some accident he cannot get an equally paying crop, the zemindar is obliged to make a reduction in the rent; and it necessarily follows that the same thing will occur in a case of this kind.

6173. Can you give any cases in which it has been done?—In my own estate several cases of the kind have occurred.

6174. Can you give me a particular case?—The case of my own ryots, but that will not be quite plain to gentlemen here.

6175. Are your estates under your own management?—Yes, mostly.

6176. In that case, there is no middleman to whom you sublet?—There are certain estates let to sub-tenants; others are entirely under my immediate management.

6177. Do you frequently visit them?—Not frequently; at times, but rarely.

6178. Have you lived in Calcutta for a long time?—Yes.

6179. How many times have you visited your estates for a sufficient length of time to become personally acquainted with the circumstances?—I visited my Minapara estate twice; I lived there for three or four months at a time.

6180. When was that?—Some years ago.

6181. How long?—Twenty years back or so.

6182. I think you state in your letter that your experience and knowledge are limited?—As regards this poppy question.

6183. (Mr. Fanshawe.) It has been stated to us that cultivators who grow poppy are as a class solvent and good tenants; would that be your own view?—I have no personal experience of it, but from what I have gathered from other landlords who own poppy estates I come to know that

6184. That they are good tenants?—Good tenants and in a thriving condition.

6185. So that if poppy cultivation were prohibited the landlords would have more difficulty in getting the rents from their tenants?—Certainly.

6186. Do you regard the poppy cultivation, speaking generally, as a valuable crop to tenants?—Very valuable.

6187. And do you consider that the system of advance under which it is grown in connection with Government gives special advantages to the tenant?—It does.

The witness withdrew.

Raja Peary
Mokun
Mookerjee
C.S.I.

RAJA PEARY MORUN MOOKERJEE, C.S.I., called in and examined.

6188. (Chairman.) You are a landlord and hold estates in five districts in the Bengal Presidency?—Yes.

6189. Are any of your estates in the poppy-growing districts?—No.

6190. It does not add to the weight of evidence on either side to go over the same ground in detail again and again.

You have heard the witnesses who have immediately preceded you when expressing their views and the results of their experience in regard to the use of opium in moderate quantities by the people of India: do you agree with those views?—I entirely agree with them.

6191. Do you consider that the cases of excessive use are numerous or relatively few, or how do you estimate them?—

The cases of excessive use are very rare. I know of four or five cases in my own town, but in none of those cases has even the excessive use done them any harm. I do not wish to volunteer any medical opinion.

6192. Assuming that the general policy of the Government remained as at present, and that it was not thought necessary to adopt a policy of prohibition, are there any modifications in the regulations affecting licenses and in the management of the Bengal monopoly which you would consider desirable?—I think the monopoly is beneficial in every respect in which I can look upon it or consider it.

6193. With regard to the regulations affecting licenses, do you think they are sufficiently stringent at present?—I think they are very beneficial to the people.

6194. Do you think that the licenses granted for smoking chandu are granted too freely? Do you think it possible to prohibit smoking chandu?—I think that greater restrictions might be introduced as to smoking chandu, but my experience and information is that smoking chandu is confined to a very small number of persons, and that amongst the very lowest classes.

6195. (Mr. Wilson.) I think you are a zamindar?—Yes.

6196. Do you visit your estates?—I have visited my estates the last thirty or thirty-five years.

6197. Regularly?—Regularly.

6198. Have you known opium given as a preventive against fever?—I have seen opium taken habitually as a preventive against fever, and with good results.

6199. Pretty generally?—In some cases they take it for failing health, for failing powers of assimilation, for the gradual decay of bodily power, and a variety of causes.

6200. Take the case of persons who are very much exposed to malarious influences—fishermen, paliki-bearers and night watchmen,—do you know of cases of their taking it, and do you think that they take it generally as a preventive against fever?—Yes.

6201. Can you tell me any particular places where they take it in your estates with which you are cognisant?—In my native town, Uttarpara, I estimate the number of persons who take opium to be 821 out of a population of over 6,000.

6202. I suppose that is rather a calculation than a fact?—I know so many hundreds of persons in my town who take opium that I do not think the estimate is at all incorrect.

6203. That is a larger proportion than we are usually informed are in the habit of taking opium, but you think that applies to your town?—Yes, perhaps owing to their being a large floating population; it is a large trading place.

6204. You have not quite answered my question about fishermen and paliki-bearers?—I know that paliki-bearers and fishermen take opium.

6205. In your own town?—Yes, and in other places.

6206. Do you know of any other statistics besides those of your own town as to the actual facts in this matter?—No.

6207. You have heard the questions that I have put to the other gentlemen who came?—Yes.

6208. Do you wish to add anything? Do you agree with them generally?—I agree with them generally. I may add that the Government monopoly is far from being injurious. Government assumed the monopoly in 1773. In 1778 the Court of Directors authorized the Governor General to abolish the monopoly if he "should be of opinion that abolishing the monopoly of opium will contribute in any great degree to the relief of the natives." The Government said in reply that the monopoly was expedient and beneficial. "It only takes for the benefit of the State what otherwise would afford gain to a few intermediate traders. . . . The facility of adulterating opium and the consequent necessity of precautions against such frauds are considerations which would justify monopoly." I further think that the abolition of the monopoly would result in a much greater use of opium in this country. The monopoly at present operates to limit the supply, and to prevent the extension of the use of opium.

6209. May I ask where is Uttarpara?—Seven miles from here.

6210. Is it your native place?—Yes.

6211. Is that your zamindari?—Yes, a good share of it.

6212. Is it where your estates are?—They are in five different districts.

6213. Not your native town?—In Uttarpara I have a share only.

6214. I am not sure that you understood my question about malaria. I wanted to know if you could tell us of any place in the malarial districts where opium is regularly taken by the classes of persons to whom I specially referred?—Opium is regularly taken in the Hooghly district, in the Burdwan district, in the 24 Parganas. In all the places where I have zamindari—in all the places of which I have any knowledge.

6215. Are they very malarious?—All the districts comprised in the delta are more or less malarious.

6216. Are the places you have mentioned specially malarious?—I do not quite understand what is meant by malarious. All these places are damp.

6217. Are they very much given to fever?—Yes, given to fever.

6218. Specially given to fever?—Yes.

6219. (Mr. Fanshawe.) You spoke of a few cases of excess within your personal knowledge. I should like you to tell us whether you know any number of cases of opium-eating in moderation?—I know hundreds who eat it in moderation.

6220. I think you have said among your friends and acquaintances?—That is quite correct.

6221. What is your opinion as to the general effect of the eating of opium on the people of the country?—After a certain age it is found very beneficial.

6222. How does it affect their moral or physical character?—It does not affect their health or their morals injuriously; on the contrary, it renovates the health in the case of persons whose powers of assimilation have been failing, whose health has lost all elasticity, whose powers of nutrition have been diminished; in all these cases opium does immense good, even in the case of young men of 35. One of my nephews takes opium.

6223. How old is he?—He began when he was 30; he is now 37.

6224. Among your friends and acquaintances who eat opium in moderation, how is the habit regarded?—It is not regarded as shewing any want of respectability.

6225. Is it regarded as a vice?—It is not regarded as a vice.

6226. How is the drinking of alcohol generally regarded among the classes of society which you know?—People look down upon the men who drink.

6227. Would you make any distinction from your knowledge of Indian life, in the opinion which is held of people who drink alcohol and of people who eat opium in moderation?—The man who eats opium is quite a respectable man; there is no difference between him and any other respectable member of society. The man who drinks alcohol labours under a social ostracism.

6228. Then you think that there is a strong distinction between the two?—Yes.

6229. As regards malarial damp climate and the prevalence of fever, I suppose in all districts there is a good deal of difference; malaria or fever may be more in one part of the district than in another; is that the case?—The incidence of fever, I should think, is very capricious. No rational data have yet been found to account for the prevalence of fever in one part of a district.

6230. When you say capricious, you mean that fever will be found in one part of the district and not in another, or more in one part and less in another?—Yes.

6231. Speaking generally, the low-lying districts in the Gangetic delta are looked upon as damp and liable to fever?—Yes.

6232. (Mr. Wilson.) In reference to the letter which you have signed together with several other gentlemen, are we to understand it as an official letter from the British Indian Association or from the gentlemen who have signed alone?—The matter stands thus: that unless a question has been discussed formally at a meeting and a decision has been come to, it cannot be said that the Association is represented; but I do not think I commit any breach of confidence when I say that although the letter has been signed by only a few members of the British Indian Association, it represents the views of the Association. I mean of all the members of the Association whom I have had occasion to consult on the subject.

6233. I think in August last your Association did send a formal letter to the Viceroy upon the subject?—Yes.

Raja Peary
Mokun
Mookerjee,
C.S.I.
9 Dec. 1898.

Raja Peary
Mohan
Mookerjee,
C.S.I.
9 Dec. 1898.

6234. You consider that this is not official?—Not an official letter. The other letter was adopted at a meeting of the Association after discussion, whereas this was signed individually by some of the leading members of the Association, but the matter was not discussed at a meeting, and no resolution was passed.

6235. You state in the 14th paragraph of the official letter, sent in August, that "no proposal is made by the advocates of these measures for recouping the loss of revenue that this country would suffer at this critical time." How did they know that no proposal had been made? Why did they say that?—Because we have not heard that any

proposal has been seriously made for recouping the revenue if the opium revenue is lost to the country.

6236. Then you do not know anything of the publications of the society to which you are referring?—We refer simply to the resolution of Parliament.

6237. I am referring to the Anti-Opium Society. Let me ask you, is Sir Bamesh Chandra Mitra, the late Judge of the High Court, a member of your Committee?—Yes.

6238. Was he invited to sign this letter?—I believe he was not at the time in Calcutta.

239. Are you sure that he was not asked to sign this letter?—I am perfectly ignorant about it.

The witness withdrew.

Rai
Rajkumar
Savadhikari.

RAI RAJKUMAR SAVADHIKARI called in and examined.

6240. (Chairman.) You are one of the gentlemen who signed the letter addressed to this Commission?—Yes.

6241. I believe you are Secretary to the British Indian Association?—Yes.

6242. In that capacity you signed the letter which has been addressed to our Secretary?—No; not in that capacity.

6243. In your individual capacity?—Yes.

6244. You have heard the testimony of the several native gentlemen of influence and position who have preceded you?—Yes.

6245. Do you concur in the views they have expressed?—Yes; I concur in them.

6246. (Mr. Wilson.) Do I understand that your Committee has not considered this question since the memorial in August?—No.

6247. Perhaps you can tell me whether Sir Bamesh Chandra Mitra was asked to sign this letter?—No; he was not asked.

6248. You are quite sure?—Yes.

6249. May I take it that you are the Editor of the *Hindu Patriot*?—Yes.

6250. That is the organ of the Association?—No; it is not the organ of the Association.

6251. To whom does it belong?—It does not belong to any one; there are four trustees of the paper.

The witness withdrew.

Babu
Satisgram
Singh.

BABU SATISGRAM SINGH called in and examined.

6260. (Chairman.) In what part of the country do you reside?—I come from a village in the district of Shahabad in Behar.

6261. Is opium largely consumed in your district?—No.

6262. To what class do those who make use of opium belong?—Those who take it as a habit and for the sake of pleasure are generally Mahomedans.

6263. Is opium much used in your district as a medicine?—Not much.

6264. Do the people among whom you live regard the practice of using opium as a disgrace?—If a man takes opium except for medical purposes it is looked upon as improper.

6265. You say that in your district the use of opium for other than medical purposes is regarded as more or less disgraceful; that being the general opinion with regard to the use of opium, would your people be favourably disposed to a policy of prohibition on the part of Government? Do you think that they would approve of Government prohibiting the use of opium for any other than medical purposes?—If opium be supplied freely to the people for medical purposes, if the effect of prohibition be not to interfere with that free supply, and if it does not lead to the imposition of any tax, the people would like to have some further restriction.

6266. If the change of policy involved the imposition of a tax you would not recommend it, but if it were possible to make the change without the imposition of a tax you would recommend it; is that what you wish to say?—There are already existing restrictions; but in spite of those restrictions we find chandu and madat being smoked by

the people, and we also find in some cases that opium is taken as a pernicious habit, which leads to the ruin of people. If some restrictive measures could be adopted to stop the prevalence of these evils, it would be very desirable.

6267. Have you any proposals to make with a view to increasing the restrictions upon the sale of opium?—I have not thought of any scheme, and I am not prepared to suggest any further restrictions.

6268. You merely say in a general way that it would be exceedingly desirable?—Yes.

6269. Do you think it possible absolutely to prohibit the growth, manufacture and sale of opium in British India for any other than medical purposes?—I do not think at present that it is possible unless Government were to prohibit private persons from growing opium. If the Government were to withdraw the monopoly and leave it open, like indigo and other things, to private individuals, the evils might be much worse.

6270. You would either have monopoly or total prohibition?—Yes; but, as I have said before, I would allow it for medical purposes.

6271. It has been said that the prohibition of poppy cultivation would reduce rents?—Certainly as regards money-rents according to law they could not be reduced, but I suppose you are aware that in Behar and in parts of Shahabad and Gaya rent is paid in kind.

6272. How would it affect landlords in those districts?—I possess zemindari myself in the district of Shahabad. All my people in Patna and Gaya districts invariably pay rent of poppy lands in money. There is not the system by which the produce is divided equally between the landlord

and tenant; with respect to poppy land, therefore, 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. If he does not wish to cultivate upon those terms, he can abandon the tenure.

6273. (Mr. Wilson.) You are a Pleader in the High Court, I believe?—I am.

6274. And in reference to the point you have been speaking of, you know the law?—I know the law, as well as being a zamindar, I know that in no case can a tenant go to the landlord and ask for reduction of his rent because he has ceased to grow opium.

6275. It is stated on the top of the printed paper that I hold in my hand that you are nominated by the British Indian Association?—When I sent in my manuscript statement those words were not there.

6276. You say in paragraphs 5 and 6 that the growing of opium is not viewed as profitable now-a-days. I suppose that is so?—That is so. My special reason for making that statement is that, during September or October last, I happened to be in my village, and some common officer connected with the Opium Department came and reported to me that the lumbaradar was not agreeable to cultivate opium in that village, and suggested that I should ask him or persuade him to enter into an arrangement with the Opium Department to cultivate some lands. I sent for the lumbaradar, and told him that it was desirable that he should cultivate opium unless it was a losing business for him. I could not compel him to do so, but if he chose he could do so; he had a free option in the matter, but at the same time I told him it would be desirable if he could see his way to cultivate. The lumbaradar is a man who enters into the contract on behalf of the other tenants. He agrees to take up 100 bighas or 50 bighas, and he brings in other tenants and distributes it between them. He brings the advances from the Opium Department and distributes them; and finally, when the opium is sent in, he brings its price and distributes among the cultivators. There is only one man to whom they look up in the village, and he is the lumbaradar. As I have said, I sent for him and asked him whether he was willing to cultivate, but he was not willing because the tenants generally were averse to doing what was not a very profitable business.

6277. What village was that?—Kulharia, Pargana Barahganaw, zillah Shahabad, under the Commissioner of Patna.

6278. What is the nearest large town?—It is near the town of Arrah. Later on I had a letter addressed to me or to my brother—I am not sure which it was—a letter from Mr. Sen (the son of Keshub Chunder Sen), an officer connected with the Opium Department, saying that he would like to know why the tenants were averse to growing opium, and that he would like to have a conference with me on the subject. If I remember rightly, we said in answer that the reason was that it was not a very profitable business, and therefore they did not like to cultivate it.

6279. Have you heard of anything of that kind before, or was that the first and only instance?—Before that I had also heard from those tenants that they were not very keen about cultivating opium; I heard from people also then in Patna district.

6280. May I ask why you suggested to the lumbaradar that you would rather like him to do it if he could?—The man who had come from the Opium Department was a very common officer, something like an ordinary clerk; I do not know what his title was, and he told me that it would be much better if opium was cultivated. It was at his request that I said so, at the same time I did not agree, and I could not make up my mind to press my tenants to cultivate opium. All I suggested was that if he could see his way to do it, well and good; if not, I could not compel him.

6281. (Mr. Fanshawe.) You have spoken of this single instance in which, within your own knowledge, cultivators were not willing to grow the poppy?—Yes.

6282. What conclusion would you found on that as regards the large number of cultivators who cultivate the poppy in Behar, some 680,000?—The man who came asked me to persuade the tenants of that particular tenant to do it, and he said, "There are other villages where the tenants are also unwilling to cultivate."

6283. That is one instance; with your knowledge of the country, would you place any reliance upon this as proving general unwillingness to cultivate poppy, when you have 630,000 cultivators to deal with?—Where the growth of sugarcane is fast increasing, as in Shuhabad and also in

Patna, and in some parts of Gaya, there it would be a matter of indifference to the tenants and landlords whether opium or sugarcane is grown. So far as the tenants are concerned, they will prefer sugarcane which is more profitable.

6284. Does not the cultivation of sugarcane depend upon various conditions—whether there is a market, whether there is certain manure to be had, and various conditions of that kind?—No; it does not depend upon that.

6285. Not at all or not altogether?—Not altogether. It requires three or four times watering; it takes a little more trouble to water.

6286. The question of a market will come in to some extent?—If there is a good crop, there is no such fluctuation in the price with regard to the produce. When there is a heavy downpour of rain and there is a bad crop, then it is that they lose.

6287. Dealing with the matter on broad lines, would you argue from what you have told us that the cultivators could necessarily substitute sugarcane for the poppy over a very large area?—I must make one more statement before I answer that question. Generally it is only land of a superior class that produces poppy as well as sugarcane, and if the land is capable of producing sugarcane, my conclusion is that in these two or three districts (to which my experience is restricted) the tenant is better off with it.

6288. Is it not the case that the cultivator who grows poppy is regarded as a good tenant?—He is the holder of good land.

6289. Beyond that, from the fact that he is cultivating the poppy, is he not regarded as a good solvent tenant and likely to pay his rent punctually?—I may answer that in this way. There is some advantage in growing poppy, viz., that when the advances are made they facilitate the payment of rent at that time of the year.

6290. I am asking you to speak from the landlord's point of view. Do you not regard the poppy cultivator as a good tenant because he is likely to pay his rent punctually?—Not as a solvent or good tenant, but there is this advantage, that when the advances are made the man is able to pay his rent more readily from the money that he gets, and he is not put to the inconvenience of selling his grain to pay the landlord. It is some advantage to the tenant as well as to the landlord. But where the tenant is solvent the raising of the ordinary instalments of rent is not a matter of difficulty. A good solvent tenant never feels any difficulty in paying rent. It is not a matter of very great difficulty in the case of poppy-growing tenants, if they are solvent, to pay the rent irrespective of the advances.

6291. But is it the case that the poppy cultivators are solvent because they have the advances? They are small holders, are they not as a rule?—Generally. Supposing a tenant has 10 or 15 bighas, he grows poppy on a bigha at the outside.

6292. Are they regarded as good solvent tenants as being poppy cultivators?—Not necessarily on that ground.

6293. You think that the prohibition to cultivate poppy would not affect the landlord indirectly?—Indirectly in regard to the payment of rent. In some cases there may be a delay on account of the man not growing poppy.

6294. So far the landlord would lose?—So far the landlord would lose, or rather there would be a delay.

6295. He would have that indirect disadvantage?—He would have that slight disadvantage in some cases.

6296. You expressed an opinion as to the injurious effects caused by opium. Do you mean by opium-eating in excess? If so, what would be the number of opium-eating cases in excess which have come within your own experience. Would they be few or many, speaking generally?—They are few, and that in towns, not in the villages.

6297. Would the majority of people who eat opium be those who eat it in moderation?—There are a good number, regard being had to the population; but I could not give you the percentage; the majority of people take it in small quantities.

6298. You have spoken of medical purposes. Do you include in that the cases of such persons as take opium at a later age in life?—Yes, to prevent the effects of cold and chills.

6299. You admit that it is taken generally as a preventive against chills and colds?—In some cases.

6300. In a general way it is taken by people to prevent colds and chills?—Yes.

6301. Would you include that in your medical purposes?—Yes.

Fabu
Saityem
Singh.
9 Dec. 1893

Baboo
Kuligam
Singh.

9 Dec. 1893.

6302. With your knowledge of the country, do you think it is practicable to provide that people who want to obtain opium for this purpose should be able to do so, while others should be prevented from obtaining opium for purposes not included under the head of medical?—I have not considered over any scheme, and I should not like to adopt any scheme the effect of which may be to deprive those who want opium for the purposes of medicine of the opportunity of getting it.

6303. The medicinal purposes being what you have already described?—Yes.

6304. (Mr. Wilson.) You have referred to the lumbar dar; how or by whom is the lumbar dar appointed?—The lumbar dar is the principal tenant of the village; he gets his name registered in the Opium Department and enters into a sort of agreement with that Department to get certain quantities of land within his village cultivated either by himself or by others. For these lands he gets advances from the Opium Department.

6305. Is he appointed by the Government or elected by the villagers?—I should say both. The villagers choose and recognise him as their lumbar dar, and the Government

looks upon him also as a man through whom the advances can be distributed.

6306. He is not a servant?—There is no appointment.

6307. Suppose the villagers do not like him, can they get rid of him?—They will not cultivate the land at his instance if they dislike him. That is the most effective way of prohibiting him. He is something like a go-between between the Government and the tenants.

6308. Does he get any profit out of it?—Very little. Perhaps two pice in a rupee for the trouble of going and coming.

6309. (Mr. Fanshawe.) He belongs to the village and he is a representative of the villagers?—Yes.

6310. But so far as any appointment goes?—The Government does not appoint him.

6311. In no way?—No. But he is recognised by the Government Department as a go-between so far as opium is concerned.

6312. He is put forward by the villagers as their representative?—Yes.

6313. There is no appointment?—No, he is not a servant.

The witness withdraw.

Dr. MAHENDRA LAL SINGH, C.I.E., called in and examined.

Dr.
Mahendra
Lal Singh,
C.I.E.

6314. (Chairman.) Are you a member of the British Indian Association?—Yes.

6315. Did you receive a circular asking you to attend to give evidence?—Not from the British Indian Association.

6316. From whom did you receive it?—From Mr. Inglis.

6317. Mr. Lyall's Secretary?—Yes.

6318. Then you are here at the suggestion practically of Mr. Lyall?—Yes. Some time ago a member of the British Indian Association asked if I would like to give evidence before the Commission, and I said I would have no objection if required—that was all. It was two or three months ago.

6319. As a medical practitioner your experience has been limited chiefly to Calcutta?—Yes.

6320. As a medical man do you regard opium as having special value in affording relief from pain?—I do, but not much.

6321. Do you think it has a permanent value as affording relief from pain?—No, not a permanent value.

6322. Then you do not hold opium in very high estimation for any purpose from a medical point of view?—I think I have clearly stated in my note what my view is.

6323. Do you believe that a considerable percentage of opium-eating originates in the desire of the sufferer to obtain relief from pain?—I do not say a considerable, but a pretty large percentage.

6324. Are you of opinion that opium is recommended by persons who claim to be competent as medical men, but are really not properly qualified?—It is recommended, but not in the way that has been described.

6325. Do you think that opium is often used at the recommendation of persons who give advice, not as doctors, but as having themselves suffered and experienced some temporary relief from the use of opium?—Opium-eaters generally give that advice.

6326. You think it is very bad advice?—I do not like that advice myself.

6327. What are the other inducements which in your opinion frequently lead people to use opium?—I think by far the largest class of opium-eaters consists of persons who have taken to the habit for the sake of the pleasures which its intoxication brings on. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the chief of these pleasures which allures men to the use of the drug is what I may call sexual endurance.

6328. Is it your experience that there is great difficulty in giving up the use of opium when once it is adopted?—That I think is invariably found; it is almost impossible to give it up.

6329. What do you say as to the moderate habitual use of opium? Do you think that such a use is productive of any serious mischief?—So far as my observation goes, I have not observed any serious organic mischief or moral depravity.

6330. Looking at the use of opium when taken in immoderate quantities or inhaled in the form of vapour, what are

the results which you have observed?—I have found it when taken in immoderate quantities to produce great mischief. It acts as a poison. Taken in immoderate doses opium often gives rise to fatal obstruction of the bowels and retention of urine from paralysis of the muscular fibre of the viscera; or it may lead to the opposite conditions of diarrhoea, dysentery, and enuresis. It often leads to a condition of the brain which makes the victim lead a most wretched and miserable existence of dullness and stupidity, the very picture of living death. If the dose is suddenly increased, as it sometimes is, then there may be actual apoplexy.

6331. Have you any practical personal knowledge of the effects of chandu-smoking?—I have just been to two chandu-smoking dens and one madak-smoking den.

6332. Was that the first occasion?—That was the first occasion.

6333. Can you tell us anything of the effects of chandu-smoking and the circumstances which led to the practice from any wide sphere of observation?—Not from any wide sphere, but from what I heard from these smokers themselves.

6334. What did they tell you?—They were very familiar with me and confessed many things which I put down. In the first chandu shop that I visited all the smokers were males, and did not appear to be such as may be called poor. Indeed, one of them was a zemindar from the North-West. All of them seemed to be well nourished, and some of them even appeared to be robust. I entered into a pretty long and familiar conversation with them. They one and all confessed that they had begun to take to the smoking from the assurance they had received from smokers of its strengthening effects on the sexual powers, and they told me that this invariably was the origin of what they all most emphatically called the pernicious habit.

6335. Speaking from personal knowledge can you tell us what class of persons frequent the madak shop?—They belong generally to the poorer classes.

6336. What do you say as to their physical condition?—They were more ill-nourished than the chandu-smokers, simply from their poverty. In fact, they said that if they could take enough nourishment, they would not dwindle so much as I found them doing.

6337. Then I understand you to say that both chandu- and madak-smoking are bad practices?—Yes.

6338. Would you desire that the Government should abolish shops of that kind at which chandu or madak can be smoked or purchased?—Yes, and the chandu-smokers themselves would be glad if Government would abolish these shops.

6339. They feel that they have not sufficient moral strength to leave off the habit themselves?—That is so.

6340. With regard to opium-eating, do you distinguish between its effects and the effects of opium-smoking?—I do.

6341. Do you consider that opium-eating is less pernicious?—Less than opium-smoking.

6343. Do I understand you to object to opium-eating?—I object to opium-eating certainly.

6348. You are opposed to the use of all intoxicating drugs?—Yes, and I look upon tea, coffee, cocoa, and articles of that class as absolutely unnecessary for men. I am opposed to the use of even such substances as tea and coffee and cocoa *et hoc genus omnia*, which are used under the plea that they exhilarate but do not inebriate, that they remove fatigue, stand between food and medicine, etc. In my humble opinion, rest, healthy recreation and adequate nourishment are all that man requires for the due performance of the functions of life, physical and psychical.

6344. Therefore you are quite sure he does not require opium?—Certainly not.

6345. You acknowledge that your views are not as widely entertained as you would wish?—No, not even my medical views.

6346. As a practical man, recognizing that public opinion has not advanced in your direction as far as you would wish, what do you say should be the practical policy of the Government? Do you consider it possible by legislation to prohibit the use of opium?—I think it is impossible.

6347. If it is not possible, do you think it is best that the Government should recognize that there is a demand for opium and should simply strive to regulate consumption as far as it can?—Yes.

6348. As regards the system under which opium is at present produced under the Bengal monopoly, do you consider that there is very little to be proposed in the way of alteration in the present regulations?—I am not competent to deal with that question.

6349. As regards the sale of opium by private dealers?—There should be more stringent measures to prevent its abuse.

6350. Are you prepared with any specific suggestion?—No.

6351. (*Mr. Wilson.*) On the paper which has been furnished to you as your statement you are said to have been nominated by the British Indian Association?—I explained that the simple fact which could make me a nominee of the British Indian Association was that I was asked by a leading member of the Association about two and a half months ago whether I would like to give my evidence as a medical man before the Commission, and I said "If my evidence is required I am quite prepared." But I have come here as a medical man myself, not as a nominee of the British Indian Association.

6352. I want to know whether you supplied that heading yourself?—No. What I said at the heading of my paper was "Notes on opium-eating and smoking for the Royal Commission."

6353. Do you know who printed that heading?—No, when the print came into my hands I found it altered.

6354. Have you received the distinction of Companion of the Indian Empire?—Yes.

6355. Am I right in believing that there is only one other medical gentleman in India who has received that distinction?—I think so.

6356. I understand you to state that you find "opium to act chiefly as a palliative and seldom as a curative agent"?—Yes.

6357. That it affords relief from pain, "and seems to arrest the progress of disease, but that this is seeming only in the majority of cases"?—Yes.

6358. That the diseases which appear to yield "often return with greater violence"?—Yes.

6359. 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"?—Yes.

6360. "Or without fresh and peculiar sufferings due to the cessation of the drug's primary action"?—That is the worst of the drug—it cannot be left off.

6361. You have said that "by far the largest class of opium-eaters consists of persons who have taken to the habit for the sake of the pleasures which its intoxication brings on"?—That is my own experience.

6362. And that, so far as you "have been able to ascertain, the chief of these pleasures which allures men to the use of the drug is what may be called sexual endurance or prolongation of the sexual act"?—Yes.

6363. And you believe that that is afterwards followed by impotence?—Yes.

6364. Is it your opinion that the habitual use of opium, even if "convinced of the evil consequences, he wishes to give the habit up, finds it impossible to do so"?—Yes.

6365. You do not go so far as to say that the habit cannot be broken?—No, I do not.

6366. But the cases are very few and far between?—Very few and far between.

6367. And the only depravity which you have observed is "the unconquerable hankering after the drug"?—Yes.

6368. When you visited the chandu shop, the persons who were there told "you that they had begun to take to smoking from the assurance which they had received from smokers of its strengthening effects on the sexual powers"?—Yes.

6369. They told you that this was invariably the origin of what they "emphatically called the pernicious habit"?—Yes.

6370. And when you visited the second chandu shop they said the same?—Yes.

6371. Then you visited a madak shop?—Yes.

6372. And there they told you the same tale, "that the habit was contracted from its reputed effects on the virile powers"?—Yes.

6373. They also said that the habit was a pernicious one, and that it devoured their small earnings in most cases?—Yes.

6374. "And yet the hankering after the drug was so powerful as to render them callous to the sufferings of their wives and children from the dire effects of poverty, whom they would rather see starving than deprive themselves of their ruinous indulgence"?—One and all admitted that in this one particular shop.

6375. In both of these shops the smokers of chandu and madak both said they "would be glad if Government would abolish the shops." They knew they would suffer individually, but they would rather do so "than that future generations should be entangled in a habit which entails such a perversion of the will, and in the end deprives them of the very power for the strengthening of which they prized it so much in the beginning"; and the owners of the shops who were themselves smokers did not dispute what their customers said?—No.

6376. Do you put beer, tea, and opium on a level as things that you would like to see equally abolished?—Not quite on a level. Tea, cocoa and coffee are much more innocent than opium, but I regard them as absolutely unnecessary.

6377. (*Chairman.*) What do you say about alcohol?—Alcohol is a deadly poison, one of the worst poisons in existence for a man to take.

6378. Worse than opium?—Infinitely worse.

6379. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Is beer worse than opium?—Yes. Whatever contains alcohol is worse than opium as regards its effects on the physical as well as on the mental constitution.

6380. Is that in your experience as regards Europeans as well as the natives of India?—I have had very little experience of Europeans who are opium-eaters as to whether the effect of beer and spirits is equal to, or worse than, the effects of opium. If the people take beer in moderate quantities, they may not have body or mind diseased in any way, but generally these things are never taken in moderate quantities. Europeans in India fare worse for their drinking habits in this climate.

6381. May I ask whether your practice is in Calcutta?—And the suburbs. Of course my practice extends all over Bengal, and patients come to consult me from all parts of the country.

6382. You do not know much about the habits of the poorer classes in the remote districts of Bengal?—I cannot say that I know much.

6383. (*Mr. Fournelle.*) With regard to your statement that the largest class of opium-eaters consists of persons who take to the habit for the sake of its pleasures, such as you describe: does that apply to Calcutta?—Yes.

6384. Mainly?—Mainly to Calcutta.

6385. To what classes of society do you wish that remark to apply?—To all classes. I have chiefly found opium-eaters among Mahomedans—more among Mahomedans than Hindus, but it belongs to all classes.

Dr.
Mahendra Lal
Sircar, C.L.E.
9 Dec. 1893.

Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, C.I.E.
9 Dec. 1893.

6386. Are you referring to the people of the lower or to those of the middle and upper classes?—All classes. Generally I may say people of the middle and upper classes take to opium rather than the poorer people.

6387. Then the remark you make is applicable more to the middle and upper classes than to the lower in Calcutta?—Yes.

6388. With regard to the difficulty which you find as to giving up the habit does that apply equally to the moderate use of opium?—To all cases, even to those who only take a grain a day.

6389. There is some difficulty, but is there the same difficulty?—The difficulty of course becomes greater with an increase of the doses.

6390. As regards moderate eaters, the difficulty is not so great?—It is less.

6391. You are aware that we have had a good deal of medical evidence to the effect that in jails and elsewhere it is found that the habit can be given up without much difficulty?—That is what they say.

6392. Does your experience agree with that?—No.

6393. With regard to the men whom you saw in the madak and chandu shops, how many were there altogether?—In the first chandu shop that I visited there were about 10, and in the next about 8.

6394. You will not misunderstand me when I say that you put some rather tall language into their mouths about future generations being entangled, by perversion of will, and so on?—That is exactly what they told me.

6395. Was it put quite in that way?—They said "It is better that we should suffer individually than our children"—they even say future generations.

6396. Did they all make the same statement, and was this in reply to a direct question from yourself?—They volunteered it. I simply asked them why they had taken to this habit, and they made that confession.

6397. Have you made any chemical or medical analysis enabling you to ascertain the difference in the effects of smoking and eating opium?—No.

6398. Then your opinion is not founded on any such analysis?—No. I speak from simple experience.

6399. I am not quite sure what you recommend with regard to madak and chandu shops? You know that smoking on licensed premises is now stopped, but that the sale of chandu and madak in certain limited quantities is still allowed; do you think that this ought to be prohibited?—I would abolish these shops.

The witness withdrew.

The Hon'ble GONESH CHUNDER CHUNDER called in and examined.

Hon'ble Gonesh Chunder.

6415. (Chairman.) You are a member of the Bengal Legislative Council?—I am.

6416. And a member of the British Indian Association?—I am.

6417. You have been present this morning?—The greater part of the time.

6418. You have heard the views expressed by the numerous witnesses who have been called?—I have.

6419. Do you concur with them generally?—In most of what they have said.

6420. Will you give us a short general statement of your opinion as to the effect of opium consumption amongst the people of India? Do I understand you to say that the persons addicted to the smoking of such preparations as madak and chandu are often persons of low moral character?—Some of them commit petty thefts and other minor offences.

6421. But the eating of opium in moderate doses has not in your experience been the cause of moral depravity of any kind among any classes of person?—That is so.

6422. Do you believe that the people of Bengal would be willing to bear the cost of prohibitive measures if they were adopted by the Government?—I do not think they would.

6423. Do you recommend any alteration in the existing arrangements for the growth of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium?—None.

6424. Do you consider that the prohibition of the growth of the poppy in British India would be prejudicial to an important agricultural interest?—It would be prejudicial.

6425. Do you think that a policy of prohibition would be difficult to maintain in view of the risks from smuggling

6400. Would you prevent the sale of chandu and madak altogether?—I would prevent the sale altogether.

6401. What would you say as regards a man who smokes in his own house?—People can do it themselves at home—the preparation is so easy.

6402. Do you wish to interfere with the man who habitually smokes in his own house?—We cannot interfere with that.

6403. What do you say as to private gatherings or clubs for smoking; should they be prohibited?—Yes.

6404. Do you think Government can do that?—I think so.

6405. Could we go into private men's houses?—No, but these are licensed shops.

6406. There are no licensed shops now for the purpose of smoking.—I understood they were all licensed shops. We cannot interfere with the liberty of the subject.

6407. There has been a certain amount of smoking going on in private places called smoking clubs. Would you propose to interfere with them?—It would be impossible to interfere with them.

6408. You have said that rest, recreation and adequate nourishment are all that a man requires. Inadequate nourishment you do not include tea, coffee, or cocoa, or any of these things?—No. They are not nourishment at all. If it were not for the little milk and sugar with which they are mixed, there would be no nourishment in them.

6409. (Chairman.) Are you a graduate of medicine in the Calcutta University?—Yes.

6410. You say that you regard tea as quite unnecessary?—Yes.

6411. Do you believe that drinking tea tends to shorten life?—I do not say that; I have not said that.

6412. But you think it a pernicious habit?—I do not say it is a pernicious habit, but an unnecessary habit. The time devoted to tea-drinking and coffee-drinking might be better occupied.

6413. (Mr. Fanshawe.) Are you aware that the British Indian Association sent in your name as a representative?—No. I was simply asked by a leading member of the Association whether I should like to give my evidence as a medical man before the Commission.

6414. Is it or is it not the case that the Association sent in your name with those of other gentlemen as the names of those who were ready to give evidence?—I did not know that before this was sent to me. I did not know that I was to come here as a nominee of the Association.

and the general difficulty of enforcing prohibition?—I do think so.

6426. Do you consider that if the trade were thrown open and the limitation of the privilege of sale to licensed vendors were no longer enforced, the tendency of such changes would be to increase the sale of opium?—It would increase.

6427. (Mr. Wilson.) Am I right in believing that you are a member of the legal profession?—I am.

6428. You are busily occupied in that way?—I am.

6429. You have not much time to visit the outlying districts of Bengal?—I go once a year during the vacation.

6430. Have you there made special inquiries about this matter?—I did not make any special inquiry, but generally I came in contact with the people about whom I have given this opinion.

6431. Did you hear the evidence of Babu Saligram Singh in reference to poppy cultivation?—The last part of his evidence.

6432. To the effect that it was not so profitable, and that people did not care for it?—I heard that.

6433. Does that at all affect your opinion as to its being one of the most valuable agricultural resources?—It does not.

6434. You think he is wrong?—So far as my information goes I do not think he is right.

6435. Are you able to suggest what further restriction you would put on the sale of opium by retail vendors?—I would put the sale of opium under police regulations.

6436. Do I understand that part of your suggestion to refer specially to the city of Calcutta?—That is part of my suggestion.

6437. In the country at large do you think that the present arrangement is perfect?—I do not know what arrangements there are in the districts, and therefore I cannot express any opinion on that point.

6438. You think the arrangements are perfect at present?—The arrangements as to growth and cultivation and as to the preparation and sale of opium are perfect; it is only the retail sale which ought to be put under further restriction.

6439. (*Mr. Fanshawe.*) I understand your general view to be that eating opium in moderation has no injurious effects on the physical condition of the people or on their moral character?—Certainly.

6440. I also understand your general view to be that eating opium in moderation is fairly common?—That is what I mean.

6441. Have you thought out what you mean by the police regulating the sale of opium?—Yes.

6442. What would you propose?—That all retail vendors of opium should be placed under the supervision of the thanas in which their shops are.

6443. You are speaking of Calcutta?—Yes. I would put every retail vendor in the city of Calcutta under the supervision of the police of the thana within whose jurisdiction his shop is situated.

6444. What do you mean by that—that he would be liable to have his shop visited at all times, or that the police should check his issues, or what?—There should be some guarantee that purchasers do not use opium for other than lawful purposes.

6445. How are the police to maintain that?—In the same way as arms and ammunition are under the police supervision.

6446. A nominal register being kept of all purchases?—Some such thing ought to be done.

6447. You have not thought it out in detail?—Not in detail, that is my general idea.

*Hon'ble
Gossett
Chunder
Chunder.*
9 Dec. 1893.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. PARSCOTT HEWETT, Secretary of the Commission, called in and examined.

6448. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I have a paper before me which you furnished to me as an abstract of evidence to be given by Babu Saligram Singh, a witness nominated by the British Indian Association. Will you tell me whether you had that printed?—I had not to the best of my recollection.

6449. It was upon the paper when you received it?—I believe so.

6450. Can you tell me from whom you received it?—Either from Mr. Dane or Mr. Inglis.

6451. I ask the same question in reference to the ab-

stract of evidence to be given by Dr. Mahendra Lal Siroar—My answer is the same in respect to that.

6452. With reference to a letter signed by six gentlemen, some of whom have been before us this morning, which is dated from No. 18, British Indian Street, and on which is written "Letter from the British Indian Association," is that written in manuscript?—Yes; I think that those words were written by my clerk.

6453. Do you know from whom you received it?—I cannot remember exactly. I think I must have received it from Mr. Dane or Mr. Inglis.

*Mr. J. P.
Hewett.*

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to Wednesday, the 20th December, at 1 o'clock.

At the Great Eastern Hotel, Rangoon.

TWENTY-SECOND DAY.

Saturday, 9th December 1893.

PRESENT:

SIR JAMES LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., (IN THE CHAIR).

SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D.
MR. R. G. C. MOWBRAY, M.P.

MR. ARTHUR PHASE.

MR. C. C. LEWIS (*Provisional Secretary*).

Chairman.—We consulted together on our way here, and before beginning our proceedings, I think it will be convenient to put upon record what our intentions, as at present advised, are as to the scope of the enquiry we are about to conduct in Burma. We do not intend to go into the arguments for or against the total prohibition of the use or possession of opium by Burmans in Upper Burma, or for and against the same prohibition in Lower Burma, modified by the exceptions in the case of habitual consumers holding certificates. We accept the fact that that policy has been adopted and will have to be tested by experience. We do intend to go into the arguments for and against the exclusion of non-Burmans from the prohibition, and to take what evidence is available as to the effect on them of the moderate and immoderate habits of opium-smoking and opium-eating, and as to how far continued moderation in either habit is usual or the reverse. We want this evidence more particularly in the

case of the Chinese. We also want to inquire into the prospects of opium being successfully smuggled into Burma, Upper and Lower, from China or India, and as to the existing or proposed arrangements to prevent it; also as to the degree to which prosecutions for illicit possession or other breaches of the Opium Act have been lately necessary and are likely to be necessary in future under the new system. Our work to-day will consist of asking an officer of the Government of Burma to put in a full description of the new system in Lower and Upper Burma which has been sanctioned and which is about to come into force; and putting such questions to him upon that system as we may be able to put at such a short notice.

Mr. C. G.
Bayne.
9 Dec. 1898.

Mr. C. G. BAYNE called in and examined.

6454. (Chairman.) You are, I think, Revenue Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Burma?—Yes.

6455. And you put in a Note on the new system of opium administration in Burma which will be introduced from 1st January 1894?—Yes, I do.

6456. I suppose the reason why the cultivation of opium is permitted in Kachin villages is partly political?—Yes, partly political. We have very little control there. We could not stop it if we tried without sending a small army into the localities.

6457. Has the Government actually levied that duty of 8 annas yet?—Yes, it is occasionally levied. These tracts are generally visited by the officer who goes round. He collects a nominal sort of tribute, which is generally about 8 annas a household. If he sees opium cultivation and if he can get the *pe* duty, he collects it. It has been collected however to a very small extent. It is not shown at all in the statement, but in the reports of political officers I have occasionally seen it. He says he has a few rupees on account of *pe* duty; but that would go down as tribute, and would not go into the excise report at all. That is the only way I can explain the fact that it does not appear in the excise report.

6458. What is supposed to be the rule about the purchase of that opium? Can it only be purchased by a licensee-vendor, wholesale or retail, or is there any such rule as that?—There is a rule to say that it can be purchased by a non-Burman residing in the tract. I think it can also be purchased by a licensed vendor. In local areas in Upper Burma, in which the cultivation of the poppy plant is permitted, a cultivator may sell to any non-Burman any quantity of opium or poppy-heads, the produce of his cultivation. Any non-Burman going into those tracts could buy the poppy.

6459. What is the definition of "non-Burman"?—"Non-Burman" means any person who is not a Burman.

6460. What is a "Burman"?—Burman means any person born of parents both of whom belong to races indigenous to Burma, except a Kachin, or a Shan, or a Palaung.

6461. Are Malays regarded as indigenous to Burma?—I do not know that that question has ever arisen. The only part of Burma in which Malays are born and bred is the very bottom of Burma, in the Mergui District; and even there there are only a few hundreds of them. I doubt if they would call themselves indigenous.

6462. I suppose Chinese, Siamese, Indians and Malays would all be non-Burmans?—Yes.

6463. Down in Tenasserim I believe there are certain races of fishermen and people who are employed as foresters who are said to be very much addicted to opium?—I do not know about foresters; but there is a curious indigenous tribe called Salones, who live in the islands of the Mergui Archipelago. They are practically beyond administrative control. These people go about these islands in little boats and occasionally come to the main land. It is said they are addicted to opium. They are employed by the Chinese to dive for pearl shells.

6464. Are the Mergui islands recognised as British territory?—Yes.

6465. But are they really under British Administration?—They are absolutely part of Burma, but they are a long way off and extend over a large area, so that it is difficult to visit them. The Deputy Commissioner goes round occasionally in his launch. No taxes are levied on them; they are savages. Various efforts have been made from time to

time to make them settle down on the main land, but they have always declined to do so.

6466. What is meant by the manufacture of opium?—Opium is manufactured in order to prepare it for smoking. I understand that all opium is clarified, and by that means becomes what we call *beinchi*. That is what is smoked.

6467. (Sir William Roberts.) Is that the same as *chandu*?—*Chandu* is clarified opium with opium ash mixed. *Beinchi* is understood to be a mixture of pure opium and refuse opium collected from pipes which have been smoked. *Beinchi* is what the poor people smoke.

6468. (Mr. Moubray.) Is there any consumption of crude opium in Burma?—I believe Burmans eat it, and also that Coringhi coolies eat it. That is the way they generally consume it.

6469. (Chairman.) "Professional persons" includes what?—Doctors who practise under the English Medical Act and persons holding Diplomas of Indian Universities.

6470. Clause 3A relates to manufacture?—"Practitioners" is a general term to include various classes of medical practitioners, pharmacists, doctors, and tatoosers.

6471. Do tatoosers administer opium in the shape of opium-smoking, or do they administer opium in the crude form?—I do not know how they would administer it. It is practically a medicine. In their case they use it purely as a medicine.

6472. (Sir William Roberts.) I fancy the use of it in tattooing is to relieve the people of pain?—Yes, I presume so.

6473. (Chairman.) What is the exact meaning of "pharmacist" in Rule 4?—A person who deals in European medicines and drugs as a means of livelihood.

6474. (Sir William Roberts.) It corresponds to our "druggists"?—Yes.

6475. (Chairman.) Are they Europeans or natives?—Sometimes they are Europeans and sometimes they are natives. They are only to be found in large towns. There are not very many of them—30 or 40 in the whole of Burma.

6476. Can you give me any idea of how many medical practitioners there are in Burma?—There would be the Government Surgeons, and then there are the Army Doctors. All those together, I suppose, would come to 50 or 60. Then there are private practitioners, of whom there are hardly any outside Rangoon. In Rangoon there are perhaps half a dozen, or perhaps a dozen. There would be one or two in Akyab, and also in Moulmein. Altogether, I should not think there would be more than 100 in Burma.

6477. Are the Burmese population chiefly doctoring by the class who are called "Doctors"?—Yes.

6478. It runs in families?—I think so.

6479. I see that the amount of opium which a doctor may have is very limited,—10 seers of poppy-heads, 10 tolas of opium, and 10 tolas of medical preparations from opium?—Yes.

6480. Do you think that sufficient provision is made by these rules for the supply of opium for medical uses to Burmans?—That 10 tolas was fixed on the advice of the District Officers. It is a matter really for experience. No special provision has been made hitherto for licenses to native doctors.

6481. It was not necessary, I suppose, as long as they could get it? When they could get it without offence it was not necessary.

6482. According to the native system of medicine which prevails, do you know whether opium is much used as a medicine?—I cannot say.

6483. It is said in paragraph 10:—"Licenses for retail sale to ordinary consumers are sold by auction in Upper and Lower Burma, and the auction-purchasers are permitted to open shops in selected places." The shops are settled before the license is sold, I suppose?—Yes. You will find it under Rule 60.

6484. Can you say what the reason is for the system of selling the license for retail sale by auction?—It is the simplest method of selection. It is the only way of fixing the value. It would be very difficult to determine a fixed fee, and decide what should be the fee in the case of a fixed-fee system being adopted.

6485. The amount of opium which a licensed vendor would be able to obtain from Government would be fixed, would it not?—Yes, it is fixed.

6486. So that the value might be approximately known from that?—Yes.

6487. You say in paragraph 9 that opium is sold retail by direct Government agency at four places?—It has not actually been sold yet, but it is to be sold from the 1st January next. It is stated in the beginning of the note that the new system has not yet been introduced.

6488. Will any rate be prescribed at which the Government agent is to sell?—Yes.

6489. (Sir William Roberts.) Why is there any restriction on the sale of poppy-heads?—I presume poppy-heads are capable of being used for objectionable purposes. I have never heard of poppy-heads in Burma myself; I believe they are unknown among the people.

6490. Are they used for making a drink?—I have never heard of their being used for making a drink. I imagine poppy-heads are put into these rules because they are Indian rules, and are therefore put in only as a precaution.

6491. (Chairman.) I believe you said that there was a price fixed?—A price will be fixed. The Chief Commissioner has not yet decided how it shall be fixed; probably it will be fixed by taking the price of the nearest licensed shop.

6492. Who will be these Government agents?—The Treasury Officer.

6493. Is he a European or a Native?—He is generally an Extra Assistant Commissioner.

6494. Either European or Native?—Yes. Either European or Native; often he is an Assistant Commissioner.

6495. You say that the number of Burmans who have registered themselves up to date is 7,516?—Yes.

6496. When did the registry begin?—About the beginning of April.

6497. When does the time expire?—On the 30th June next.

6498. Has there been any reluctance shown in coming forward to register?—I cannot answer that question right off. I have had nothing to do with the actual registration. I can however state that it was originally proposed to require people to register themselves within a fixed date, about a month and-a-half. Then certain officers asked that the period should be extended because they thought that people who perhaps might wish to register had not had sufficient opportunity of registering themselves.

6499. (Mr. Pease.) Have you heard of any cases of hardship in Upper Burma from the people not being able to register themselves as opium-smokers?—No, not in Upper Burma. Opium has always been prohibited to Burmans.

6500. (Sir William Roberts.) Before the British occupation?—Yes.

6501. (Mr. Mowbray.) And since?—And since.

6502. (Mr. Pease.) There seems to be a provision made, where only a limited number of persons are consumers, for the Government retailing the opium itself: do you know whether that system has been found to work satisfactorily?—It has not been tried yet.

6503. It would seem as though the Government if it could see its way in non-populous places to be itself the distributor, might easily have arranged to have been the distributor in more populous places; in that case they

might have exercised a more decided check on the sale of opium, and could see that the sales were in accordance with the law?—It is considered inadvisable to embark on too many novelties at once. It is considered that the system by licensed vendors is suitable.

Mr. C. G.
Boyne.
9 Dec. 1893

6504. But is there not a great temptation to a man who has purchased the right to sell by auction, to sell beyond the limits prescribed by the law?—There is a temptation; but when he cannot get more opium than he supplies his legal customers, he is not in a position to do so; he must then procure smuggled opium if he can get it. Of course efforts are made to prevent smuggling.

6505. I observe that there are a certain number of mounds set aside for every district which it is said is calculated upon the number of Burmans, and the number of opium-consuming non-Burmans: what means have you of obtaining the number of the opium-consuming non-Burmans?—That figure 6,819 was ascertained by taking the census early this year.

6506. A census of opium consumers?—A census was made of non-Burman opium-consumers as well as Burman opium-consumers.

6507. Is that census given to us anywhere in these papers?—It is not, but I can put in a statement giving any details from which these figures are prepared.

6508. (Chairman.) Is there any report of it submitted to the Government?—A report has not been submitted to the Government of India.

6509. Has a report been submitted to the Chief Commissioner?—A report has been submitted to the Financial Commissioner. The District Officers all report the numbers.

6510. (Mr. Pease.) According to this calculation if 50 lbs. makes a mound, we have an allotment of 12,204 lbs. for 17,000 people, which makes an allowance of two-thirds of a pound each per annum?—The total quantity of opium now required to supply the local demand of ordinary consumers in Lower Burma is in round numbers 19,500 seers, viz., $\frac{1}{2}$ of a tola \times 385 \times 17,000.

6511. (Mr. Mowbray.) A tola is about 180 grains?—Yes.

6512. So that $\frac{1}{2}$ of a tola is about 45 grains?—Yes.

6513. Is not that a very large daily allowance?—It is calculated on the actual facts; it is what habitual consumers do take. There are men who will smoke 2 annas or 4 annas or 8 annas worth a day. They always calculate in annas. Some of them go up to Rs. 2 worth a day. The figure $\frac{1}{2}$ of a tola was taken from the report of District Officers.

6514. (Sir William Roberts.) Are there any similar restrictive regulations with regard to spirits?—No.

6515. A Burman may get what spirits he likes?—Yes; but there is a maximum amount of spirits which a man may possess under the Excise Act. A man may not possess an unlimited quantity of spirits.

6516. Do you mean a dealer?—No, a private individual.

6517. (Chairman.) He cannot get more than a certain amount at one visit?—It is under the Excise Act of 1881.

6518. (Sir William Roberts.) Practically there is no restriction?—No.

6519. No restriction as there is supposed to be for opium?—No.

6520. (Mr. Mowbray.) I noticed that you speak of opium imported being allowed in Upper Burma, both Government opium and opium imported from the Shan States, is that anything more than what you referred to as the amount allowed to travellers and horse-dealers entering Burma by land from the Shan States?—Yes.

6521. There is actual importation from the Shan States over and above that?—Yes.

6522. What is the duty?—Rs. 15 a viss, which is 3-65 lbs.

6523. Do you have to keep up a regular preventive system beyond Upper Burma and the Shan States in order to enforce that?—There is a preventive establishment, but it is not a very large one.

6524. Is there the same duty on opium imported from China?—Yes.

6525. Have you also got a preventive system upon the frontier between China and Upper Burma?—The police are the preventive officers. There is not a special preventive establishment on the Chinese frontier.

Mr. C. G.
Bayne.
9 Dec. 1893.

6526. Do you imagine that there is much smuggling either from the Shan States or from China?—It is reported that there is a good deal.

6527. Then with regard to poppy grown in Upper Burma, does that apply only to what you call the Kachin villages?—Yes.

6528. When that is taken out beyond the areas to another part of Upper Burma, does that pay the same duty of Rs. 15 a viss?—Yes, it is the same duty. You will find it at the end of Rule 38.

6529. Do you know, as a matter of fact, whether much opium has been imported in that way, or whether much duty has been received?—I have not heard.

6530. You cannot give me any idea as to the proportion of opium brought into Burma which is consumed in the rough form, and manufactured?—No.

6531. Is there any regular list or register of pharmacists and doctors?—Such would be kept.

6532. Who actually issues the licenses to these pharmacists and doctors?—The Deputy Commissioner or the Collector.

6533. Each person who comes to the Collector or Deputy Commissioner to ask for a license has to prove to the satisfaction of the Deputy Commissioner or of the Collector that he is a pharmacist or doctor?—Yes.

6534. In Upper Burma I understand that there is no register either of non-Burmans or of smoking Burmans?—No.

6535. It was suggested in the first instance that there should be a register of non-Burmans as well as of smoking Burmans?—Yes.

6536. Do you know why that was abandoned?—The reason is because there is a legal objection. I understand that the Government of India considered that it was permissible under the opium law to maintain a register as a step towards total prohibition; but it was not admissible to maintain a register merely as a method of making and taking a census. The Opium Act prohibits possession of opium, and it is legal to maintain a register as a step towards total prohibition, but it is not legal to maintain a register merely in order to ascertain the number of people to whom you are going to supply opium.

6537. What is the reason why the price in Arakan is less than the price in Upper Burma?—The prices were fixed a great many years ago. I could not say for certain, but I imagine the reason is because Arakan borders on Bengal and there is greater temptation to smuggle into Arakan. They therefore had to put the price lower. Those prices were fixed in 1881.

6538. (Chairman.) That is the price to the vendor?—Yes, the price to the vendor.

6539. (Mr. Mowbray.) In the statement of opium licenses and opium revenue which you have put in, what is actually represented by the import duty?—Foreign opium imported from the Shan States and Yunnan pays a duty of Rs. 15 a viss.

6540. What is the excise duty?—Rs. 25 a seer; Rs. 7-4 is the cost of production.

6541. The cost paid by the Local Government of Burma?—I do not know how it is adjusted, but Rs. 7-4 is the actual cost of the drug.

6542. When you say that the figures in column 9 are exclusive of cost price, does that mean to say that that is the net revenue raised after the Rs. 7-4 has been paid; or does it mean that that has to be deducted?—It means that the Rs. 7-4 has been deducted.

6543. And that that is net revenue?—Yes.

6544. (Chairman.) I believe that the consumption on the premises of licensed shops is prohibited?—Yes, except in the Ruby Mines and Bhamo, as will be seen at the end of Form No. 9. When notices were issued that consumption on the premises was to be prohibited the local officers represented that it would be very difficult to enforce it in those districts; and it was retained as a temporary measure.

6545. You say it is prohibited in licensed shops; is there any law as to smoking in other premises?—No.

6546. Has any legislation been proposed to prevent the establishment of smoking clubs or saloons?—No.

6547. How is the import duty on Chinese Shan States opium to be levied?—Opium is imported past the stations. The rules are under the head of "Import," Nos. 39 to 47. An opium vendor wishing to import opium gets a permit to import it. He imports it, brings it to the treasury

or opium ware-house where it is weighed and examined, and then the duty is paid. He is then allowed to remove it.

6548. Nobody but a licensed vendor can import?—No, except travellers and horse-dealers for their private purposes.

6549. I think that it appears evident that there will be considerable difficulty, to say the least, in preventing illicit import of opium along the coast?—It is feared that there will be.

6550. And along the land frontier of China and the Shan States and Siam?—Yes.

6551. I should like to know whether you can give us any particulars regarding the preventive establishments now existing; are there any?—There are.

6552. Can you let us have the particulars?—There are existing establishments both for excise and opium. They are not specially directed to excise. I could produce particulars though I cannot give them now. The police have excise duties, but there is a special excise establishment.

6553. Has that been augmented lately? It is proposed to augment it.

6554. Can you give us particulars?—It is proposed to augment it by preventive establishments in the Akyab, Sandoway and Kyaukpyu Districts, to prevent smuggling by sea and from Chittagong. The idea is to have boats going on beats to intercept smugglers. It is proposed also to have an establishment in the Amherst District and in Tavoy, which is in the Tenasserim Division, for the same purpose, to prevent smuggling by sea.

6555. You will be able to put in a statement showing the present preventive establishments and also the proposed additions?—Yes.

6556. (Mr. Pease.) In a statement we have here it is said:—"The Government of India informed the Home Government that any one found selling opium to others than Chinese, or keeping a saloon for consuming opium, will be liable to conviction." Is that carried out in these rules?—If he lets people smoke in his house and sells opium to them, certainly he is punished for selling opium; but if a man lets his friends come into his house, and they are each entitled by law to smoke opium and have each in their possession only the quantity of opium they are entitled by law to possess and they merely smoke it, nobody is punished.

6557. I want to know whether it has been found that the fact that the Government have prohibited the consumption of opium has led to people giving up the practice or has affected public opinion with regard to the practice?—I have no direct district experience. I have heard that in one district a number of people said they were going to give up the practice when they heard that opium was going to be prohibited. Of course, the law has not been changed yet, so one can only speak of intention.

6558. Was that because of the change of public opinion or dislike to be registered?—I do not think there has been any change in public opinion. The Burman public opinion has always been adverse to opium.

6559. Do you think that it arises from a desire to avoid being registered?—I could not say.

6560. (Mr. Mowbray.) I suppose you cannot yet form any estimate as to the loss of revenue from the change; nothing at least beyond the estimate Sir David Barbour gave?—Fourteen lakhs is what they estimate.

6561. (Mr. Pease.) What was intended with regard to registration of non-Burmans? It was merely to register those who were opium-smokers. Was it not?—The object was to get data for fixing the maximum issues. When you know what the total of your consumers is you calculate how much opium they want and how much opium you must issue to the licensed vendor. That was the object of registering non-Burmans.

6562. (Chairman.) It is not strictly registering but taking a census?—Yes, that is so.

6563. I believe it was at one time the intention of the authorities of the province of Burma that registration should be a condition of using and possessing opium by non-Burmans as well as by Burmans. Was it not?—Yes, that was part of the registration of non-Burmans.

6564. It was at that time intended, was it not?—I think the non-Burman was not to be permitted to possess opium unless he registered himself.

6565. That has been changed?—Yes.

6566. There was some correspondence which has not yet been before the Commission and which some of the

Commissioners wish to see, namely, Sir Alexander Mackenzie's letter and enclosures to the Government of India, and the Government of India's letter to the Secretary of State. Can you put in a copy of that correspondence?—I will endeavour to do so.

6567. (*Sir William Roberts.*) I presume there is no difficulty with regard to the supply of opium in Upper Burma for medicinal purposes?—I have not heard of any difficulty, and I have heard no complaints.

6568. (*Mr. Pease.*) On the whole you are satisfied that the prohibitory legislation with regard to Upper Burma is satisfactory and effectual?—That is the general tenor of the reports.

6569. (*Sir William Roberts.*) Is there a very large number of non-Burmans in Upper Burma who smoke or eat opium?—I could not say that; no census has been taken. It is said that nearly all the non-Burmans in the Ruby Mines smoke; and there are a good many thousands of them who are called the Maingthas.

6570. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) I believe *ganja* has been prohibited in Upper Burma?—It is prohibited all over Burma.

6571. Can you form any opinion as to whether the prohibition has worked practicably?—Burmans do not smoke it. The natives of India smuggle it considerably. It is impossible to prevent them.

6572. (*Chairman.*) You say you think the prohibition has worked effectually in Upper Burma. Is that from a personal experience?—No, it is not. It is the inference I draw from the statements that people of experience make as to the Upper Burma consumers. It was effectual in this way, that people did not take to opium because they were afraid of punishment.

6573. Opium-eating or opium-smoking?—Opium-smoking and opium-eating. My remarks always apply to Burmans.

6574. Opium-smoking is comparatively easy to put down; but opium-eating is a sort of thing a man may do at the corner of the street and is therefore difficult to put down. Is that so?—Opium-eating is a much more difficult thing to put down than opium-smoking.

6575. (*Mr. Pease.*) In the Reports of 1891 there appears to be a considerable illicit consumption; has there been increased vigilance since that time in Upper Burma?—District officers are told to use every effort to prevent smuggling.

6576. In Mr. Noyce's paper he says:—"There is a considerable difference of opinion among officers as to whether the taste for opium and liquor is spreading amongst the Burmans or not. The licenses for the sale of opium and liquor are intended for the convenience of the non-Burman population of Upper Burma, and sale of either liquor (except *tari*) or opium to Burmans is prohibited by law. But there can be no doubt that the prohibition is, in practice, inoperative"; and he also says:—"The fact that the falling off in imports of opium was not counter-balanced by the increase in the issues of Government opium points to the conclusion that much foreign opium was smuggled into Upper Burma. This opium is brought down the Irrawaddy from Bhamo, and is also smuggled across the frontier between the Shan States and Upper Burma Proper. The difficulties of checking smuggling in Upper Burma are very great, and it is clear that effectual means of dealing with the evil have not yet been devised. The question has recently received special attention from the local authorities of the Northern and Eastern Divisions, who have prepared a scheme for supervising imports on the main trade-routes between China, the Shan States and Upper Burma Proper. It is hoped that the measures sanctioned for this purpose will check the evil to, at any rate, a considerable extent." I was asking you whether there had been increased vigilance which enabled you to make a so much more favourable report?—My information is based on the statement of officers that the percentage of consumers is so very small. It is also borne out by jail statistics.

Mr. C. G. Byss.
9 Dec. 1893.

Adjourned to Monday next at 11 o'clock.

At the New Government Buildings, Rangoon.

TWENTY-THIRD DAY.

Monday, 11th December 1893.

PRESENT:

SIR JAMES LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. (IN THE CHAIR).

SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D.
MR. R. G. C. MOWBRAY, M.F.

MR. ARTHUR PHASE.

MR. C. C. LEWIS, (*Provisional Secretary.*)

MR. A. M. B. IRWIN, Deputy Commissioner, called in and examined.

Mr. A. M. B. Irwin.
11 Dec. 1893.

6577. (*Chairman.*) How long have you been in the service in Burma?—I have been in the service since 1876, and in Burma since 1877.

6578. Has your service been chiefly District service?—Yes, entirely.

6579. In what parts of Burma have you served?—In Shwegyin, Toungoo, Bassein, Rangoon, Pegu, Hentada, Sandoway and Akyab Districts.

6580. Had you served mostly in Akyab?—No, I was about two years in Akyab; I have just come from there—two months ago.

6581. Have you served in Tenasserim?—I have served in the Tenasserim Division and in the Shwegyin Districts for three years at the commencement of my service. I have also served in Pegu and in Irrawaddy.

6582. I believe the shops were reduced in number some two years ago: were not they?—Yes, in 1890 or 1891.

6583. Had that the effect of making it difficult or impossible for the Burmese people to get opium?—I do not think so. The only effect it had was to encourage smoking, and perhaps to raise the price of opium a little.

6584. What have you to say about the consumption of opium amongst the races in Lower Burma?—I have not taken any particular pains to find out that point. I was on furlough at the time when particular inquiries were made two years ago. The Arakanese, I think, consume more than the Burmese do per head of the population; and the Chinese, I think, consume more than any one. I think most of the Chinese consume opium.

6585. Do the people from India consume opium?—As far as I can make out, the natives from Upper India use

Mr. A. M. B. Irwin.
11 Dec. 1898.

a great deal. Bengalis use more *ganja*, at least in the Arakan District. They smuggle the opium excessively on the frontier of Chittagong. There are a great number of Bengalis in the Akyab District and on the frontier. I do not think they consume it themselves as much as the Arakanese.

6586. Has any special arrangement been made to stop smuggling?—There is a small Excise establishment, but it can do very little. The frontier is very easy to smuggle across. There is a large estuary—the Naaf estuary—which is about 2 miles wide and perhaps 40 or 50 miles long, and they smuggle it across there. On the Chittagong side I believe there are a great number of opium shops. It is constantly smuggled across there, and smuggled through the hills by foot. There is extensive smuggling carried on by steamer and by boat. The British India steamers generally bring down some smuggled opium.

6587. What arrangements are there to prevent smuggling by steamer or by boat?—The Custom Officers and the Excise Officers at times board the steamers when they come in, and they keep as sharp a watch as they can. They examine the goods and frequently find some opium concealed; but a great deal passes without being detected. Whilst I was at Akyab, a servant of one of the officers on the steamer one day brought two trunks up to the pilot's house in Akyab and asked if he might leave them there. I think he said that he had mistaken the house he had gone to, and he left the trunks there, saying that he would come back. The pilot suspected him, and after a time the son smelt the opium and they opened the boxes and found that there were 170 seers of opium. There was also a British India steamer's table-cloth in the box. The man was never caught, for he never came back.

6588. I suppose the steamers only stop at certain particular ports?—Akyab, Kyaukpyu and Sandoway.

6589. And the boats stop where they like along the coast?—Yes. They come into the Mayu River, where there is no port. They can come into that river and round by the creeks into Akyab and into all parts of the district.

6590. Are the Customs Officers on the look-out to see whether there is any smuggling?—They only watch the landing-places in Akyab town. It is impossible for them to watch anything more.

6591. What are the other articles which the Customs House Preventive Service men are on the look-out for?—For *ganja* which is very largely smuggled. I do not know particularly what other things they look out for. The Customs House Officers are not under my control.

6592. Do you know anything of smuggling opium in the Tenasserim Division?—I suppose it is principally derived from the licensed shops. My experience has been most in the Shwegyin District, where there never has been a licensed shop. It was about 13 years ago that I was there. Opium was very commonly consumed at that time.

6593. Were there licensed shops there then?—No, I do not think there ever has been a licensed shop in the Shwegyin District.

6594. Shwegyin is in the extreme south, is it not?—No, it is rather to the north-east of Pegu. It lies about the mouth of the Sittang River.

6595. There have been no facilities for inland smuggling from Siam, have there?—I do not think so. I think it was Government opium which came from Pegu and Moulmein.

6596. The total prohibition of *ganja* has been in force about 20 years, has it not?—Since 1874 or thereabouts.

6597. How far do you think that that has reduced the consumption of *ganja*?—The prohibition was made before I came to Burma; but I know that *ganja* is extensively used up to the present by native of India.

6598. Was it ever used by Burmans?—I do not think Burmans ever took to it at all.

6599. What have you to tell us with reference to the effect of the consumption of opium?—I have seen very little effects, either physical or moral. A tendency to self-indulgence is a potent factor in leading men into crime, and the Burman possesses this tendency rather largely. The same tendency leads of course to the consumption of opium, which is a form of self-indulgence. Burmans of the poorest class are extremely improvident in marked contrast to the poorest class of natives of India. Poor Burmans treat themselves to the luxury of opium with a light heart, and as they cannot afford it they are driven to petty theft. So far as my experience goes, this is the only kind of crime that is produced by indulgence in opium. I have no reason

to believe that it produces either crimes of violence or serious crimes against property. A poor Burman cannot get opium regularly, and in consequence he takes too much when he does get it. This, I believe, injures his health. The typical opium-eater about whom we hear so much is the man who indulges in the luxury though he cannot afford it. I believe there are plenty of opium-eaters who can afford it, and we hear little about them. They live respectable lives, and are respected, and there is nothing in their outward appearance to denote that their health has suffered. I cannot recall a single instance of any person whom I know to have been physically or morally ruined by indulgence in opium.

6600. As Deputy Commissioner I suppose it was part of your duty to inspect the jails?—Yes.

6601. Did not the medical officers in charge draw your attention to cases of men physically broken down by the use of opium?—I do not recollect their ever doing so. I have not been in charge of a district where there has been a jail for a great many years, except for the last two years in Akyab. No such instance was ever brought to my notice in Akyab, as far as I can recollect.

6602. As District Magistrate you had to supervise the whole criminal administration of the district: you say that indulgence in opium tends to drive the people to petty thefts?—Yes, I think it does.

6603. Did many of these opium thieves ever come before you?—No, not lately. They are generally brought up for petty offences, and I seldom try petty cases unless there have been three or four previous convictions.

6604. You do not remember seeing any men who were apparently physically wrecked?—I do not recollect any instance at the present moment.

6605. (Sir William Roberts.) You say "the percentage of the population who consume opium is probably not large." Do you mean the percentage of the total population?—Yes.

6606. (Mr. Pease.) Can you tell us whether these twenty houses for the retail sale mentioned in the tables which have been put before us apply to the whole of Burma?—I think they apply to the whole of Lower Burma.

6607. Is twenty the total number of shops for the license sale for the whole of Burma?—That must be for the whole of Burma, I think.

6608. You say that the percentage of population who consume opium is probably not large; can you give us any idea of the proportion in Lower Burma?—I do not think it would be possible to give it.

6609. The Chinese and Arakanese are larger consumers than the Burmans, are they not?—Yes.

6610. Are there any other races?—There are a large number of indigenous races in Burma.

6611. Do they consume opium?—I do not know much about the consumption of opium.

6612. In what way is it consumed principally?—I think eating it.

6613. Smoking is an exception?—There are Chinamen who sell it to the people. They usually have apparatus for smoking; a Burman usually eats opium.

6614. Do you think there are many cases of poor Burmans who take too much when they get it?—"Many" is a relative term. I think it is a very small part of the population.

6615. Why has Government been making all the efforts it has to prevent the purchase of opium?—Because Government believe it to be deleterious as far as I can understand.

6616. As I understand, you do not agree yourself personally with the action of the Government?—I do not think that it is so serious as the Government has held it to be.

6617. Are there many regular smokers among Burmans or is that principally confined to the Chinese population?—I think there are but few regular smokers among Burmans.

6618. (Mr. Mowbray.) You have had special knowledge of Arakan, have you not?—I was nearly two years in Arakan.

6619. How many shops are there in Arakan?—One licensed shop.

6620. What is Arakan?—Arakan is a division consisting of four districts called Akyab, Kyaukpyu and Sandoway, and the Arakan Hill Tracts. It reaches from the Naaf River, which is the boundary of Bengal, down to the latitude of the northern part of the Bassein District. The southern part

of the division of the Sandoway District is a narrow strip between high hills and the sea.

6621. Is it the case that there are any special restrictions with regard to the districts of Kyaukpyn and Sandoway?—I do not know of any.

6622. Can you give me any rough idea of the size of the Arakan division?—The Akyab District is something over 4,000 square miles. I should think the other three districts taken together would be probably about 2,000 or 3,000 square miles.

6623. What is the population?—The population of Arakan is about 200,000, but I am not sure.

6624. You cannot give me the population of the other districts?—No.

6625. This one shop is in Akyab, is it not?—Yes.

6626. (Mr. Pease.) Is it not a fact that people purchase opium from the opium dens and do not go individually to the shop for what they want?—One man probably in a thousand purchases his opium at the licensed shop. If the consumers at Akyab were all to go to the Akyab shop to purchase opium they would not be able to get in; they would throng the street.

6627. (Mr. Mowbray.) Where do they obtain opium from?—They obtain it from illicit vendors in almost every village—probably emissaries of the licensed vendors.

6628. Are there any prosecutions?—Yes. Frequent prosecutions.

6629. What penalties are enforced?—They are often sent to jail for two months or three months or perhaps six months, but seldom for more than that. I think they are usually fined, perhaps from Rs. 20 to Rs. 200 or Rs. 300.

6630. I was under the impression that some special efforts had been made to deal with opium in the Arakan division?—An excise establishment, I think, was sanctioned principally for the purpose of dealing with opium; but it would require even an establishment ten times the size, and then it would have very little effect on them.

6631. You did not know the division of Arakan before the number of houses was reduced?—No.

6632. Can you give the Commission any information as to whether the consumption of opium in Arakan has been diminished since the number of shops in Arakan has been diminished?—I can only speak from the printed papers in which I see the District Officers in Kyaukpyn and Sandoway have from time to time reported that within the last ten years they consider it has been checked a good deal in these two districts. In Akyab, the people generally tell a different story. They will generally tell you that it is increasing.

6633. The Arakan Division is the one which immediately adjoins the land frontier of Bengal?—Yes.

6634. You have told us that probably a considerable amount of opium is smuggled from the frontier—from Bengal?—Yes. It is constantly smuggled. It can be bought in Bengal for Rs. 24 a seer, and in Akyab it costs Rs. 28.

6635. (Chairman.) It is smuggled by land and by sea?—Yes.

6636. Do you think that the illicit vendors in every village whom you talk about are almost all secret agents of licensed vendors, or do you think many of them get opium smuggled from outside the district?—I think it is quite possible that a good many get it from outside the district, but at the same time when the fee for a licensed shop is forced up by auction to a great height, I think the vendor is bound to put his own energies into it, and he would probably drive the other people out of the field throughout the whole division. When his license is extremely high it is almost invariably observed that the issues of opium from the Government Treasury fall off. He simply cannot afford it, and he is unable to push his sales of Government opium sold to the Akyab Treasury to the extent which would recoup him for the license fee. He is bound to go to Chittagong where he can get it cheaper, and smuggle it from there and sell it throughout the whole division. That is the conclusion I have come to from the figures of ten years.

6637. When the license fee is very high the issues from the Treasury fall off?—Yes, and when the license fee goes down the issues from the Treasury increase.

6638. Supposing that instead of auctioning the license you did what is the only other alternative, that is, raised the price of your opium to the opium vendor to a higher figure, he would have still greater temptation to smuggle?—Yes; but I do not think that is the only alternative.

6639. What do you think is the other alternative?—To forbid the possession of opium without a license and charge a small fee for every license possessed. Mr. A. M. B. Irwin.

6640. How do you mean forbidding the possession?—I would not allow any person to possess opium without a license. 11 Dec. 1898.

6641. Do you mean any consumer?—Yes.

6642. Do you think you would get more revenue in that way?—No; I mean it would prevent smuggling, and it would also tend to check youngsters from taking to opium.

6643. How would it prevent smuggling, because if any man is now found in possession of opium in excess of three tolas without a license he is liable to punishment and imprisonment, and the opium is liable to confiscation?—Yes; it should be accompanied by an extension of the number of shops, so that when there is a demand (and people will have it legally or illegally), let them get the chance of having it legally.

6644. (Mr. Pease.) Are there not also two other alternatives; one is that you should fix the license fee, and the other is that opium should be sold by a person who is in Government appointment, and who has no direct interest in the sale?—I think those alternatives are certainly possible, but it would be extremely difficult to fix the license fee at the proper figure. If it is fixed high enough to raise the price of opium as we desire, there remains the same incentive to smuggle as if it were bought at auction. One of the greatest difficulties we have to contend against in Burma is the fact that opium is sold cheaper from the Government Treasury in Bengal than it is from the Government Treasury in Burma.

6645. If a man has paid an excessive sum for his license he has a stronger inducement to push the sale?—Quite so. As far as selling by Government officials, I think it is the worst possible method. I think it would merely demoralize all the officials that have anything to do with it. The temptation would be tremendous.

6646. (Mr. Mowbray.) I suppose if the sale was conducted by Government officials the price would have to be fixed very high in order to check consumption?—Yes.

6647. And if the price was fixed very high, I suppose the natural tendency of people would be to try and get it from smugglers, and not from the Government office?—Precisely.

6648. It would put a great temptation also in the way of Government officials to supply opium at prices lower than the fixed Government price?—I do not think they could well supply it at a lower figure; but it would be a great temptation for them to sell it wholesale in order to smuggle it into the villages.

6649. (Chairman.) Does not the system of licensed retail vendors give the Government great assistance in the way of prohibiting smuggling?—No, quite the contrary. The licensed vendor is bound to smuggle if he can possibly do so in order to recoup his license fee.

6650. But still it is to his interest to prevent anybody smuggling but himself?—Yes.

6651. Is there anybody else who would make any effort in that direction to prevent smuggling in the districts outside Government officials?—Not a single soul. There are plenty of men who are loud enough in denouncing the consumption of opium, but they will not lift a finger to help the Government.

6652. In your report that you wrote in December 1891 after recording briefly the opinions of the Burmese officials you conclude with the following remark:—"In conclusion I beg to state that it is the opinion of all the officers whom I have directed to report on this matter, after personal investigation, that the ill-effects of opium on the Arakanese are apparent on all those whom they have examined, but that with perhaps a few exceptions the use of the drug has not either physically or morally affected the non-Burmans." Do you think the reports of these Burmese officials are deserving of confidence?—I think they are greatly exaggerated. I did not at that time venture any opinion of my own as I was quite new to Arakan. The Burmese and Arakanese have got into the habit of considering it quite a foregone conclusion that opium is ruinous to a man, body and soul. I think that that is principally derived from their religious opinions.

6653. Where are the Chinese mostly to be found in Burma?—In Rangoon and the adjacent parts. There are very few Chinese in Arakan.

6654. Have you any experience of them,—have you seen much of them?—Not very much.

Mr. A. M. B. 6655. Are there many who are poor working men,—men who are poorly off?—Yes, there are some, but it is a small percentage. I think they are pretty well-to-do generally. They keep shops and that sort of thing in the villages.

11 Dec. 1898.

6656. Do the poor men do coolie labour?—No, they do not work as coolies as a rule, except to a slight extent for their own countrymen.

6657. You have not noticed any cases of men being physically injured among the Chinese from the use of opium?—I have not. If I saw a man in a bad state of health and using opium, and knew he was an opium-eater, I think it would be rather rash to jump to the conclusion that his bad state of health would be caused by the use of opium.

6658. (Mr. Mowbray.) You have told us you would recommend absolute prohibition of possession?—Yes, I should.

6659. Would that be applied to non-Burmans as well as to Burmans?—Yes, I think the great defect in the rules which have just been passed is not registering the non-Burmans. That will be the greatest difficulty in administering those rules.

6660. As far as I understand, you say that it is impossible to deal with possession in the case of Burmans, unless you dealt also with possession in the case of non-Burmans?—That is so.

6661. But if you have a register both of smoking Burmans, as is laid down in the new rules, and also a register of non-Burmans, do you think that that method would work?—I think it would give the new rules a much better chance of succeeding. That is all I can say.

6662. You have told us that you think if possession were prohibited, it would be necessary to increase the number of shops?—Possession without a license,—I think in any case it is necessary.

6663. Would you also recommend that consumption should be permitted on the premises of shops which are licensed to possess?—I think it would be better not to permit consumption on the premises, because that leads to

more smuggling than would otherwise take place. I am led to that belief by what I have read that opium-smoking is more injurious than opium-eating. Personally, however, I know nothing whatever about the relative effects of the two.

6664. How would you practically deal with possession by unlicensed persons?—The matter is chiefly in the hands of the Police; there are no other preventive establishments. The village headmen are also excise officers and they occasionally give us a little help. The way it is done is frequently by searching people on the road who are suspected of having opium in their possession and occasionally searching the houses, which is only permitted during the day without a warrant.

6665. The only illegality which can be brought home to them at present is the possession of a quantity of opium beyond a certain amount?—No, any amount so long as they cannot prove that it was bought at a licensed shop.

6666. Is the person compelled to prove that he has bought the opium from a licensed shop if he has only a small quantity?—It is rather difficult to say exactly where the burden of proof lies, but I think if you take the law very literally, every man might be compelled to produce proof that he had bought the opium from a licensed shop. Practically, I think, he is very seldom driven to that. I think the burden of proof is generally put on the prosecutor.

6667. Practically, requiring him to have a license to justify possession is really only simplifying the question of proof?—It is a little more than that. I suggested that it is a great deal, as it means raising the price without putting up the license to auction,—if you could raise part of the price direct to the consumer.

6668. (Chairman.) By making everybody consuming opium pay a license fee?—Yes.

6669. Burman or non-Burman?—Certainly.

6670. He would have to register himself and apply for a license?—Yes; registration in that case would be that the license would be registered.

The witness withdrew.

Surgeon-Major P. W. Dalzell.

SURGEON-MAJOR P. W. DALZELL, Civil Surgeon of Bassein, called in and examined.

6671. (Chairman.) How long have you been in Burma?—Nearly 14 years.

6672. You have served in many districts?—In all the districts of Lower Burma.

6673. Will you give us the conclusions you have come to with regard to the opium habit?—As regards the prevalence of the opium habit, I can only quote actual figures with respect to the jail population; any other evidence must be more or less from general impressions gathered from a variety of sources, and must be taken for what it is worth. The criminal population of the Bassein jail numbers 979, of which three are females and the rest males. The total number of opium consumers among these is 111, which gives a ratio of 11.33 per cent. None of the females are addicted to the opium habit. Out of 886 Lower Burmans, a hundred and seven are opium-eaters or smokers. Out of 63 Upper Burmans only one is addicted to the habit. Of 3 Chinamen in jail only one smokes opium. Of 33 natives of India only two smoke opium. The largest consumer is a Chinaman who smokes Rs. 1-8-0 worth of the drug per day. He has been an opium-smoker for ten years; his age is 24; he must, therefore, have begun at the age of 14 years. His health on admission was recorded as indifferent; weight 106lb. He gets no opium now and is quite well. He says he intends to resume the habit on release. Two days after another Chinaman was admitted, age 32 years; he had eaten opium for 19 years. He began with four annas worth, and has eaten one rupee's worth for 8 years. He was a trader and weighed 137lb. and was in perfect health. Three of the prisoners consumed Rs. 1 worth of the drug daily; they practised the habit for 12, 7, and 10 years, respectively; all were in good health. Two weighed more and one less than on admission; three Burmans consumed 12 annas for 10, 7 and 5 years, respectively; they are all in good health and are robust, active men. Nineteen persons consumed 8 annas worth of opium. Of these nine were in good health on admission, eight indifferent, and two bad. They are all in good health now. Four prisoners who consumed 6 annas worth, were all in indifferent health on admission; one in good health now. One of these had practised the habit for 26 years; another 10 years. Of fifty prisoners who consumed 4 annas worth, seventeen were admitted in good health, twenty-five in indifferent health, and eight in bad health. All are in good health now. Of the rest one consumed 3 annas worth, two 2 annas worth, four 1 anna worth, and one 6 pies worth daily. Of the total 111 consumers only four are in indifferent or bad health now. Of the total number fifty-eight smoked and fifty-three ate it. These figures show that in this jail at present about 11.35 per cent. of the population consume opium. The greatest consumers are the Chinese, the jail ratio being 33 per cent. Next come Lower Burmans, of whom 12 per cent. are opium-consumers; then follow natives of India, 6 per cent., and lastly Upper Burmans 2 per cent. These figures bear out the general impression I have formed regarding the opium habit among the various races here. By far the largest consumers are the Chinese. I am inclined to think that at least 75 per cent. use opium, then come in order, however, Lower Burmans, natives of India, and lastly, Upper Burmans. Of course the ratios among the criminal population vary from time to time, 12 per cent. is a low figure for Bassein; it is sometimes as high as 30 per cent. I should put the ratio among the free population at 5 per cent.

6674. (Sir William Roberts.) What do you understand by "free population"?—Population outside the jail.

6675. (Chairman.) Is that free population generally?—Free population amongst the Burmans.

6676. (Sir William Roberts.) Do you mean 5 per cent. of the adults, or 5 per cent. of the total population?—5 per cent. of the adults.

6677. (Chairman.) Adult male population?—Yes; it is almost entirely confined to the males, amongst natives of India the habit varies with the race; those who find their way to jail are of all races, and it is difficult to judge of Indians collectively from the small number under observation. There are very few natives of India in the jails of Burma. I believe the habit to be prevalent among coolies from Madras chiefly, but by them the drug is used only in small quantities. Confirmed opium-eaters are rarely found among them here.

6678. By "confirmed opium-eaters," do you mean opium sots?—I mean men who are physically wrecked, who cannot do their work who are physically in a bad state of

health. It is chiefly amongst Burmans that any evil effects on their moral and physical condition are observable. Owing to their natural habits of indolence and their proverbial want of self-restraint, the Burman is more apt to run to excess than any other race.

6679. (*Sir William Roberts.*) That remark applies to native of Lower Burma as well as to natives of Upper Burma?—Yes, to the whole of Burma, more especially to Lower Burma, because Lower Burma is more prosperous and more healthy than Upper Burma. I do not know much of Upper Burma.

6680. (*Chairman.*) What is the popular opinion with regard to the habit?—The habit is regarded by the generality of the people as disgraceful, and to call a Burman an opium-eater is equivalent to applying the term drunkard to a European.

6681. Does that apply chiefly to eating or smoking?—It applies to both; but it is only when a man begins to leave off his work and becomes incapacitated that it is observable.

6682. (*Sir William Roberts.*) Is there a religious sentiment connected with this?—I believe that it is prohibited by the laws of Buddha; but I do not know much about Buddhism.

6683. You have not formed any opinion whether that is the reason why it is regarded as disgraceful?—No, it is only when the habit is carried to excess. It is generally associated with vicious life and past crime.

6684. (*Chairman.*) How do you think the habit begins?—The habit is often begun by the victims taking opium to allay some pain or physical distress and is then continued; in other cases it is the result of bad example. There can be no doubt that the opium habit has a degrading effect on the moral and physical nature of the Burman and often leads to the commission of petty crime; but it is a question whether those who indulge in opium would not take to ardent spirits or other drugs if opium were not procurable. I cannot, however, say that the evil effects of opium on the people as a whole are observable. It is indeed a rare sight to see a completely shattered wreck of humanity resulting from the opium habit. If such were common the medical officers would certainly meet with these, for they would lose all their friends and die in the jail or the hospital. As for other races, I cannot say that I have seen any ill-effects resulting from the use of opium in moderate quantities. The drug is taken by them just as alcohol is taken by Europeans, and has much the same effect on the system, as far as the senses are concerned; but it is much less injurious in every sense. I have no experience of the prophylactic virtues of opium against malaria, but I can understand that the inhabitants of malarious tracts had great relief from the many painful complications of that disease by the moderate use of opium. My experience, however, is chiefly confined to Lower Burma, a flourishing and fairly healthy country, and there at all events I do not consider opium necessary to the health or happiness of the people (Arakan perhaps excepted); and I would therefore advocate the restriction of the sale of opium as much as possible; but, unless the same measure be taken with regard to alcohol, I do not think much benefit will accrue from the total prohibition of opium.

6685. You said just now that of 38 natives of India, only two smoked opium?—Yes.

6686. Did none of them eat opium as far as you know, or do you use the phrase generally?—I think the two natives of India ate opium. The natives of India generally consume it by eating it.

6687. In speaking of the prisoners who consumed 8 annas worth and 6 annas worth and 4 annas worth daily, you mentioned that a great many were in indifferent health when they entered the jail, and that they were in good health when they left?—Yes.

6688. Did you trace their bad health to opium in those cases or not?—It is very difficult to say in the case of a man who comes in in indifferent health that he is an opium-eater or an opium-smoker; it is difficult to say whether the ill-health results from the opium habit, or whether the habit begins owing to his being in ill-health and taking opium to relieve his suffering. I have not the exact figures; but nearly half of the prisoners admitted that they took opium to relieve certain physical symptoms. The commonest is pain in the chest and abdomen, and pain in the stomach, diarrhoea, dysentery, and rheumatic pains. These are the chief causes for which they said they took opium.

6689. Have you treated Chinese out of jail?—Very few. They do not seek European treatment very much.

6690. Have you any knowledge as to what extent opium is used as a medicine by Chinese doctors or by Burmese doctors on the native system?—No; I have not much knowledge of that. I know opium is used both by the Chinese and by the Burmese largely, because it is about the only real sedative they know. It is very largely used by them, especially of course by the Chinese; but I could give no approximate figures.

Surgeon-Major P. W. Dalsell.
11 Dec. 1898.

6691. You say that you would restrict the sale of opium as much as possible: do you think there is any danger of depriving the people from taking it as a domestic medicine if you make it too difficult for them to get?—There would be a loss in one direction and there would be a gain in another. No doubt a large number of people would suffer from the want of it even as a medicine; at the same time if it were entirely prohibited and if smuggling could be put a stop to, then a fairly large number of people would be saved from ruin. I am firmly convinced that if it were prohibited altogether and alcohol obtainable, opium-eaters would take to drinking alcohol; they do it now. A great many opium-eaters consume alcohol.

6692. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) In your opinion is that worse?—I think it is infinitely worse for Burmans. A Burman who takes to alcohol comes to grief very early in his career, and commits violent crime. Opium is responsible for little or no violent crime; but it is responsible for petty crime and theft to a certain extent, because if a man runs out of the means of procuring opium he craves for it and he must commit theft to obtain a means of purchasing it. But when a Burman particularly takes to alcohol he runs a very short career. He is of a very excitable nature and exhibits great want of self-control. From his cradle upwards a Burman is never taught to control himself: the result is that he runs to excess in a very short time.

6693. (*Sir William Roberts.*) How do you class ganja in this comparison which you are making between opium and alcohol?—The effects of ganja are infinitely worse than those of opium.

6694. You say, "it is indeed a rare sight to see a completely shattered wreck of humanity resulting from the opium habit": have you been able in your experience in jails and hospitals to trace the direct effect of the opium habit as the cause of serious disease and death apart from poverty and other diseases?—No, I cannot say that I can recollect any special morbid conditions due to the opium habit.

6695. What you say seems to infer that the completely shattered wreck of humanity resulted from the opium habit alone?—There are the concomitants. The opium consumer loses his appetite if he takes opium in large quantities; consequently he becomes emaciated and very often diarrhoea is really what does terminate life. It seems to bring on an intractable form of diarrhoea which is generally the ultimate cause of death.

6696. You have the impression that the opium habit alone carried to excess will in that way at length kill?—Yes, provided the opium-eater does not take sufficient nourishing food.

6697. Do you mean from poverty?—From poverty; or he may increase the dose so rapidly as to deprive himself of the power of digesting food. I believe that that is why the Burmans suffer more than any other race. The Burman, as I said before, from his cradle upwards, is not taught to control himself in any way. It is a rich country; the parents do not educate their children; they allow them to do as they please; they grow up in that way and they exhibit very little self-control. A Burman who once takes opium is more prone to run to excess than any other race. He may run on to take Rs. 2 or Rs. 3 worth a day and so quickly that his system will not get accustomed to it. He will not have any appetite, and diarrhoea will set in and a fatal result will ensue. There is really no morbid condition observable on *post-mortem* examination, beyond the attenuated condition of all tissues, loss of fat and all the functions are in abeyance.

6698. You think that the opium habit alone carried to excess may produce at length fatal atrophy?—Yes, fatal atrophy.

6699. That is your impression?—Yes.

6700. (*Mr. Pease.*) What was the social position of this Chinaman you speak of? I see he consumed £54 worth of opium in the year: it was a very expensive habit to him?—I spoke of two Chinamen; one was a trader.

6701. Was his crime in any way connected with his habit of taking opium?—No, not with the habit of taking opium. He was a well-to-do man—in fact, both of them were well-to-do men. The one man had eaten opium for 19 years. He

Surgeon-
Major P. W.
Dalsell.

11 Dec. 1893.

had eaten one rupee's worth for eight years; he weighed 127 lb, and was in perfect health as far as I could make out.

6702. What proportion of the prisoners who come into the jail do you put down as in indifferent or bad health. In those you have given us, I see you have put down 32 as being in good health as against 48 bad and indifferent amongst the opium consumers?—When a prisoner is admitted he is carefully examined and he is put down "good," "bad," or "indifferent," as the case may be. It is generally customary to put down an opium-eater as being in indifferent health.

6703. I was asking what proportion are put down as "indifferent" or "bad" health of the total number of prisoners who entered the jail?—I am afraid I have not got that figure here.

6704. Would it be about the same proportion as the opium-eaters?—No, much larger; the proportion of opium-eaters who are recorded as being in indifferent health would be much larger than the proportion of ordinary prisoners. I am speaking of Burmans now.

6705. You say the habit is generally regarded as disgraceful, does that apply to the Chinese as well as to the Burmese?—No, it does not, because Chinamen show no ill effects from it.

6706. I was only asking what the feeling was?—It is not considered disgraceful.

6707. Do you anticipate that the checking of the supply of opium would lead to the consumption of ardent spirits?—Yes.

6708. Have you any evidence on that point: is there any consumption of ardent spirits in Upper Burma where opium has always been prohibited?—I have no experience of Upper Burma; I have only been stationed there a few months. But I know in Lower Burma a considerable amount of alcohol is at present consumed by the Burmans; and I know that if a Burman were deprived of opium he would certainly want some sort of stimulant; he would take alcohol if he could get it.

6709. I gather it is your view that there is need for legislation for the reduction and prevention of the consumption of alcohol?—I think it would be necessary if we prohibit opium to prohibit alcohol also.

6710. Do you not think it is necessary at the present time?—I think it would be a great benefit to prohibit alcohol.

6711. You do not think the provisions under the new rules, which were sent out on the 23rd November, meet the requirements of the people for obtaining opium for medicinal purposes: any person may possess for medical purposes limited quantities of opium, poppy heads, and medical preparations of opium, which he has bought from medical practitioners, pharmacists, and doctors: do you not think that even if the licensed houses were closed, as proposed, there would be plenty of opportunities for obtaining what was required for medical purposes with so wide a range of persons who are allowed to supply it?—Yes; if smoking could be prohibited, I think those rules would meet the case.

6712. That hardly comes in appropriately there, because the suggestion was that they might not be able to obtain opium for medical purposes; but here provision is made and the doctors would be at liberty to supply them: do you think that would meet the case for medical purposes?—Yes, for medical purposes I think it would.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. G. L.
Weidemann.

Mr. G. L. WEIDEMANN called in and examined.

6721. (Chairman.) I believe you are Officiating Commissioner, Irrawaddy Division?—Yes.

6722. How long have you been in the service in Burma?—23 years.

6723. I suppose you have served in all parts of Burma?—Very nearly all parts.

6724. Principally in what division?—I think on the whole, principally in the Irrawaddy Division, but I have also spent about 6 years in the Tenasserim Division.

6725. I believe your work has been chiefly district work?—Yes, entirely district work.

6726. Who was Chief Commissioner when you first arrived?—General Fyche; he succeeded Sir Arthur Phayre direct.

6713. (Mr. Mowbray.) Do not you think it might meet the requirements of something more than medical purposes? Do not you think that there is some risk of some of these native practitioners becoming in fact vendors of opium for all purposes, if all other legitimate sources were stopped?—Not if proper safeguards were maintained.

6714. Do you think it would be possible to take sufficient safeguards to prevent native practitioners from dealing in opium?—Although the number of opium shops has been greatly reduced, the consumption of opium is not much reduced. Opium could be had in any village in Burma in spite of all legislation. I know that for a fact. The matter comes before me daily in my business. All prohibited and smuggled opium is sent to me for examination; and I do not exaggerate when I say that three days in the week I get parcels of opium varying from several pounds down to a few ounces to report upon. Of course other officers would be able to give evidence on that point.

6715. You say you do not consider opium necessary to the health or happiness of the people. I understand you to be speaking of the Burman people?—Yes, the people of the country.

6716. (Chairman.) As a stimulant?—As a stimulant. The people of Burma are well-to-do; the country is fairly healthy, and they do not require any stimulant of that kind.

6717. (Mr. Mowbray.) You were not referring to non-Burmans?—No; I was talking of the people in the country, the people who inhabit Lower Burma only; not natives of India, or the Chinese.

6718. (Sir William Roberts.) Do you adhere to this statement which you have made, "I cannot, however, say that the evil effects of opium on the people as a whole are observable"?—I have lived in this country for nearly 14 years; I have travelled all over it from north to south three times; I have been in every town in Burma and lived amongst the people and have been in the villages and I say that one might go through the country from end to end and not observe any evil effects from opium; it does not force itself upon your attention as the consumption of alcohol does in England. You could not go about day and night throughout the cities of England for 14 years without having it forcibly brought to your notice by seeing drunken men and women. In a village here and there you may see a man rather emaciated-looking, with his hair out short and dirty; you may be sure that he is an opium-eater. That is one of the wrecks you rarely see, but you see him now and then. He is pointed out and you are told that he is a *seinsu*, an opium-eater; he is called the village scamp.

6719. (Chairman.) Is he a village scamp from the fact of eating opium alone, or is he a village scamp anyhow?—Some begin by taking opium on account of ill-health and others cause ill-health by taking opium. If you were to ask a Burman, "why do you take to opium?" He would say, "I was foolish. I met some fellows at the *pué* and they said 'Let us smoke opium'; I did so and I began in that way." About one-half I should say will admit that they began the habit through foolishness.

6720. (Mr. Pease.) And then found it difficult to break off?—They found it pleasing, as boys smoke tobacco at home. Those are the cases that turn out worst. Those who take opium in more advanced life on account of some sickness or pain are not so prone to carry the habit to excess. I think the most confirmed opium-eaters probably die before they are forty, those who do really become opium wrecks just the same as alcohol drunkards. The men become addicted to the use of opium and they do not work; they simply loaf about and get opium in any way they can.

6727. Who succeeded General Fyche?—Sir Ashley Eden.

6728. I should like to know what your opinion is as to the opium habit being prevalent among the Chinese?—I think there is a considerable amount of consumption of opium among them. It is difficult to get the precise amount, because the Chinese themselves are very largely interested in the opium business and in the opium trade. I am not personally acquainted with their language and it is very difficult to get from them any reliable evidence upon the subject. They are of a very secretive disposition. I find it very difficult to procure accurate information on the point. Those who are in the best position to know are the most reluctant to speak.—I mean those who are intimately connected with the opium traffic. The majority state that about one-third or even less of the whole Chinese population consume opium. On the other hand, one highly intelligent

person states that two-thirds consume and that one-half consume regularly. According to the last census the total Chinese population of Bassein town, where opium is readily procurable, is 667.

6729. (Sir William Roberts.) Do you mean the male population?—Yes, there are very few females.

6730. (Chairman.) Does that convey your general opinion about the Chinese population in other towns?—Yes; I think what applies to Bassein would apply to most large towns in this Province. It is a sea-port, and it is a place where there are a considerable number of wealthy Chinese merchants.

6731. Are there any poor Chinese?—There are some poor Chinese; I think it is the poorer classes that consume most, or possibly it may be that the habit of consuming opium has tended to make them poor. I find that even the Chinese connected with the opium farm are not smokers. The headmen do not smoke themselves. My opinion is that the habit of smoking opium, as far as the Chinese are concerned, is confined to the middle and lower classes.

6732. You think the best men avoid it?—I think the best men avoid it.

6733. Generally speaking the Chinese are an active and hard-working people, I believe?—Yes, very.

6734. Will you tell us what you think is the effect on the physical condition of the Chinese as far as you have seen?—The effect on the physical condition depends a great deal upon the amount consumed, and the regularity of the supply. A certain person who is probably the greatest consumer in Bassein is over sixty years of age, and he is able to go about his business. He told me himself that he consumed two tolas of opium every day.

6735. (Sir William Roberts.) By smoking?—Yes. But if he were deprived wholly of opium for a single day, the effects would be undoubtedly very serious, and he confesses that a continuous deprivation of the drug would put a speedy end to his life. I am scarcely prepared to state the exact point of consumption which must be reached before total deprivation becomes dangerous. The conclusion, however, to which I have come is that whether the consumption of opium shortens life or not (a medical question into which I am not prepared to enter) the effect of sudden deprivation after a certain point of consumption is reached is certainly dangerous.

6736. (Chairman.) What observations have you to make as to the effect of the habit on the moral condition of the Chinese?—Moderate consumption appears to have no bad effect on the moral or physical condition of the Chinese. Immoderate consumption undoubtedly unfits a man for steady application and leads to habits of gambling, that is, to the ownership and keeping of gambling dens, and also in this country to the seeking of illicit profits by retailing opium. It is my experience that even immoderate consumption among Chinese rarely, if ever, leads to the breach of any law comprised within the covers of the Indian Penal Code. I am not sufficiently intimate with Chinese habits of life to state whether it has a prejudicial effect on their domestic virtues.

6737. You say that immoderate consumption leads to habits of gambling and the ownership of gambling dens; how do you think it leads to that?—The keeping of gambling dens is a source of profit; and if a man is very much demoralized by smoking opium and very much weakened, the habit will take up a great deal of his time. He would have to smoke regularly at certain times of the day. His general condition would become deteriorated, and he would then take to easy forms of getting money. I do not think there can be any doubt about that. Some of the opium-smokers are also largely employed by the Opium Farmers for retailing opium.

6738. For retailing opium in the country?—Yes.

6739. At a distance from the opium shops?—Yes.

6740. With regard to the natives of India who are to be found in Burma, what do you think the proportion of consumers amongst them is?—Whatever may be the case with regard to ganj and spirituous liquors, the consumption of opium is so rare as to be of light import both among Mahomedans and Hindus from all provinces of India except the coolies (chiefly mill-hands) known as Coringhis. Of these about half consume opium, but by swallowing in small quantities, not by smoking which they cannot afford.

6741. I suppose the Coringhis are the most numerous section of the Indian population here?—They are migratory. They come over for the working season to the mills and then go away to their homes.

6742. (Mr. Mowbray.) What part of India do they come from?—From the Madras coast.

6743. (Chairman.) What is the effect of the habit upon the physical condition of these opium-eating Madrasis?—Excessive consumption is almost unknown; and so long as supplies of opium are kept up there appears to be little difference between consumers and non-consumers. I am speaking chiefly of the Coringhis who are regular eaters. It is, however, the case that some consume more than others, and on these a sudden deprivation of the drug from stoppage of wages or other causes works prejudicially. It brings on dysentery, and unless aid and nourishing food are at hand, the victim becomes emaciated, and among such persons deaths are not infrequent. As to the precise effect, however, of opium-smoking in undermining the constitution in such cases, it is difficult to speak. Ill-health and loss of wages among the labouring classes would naturally lead to fatal results in many cases without bringing in opium as a predisposing cause.

6744. What have you to say as to the effect on the moral condition of these Indian opium-eaters?—The comparatively moderate use of opium among natives of India is not known to me to have any bad results on their moral character.

6745. You say that as a man having experience of the district?—Yes, having the experience of a District Magistrate.

6746. You have had a long experience of service in Burma: is it not true that up to Sir Arthur Phayre's time, the policy of the Burmese Government was very strongly to suppress the extension of opium among the people in Burma; was it not the policy to prohibit the establishment of opium shops and liquor shops everywhere?—I think it was. I cannot of course speak from my own personal knowledge, but from what I have always heard. I think it was the tradition to prohibit opium as much as possible.

6747. In whose time did any change occur in the policy?—I imagine it came in with our occupation more or less. I think it has been gradual. I do not know that there was any marked change in our policy with regard to opium. As far as I know it has been continuous; it has been the same all through.

6748. (Mr. Mowbray.) How would you describe that continuous policy?—I think the object of the British Government was to substitute duty-paid opium for opium that had not paid duty, and which came from Yunnan. I think there is no doubt that in Burmese times Yunnan opium did filter through the country. It was the part of the Burmese Kings to suppress opium as much as possible; but it did filter through the country, and I think there can be no doubt that there were opium-smokers in Burma when we took the country. I think the policy of the British Government was, finding opium and finding opium consumers, to substitute opium that had paid duty and which they could regulate, for opium that had paid no duty, and the consumption and importation of which they could not regulate.

6749. (Chairman.) You think the policy has been continuous all along; you are not aware of any change?—As far as I know there has been no change of policy. I think that was the root idea all through,—to get the maximum of revenue with the minimum of consumption.

6750. (Mr. Mowbray.) I do not know how far you would like to express an opinion on the restrictions and the general prohibition of the possession of opium under the new rules?—I think it is a step in the right direction, and for this reason, I think, as I was saying, the policy of the Government has been the same as long as I have been aware of it, but that gradually they did more than replace Yunnan opium by duty-paid opium. I think statistics show that the amount of opium consumed in the country has increased faster than the population. It is impossible for me to say the exact point at which duty-paid opium drove out Yunnan opium. I think Yunnan opium is not seen in the country now to any extent. When I first came into the country, Yunnan opium was more or less common.

6751. You are speaking of Lower Burma?—Yes, of Lower Burma.

6752. What is your opinion with regard to the exception of the non-Burman population?—My opinion is that the policy of the Government is the right one in making exceptions, provided the amount of opium which is allowed to the non-Burmans is restricted. If it is not restricted I think that there will be a temptation for the non-Burmans to sell illicitly what they did not require for their own use.

6753. I see in a Despatch in 1886, when you were Deputy Commissioner of Shwegyin, you were then in favour

Mr. G. L.

Weidemann.

11 Dec. 1898.

Mr. G. L. Weidemann. of exception being made in the case of foreign residents who had become habituated to the drug?—Yes.

11 Dec. 1898.

6754. Are you of the same opinion still?—I am.

6755. I notice at that time you suggested the establishment of a special Government agency in order to conduct sales in the case of foreign residents?—Yes.

6756. Are you still in favour of a system of that kind?—I think it ought to be tried. It may be more or less difficult to work it satisfactorily; but I am of opinion that the present method of putting up opium farms for sale really is a temptation to smuggling. It is impossible for the Government to look after the shops and to supervise them in such a way that the opium does not filter out from the shops in the surrounding population. I will not say that it is impossible, because several schemes have been tried, or rather have been suggested, but apparently they have all been abandoned. None of them have come to anything. I think therefore the only way for the Government to keep a watch on the opium is to distribute it itself.

6757. Would you make that recommendation universal in substitution of the present system?—I think I would with regard to opium. My reason for saying that is because I think the present system is radically wrong.

6758. (Chairman.) Which system do you mean,—the new system that is going to be introduced?—If the Government take the sale and distribution of opium into its own hands, it will be an entirely new system.

6759. When you say you think the new system is entirely wrong, are you alluding to the new system which will come into force in January?—I am alluding to our present system of sales.

6760. (Mr. Mosbray.) I rather understood from you that you are speaking of the licensing system,—not of the system as to who should obtain the opium but the system of distribution,—how it should be distributed?—Just so. I think the present system of putting up licenses to auction and then selling the opium to the licensees and allowing them to distribute it is radically wrong.

6761. Why?—Because I think there is an immense temptation for these Chinese to make money by selling as much opium as they possibly can; they have agencies everywhere for distributing the opium.

6762. (Mr. Poase.) You also infer that they purchase illicit opium for sale?—I do not think they purchase illicit opium in this sense; the word "contraband" can be used in two senses,—I am speaking with regard to Yunnan opium. It is contraband opium in the sense that it has never paid any duty; but British opium is not contraband in the sense that it has not paid duty; it is only contraband when a man is found in possession of more than three tolas. I think that makes a great difference. The tendency has been to increase the number of shops, because if a shop was instituted at the head-quarters of a district like Bussien, under the system which has all along been pursued, it would be for the lessee's interest to distribute opium over as wide an area as possible. If a large amount of English opium was found at the head-quarters of a sub-division, the Government would then see that opium is clearly very largely consumed,—contraband opium; not contraband in the sense of its being Yunnan opium, but simply because it is over three tolas; therefore it would be a good thing to set up another shop, because evidently the consumption of opium wants regulating.

6763. (Chairman.) That is all old history, because during the last 10 or 12 years the tendency has been the other way,—to restrict?—Yes.

6764. (Mr. Mosbray.) There has been no increase in the number of shops since the last five years?—Restriction in the number of shops has not gone hand in hand with the restriction of the opium which is sold to the lessees.

6765. If opium is sold by Government, it would have to be sold at a very high price?—I think the higher the price is, the less the consumption.

6766. Would it not follow that if the Government sold the opium itself, it would be bound to sell it at a high price?—I do not think it necessarily follows that it would, for this reason, that at present the person who buys a shop has to pay a high price for the license itself. Then he buys the opium at a certain price from the Government; he then has to retail it in such a way as to get a profit to cover, not only the price he has paid for the opium, but the price he has paid for the shop; and also, as matters go now, he has to pay for an agency for distributing it illicitly. There is no doubt that opium is largely distributed. He has to pay all these persons, and then if these persons are caught (they are very often wretched Chinese with no money of their own), he has to pay their fines; he has to make a profit besides.

6767. All which goes to prove that Government could afford to sell the opium a great deal cheaper than the licensed shops could sell it?—Yes. I do not know of any counterbalancing argument the other way.

6768. But do you think Government, if it sold opium directly could sell it at a lower price? Would it not be at once accused of stimulating the consumption of opium?—I think that might be so. I meant more about the necessity for selling it at a high price to make a profit.

6769. I am not considering the question of profit; I am looking at it as a practical question. Would it not be necessary that Government should sell it at a high price?—I think it would.

6770. Would not that lead to as great an opening in the illicit trade for opium as you have at present?—If the Government strictly confined the importation of opium to a certain amount and then sold through a trustworthy agency and at a high price, I think it ought to go a long way towards restricting the consumption. It would be more difficult to get opium illicitly in that way.

6771. Have you ever considered another suggestion, which I see has been made by some people, viz., that you might have the facilities for consumption by non-Burmans limited to certain places?—I have never considered that, but I think they ought to be limited to certain places.

6772. Is it the case that the Chinese population is concentrated in a comparatively small number of places?—Yes. I think there are large rural tracts where there are no Chinese; they wander about as hawkers and traders in boats; there are several fairly large villages without any Chinese population at all; but directly a village gets beyond a certain size it has a certain number of Chinese residents.

6773. You have not thought out the question of the possibility of limiting the supply to non-Burmans in places where there is a large Chinese population?—I certainly think that it ought to be limited to what a man may be expected to consume,—the average consumption of that population. What I mean is this: we found that some Chinese came to register themselves as opium-smokers who were not, or at least strongly suspected to be, opium-consumers at all. They put down their names as being consumers of really a large quantity of opium; and that gave rise to the suspicion that they desired to register themselves as opium consumers, in order that they might get the opium to retail.

6774. Is there any necessity at all for a Chinaman to register himself now?—There is not any necessity now. This was when the first orders were issued.

6775. Was it partly in consequence of that that the rules were changed?—I am not prepared to say. I cannot remember that that point was brought into prominence in my reports from my division.

6776. (Sir William Roberts.) I see you mention your experience with regard to both the Chinese and the natives of India, but you do not say anything about the Burman population?—I was not asked to give evidence about Burmans.

6777. Have you anything you would like to say with regard to the effect of the opium habit on the Burman population?—I agree with the majority of officials in this country. I think that it has a bad effect upon the Burmans.

6778. Both physically and morally?—Yes, both physically and morally; but I think, perhaps, morally more than physically.

6779. (Chairman.) Do you not think that the jealousy of smugglers or illicit consumers felt by the licensed vendors who have paid a high price for the monopoly of retail sales in certain districts, is a very valuable assistance to the District officer in checking smuggling?—No, I cannot say that it is. I think that it would, if there were a strong party among the Chinese who wished to sell Yunnan opium that had paid no duty and, therefore, could afford to sell it cheaper; but I think we have driven Yunnan opium out of Lower Burma, and now the different license-holders at different places unite to push their opium.

6780. But is it we or those men who hold the licenses, these monopolists, who have driven out Yunnan opium?—Both. We have done it through them.

6781. If you get rid of those licensed vendors, and rely only on sales by direct official agency, you lose their assistance against smuggling, do you not?—Yes, we certainly do.

6782. Do not you think that under those circumstances Yunnan opium and other opium will come in?—That is a very difficult question to answer. I think there would be a decided tendency for it to come in, if it were not watched.

6783. With nothing but our establishment to rely upon (I do not suppose we should get much help from the

people of the country] do you think we should be able to keep Yunnan and Straits Settlements opium out?—There would be that difficulty.

6784. There being no inducement to the vendors to stop illicit trade, do you think the disadvantages to the population would be greater than those which the population suffers from the temptation to the present vendors to push their trade in their own pecuniary interest?—The new experiment is so entirely novel that I think it is difficult to state what its exact effects will be; but I think the present system of having licensed firms has tended to put money not only into the pockets of the licensees, but it has also assisted the Government revenue. It has always been a very easy system to work. The substitution of Government agency, and the restriction of the amount of opium sold, I think, will be a very difficult matter to work satisfactorily. The policy is so new and so untried that I am quite unable to say what its ultimate effects will be. Whether it would be possible to keep out Yunnan opium, and at the same time to restrict the sale of Government opium, and prevent its spreading, is a very difficult question to answer.

6785. In the new system, which is the system we want to criticise, we have a few retail vendors who will obtain their licenses, but the amount of opium they will get and

be able to obtain from Government will be a certain small limited amount calculated and based upon an estimate of the requirements of certain certificated Burmans, and a certain number of reputed Chinese and Madras opium-eaters and smokers so that they will not be able to push their sale in the way they formerly did—not, at any rate, with Government opium?—No. I was not aware that Government had made up its mind how it would sell.

6786. It has made up its mind as a rule to sell the licenses by auction. In certain places where the demand is very small it will dispense opium through the treasury, and in places where the demand is comparatively large, the sale will be by licensed vendors who have bought their licenses at auction sales. Do your objections to auction sales apply equally to a system like that where the amount of opium which the vendor can get from Government is a small and limited amount?—I have no objection in that case to the system of auction sales. I do not think there would be very much inducement to these persons to buy.

6787. There will not be much competition?—I should say not.

6788. Unless they think that they can use a large amount of illicit opium?—Unless they saw their way to it, I do not quite know whether they would or whether they would not.

The witness withdrew.

SURGEON-CAPTAIN DAVIS called in and examined.

6789. (Chairman.) I believe you are the Superintendent of the Rangoon Jail?—Yes.

6790. How many years have you served?—Eleven years.

6791. How long have you served in Burma?—A little over eight years since 1886.

6792. In what districts?—Up to 1888 in Upper Burma; after that in Rangoon itself.

6793. In Upper Burma you were only about a year or so?—From 1886 to 1888, three years.

6794. Were you in civil employ in Upper Burma?—Partly civil and partly military employ.

6795. What experience have you as to the effect of opium upon Burmans?—My experience is entirely limited to the criminal population which I have seen admitted to the jail.

6796. What is your opinion about them?—Comparing Burmans with Chinamen they bear the influence of the opium habit much worse. The Burman who consumes four annas worth of opium daily as a rule shows it more than a Chinaman who smokes the same amount. I am only speaking of a comparison of the two classes I have seen.

6797. How do you discover when a man has smoked opium?—I ask him before the window.

6798. As a rule do you think they always confess it?—Yes, I think so.

6799. What is the system; is the opium stopped?—Yes, it is stopped. My orders are that men are not to have opium; but a certain illicit traffic takes place, though but it can only be to a very limited extent.

6800. In cases where the opium habit is thoroughly established to an immoderate extent, do you stop it at once?—A man is watched for a little bit, and if he seems out of sorts and if the diarrhoea gets excessive he is sent into hospital and kept under observation; but, unless a man really shows symptoms of serious illness, the opium is withheld from him. 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.

6801. Do you think they go through very great suffering?—I think so, when they first come in. Some do and some do not. It is only those who suffer much that come up and complain and go to the hospital.

6802. Have you in your experience known a man to die where you thought the cause of death was the opium habit?—I never saw any of them die directly from the opium habit.

6803. What did they die from?—From inter-current diseases. A man addicted to the opium habit would become below par and is liable to attacks of inter-current diseases. If he is liable to attacks of malaria or dysentery, he would very probably get an attack of it in jail, and he might die of it. I have never seen a man die absolutely from opium alone.

6804. (Sir William Roberts.) Of course you exclude suicides?—I have never had any suicides.

6805. (Chairman.) I believe there are very few Chinese in the jails?—Very few, comparatively speaking.

6806. Do the Chinese and the Burmese smoke the same drug?—From inquiries I have made it appears that Chinamen smoke a purer drug.

6807. Have you any experience of the effect of opium upon the Natives of India?—No. My experience is very limited. I cannot say much about them.

6808. Have you, of your own experience, ever seen people who could be described as physically wrecked by the use of opium?—I think I have.

6809. In what places?—I have seen one or two men brought into jail. In many of these cases I think probably there was a combination of opium and other diseases as well. It is not an uncommon thing for Burmans and sometimes for Chinamen also to take opium to allay pains of some constitutional disease, such as syphilis. Of course the two combined make a man a perfect wreck.

6810. In India, and in most Oriental countries, doctors are very liable to be asked by Natives for medicine for aphrodisiac purposes: have you ever heard of that?—I have never experienced that.

6811. Have you ever heard that opium is used as an aphrodisiac in this country of Burma?—I cannot say. My knowledge is only hearsay evidence. I have heard that impotence sometimes occurs in the case of opium-eaters and opium-smokers who are given to sexual excess. That, however, is only hearsay.

6812. (Sir William Roberts.) As I understand your experience is almost entirely confined to the jail?—Yes, to criminals.

6813. To the jail; and, I suppose, to the hospital in the jail?—Yes.

6814. You said just now that you thought that the opium habit rendered people more liable to inter-current disorders?—I think that is, perhaps, more than I intended to say. If I did say so, I only referred to it with reference to people dying in jail who are opium-eaters, and who eat opium to excess; but taking those who consume smaller doses of opium, say two annas or four annas worth, I do not think there is a very large proportion of them who come into hospital.

6815. Then you scarcely adhere to the statement that opium predisposes to disease?—I think it does.

6816. Have you anything besides an impression with regard to that point?—All I know is from the patients I have seen in the jail itself.

6817. Do you mean that opium-eaters in excess coming into jail are more liable than the rest to take some disease that might happen to be prevalent in the jail?—I think they would be. I think opium-eaters in excess, as a rule, are admitted into the hospital very soon after admission into

Mr. G. L.
Weidemann.
11 Dec. 1898.

Surgeon-
Captain
Davis.

Surgeon-Captain Davis.
1 Dec. 1893.

jail; that is, during the probationary period while they are recovering from the stoppage of the drug. When they are in that weakened condition before they have quite turned the corner, they are far more liable to inter-current diseases than the ordinary prisoner; but when they have turned that corner and begin to gain weight, I think they take their position among the ordinary healthy class of prisoners.

6818. I have no doubt you have seen some very extraordinary cases of the opium habit amongst the prisoners?—I came across one extreme case. I took his own statement. The man I refer to was a Chinaman, who said that he smoked 31 tolas of opium a day. He was a very fat man. On the other hand, I have seen Chinamen who have smoked only a rupee's worth of opium a day, and who showed effects very badly.

6819. Have you seen those cases recover after three or four weeks?—Yes.

6820. I presume you regard that as a sign that they could not be suffering from organic disease? I cannot say that I have ever met with any organic disease which I could put down to opium alone.

6821. I suppose you have seen the effects of alcohol likewise in the jail?—We do not see the effect of alcohol amongst Burmans here; we very seldom come across it. It is nothing like what it is at home.

6822. I think it might be interesting if this table were supplemented by some additional information? The second table means, I presume, the percentage of each class of

population who are opium-eaters?—The percentages given from 1889 down to 1893 are percentages of opium-eaters admitted into jail taken on the total admissions of that race into the jail for that year.

6823. One would like to know, seeing that Chinamen are by far the most common consumers of opium amongst the people that you have had in jail, whether they also enter the jail in larger proportion than other nationalities?—If we had the Census return for Rangoon, we could make that out at once.

6824. As I understand a large number of the prisoners among the Chinese are in jail for offences against the Opium Act?—Out of 82 in jail at present 18 are in under the Opium Act. I have not made it out for the last four or five years, but if you wish it I could do so.

6825. What year are you referring to now?—I am referring to the Chinese opium-eaters who were in jail during the present year. There are 32 of them, and 13 of them are in jail under the Opium Act.

6826. (Mr. Mowbray.) I understand the figures here give the total number of Chinese in jail?—The total number of admissions into jail for that year. The admissions into jail would have some proportion to the population.

6827. But the number of Chinese admitted is very small is it not smaller than the proportion of Burmans?—I have never worked the proportion out. I do not know what the proportions are in Rangoon of the Chinese to the Burmans. We could get it from the Census if we had the Census Returns.

The witness withdrew.

Captain G. R. MacMullen.

CAPTAIN G. R. MACMULLEN called in and examined.

6828. (Chairman.) I believe you are Deputy Inspector General of Military Police?—Yes.

6829. How long have you served in Burma?—I have been in Burma about 4 years.

6830. Where did you serve before that?—Mostly in the Punjab.

6831. With a Punjab Regiment?—With a Frontier Force Regiment.

6832. Give us your general opinion which you have formed about the opium habit, particularly with reference to the Police under you in Burma, and give us also your experience in your own regiment.—I have served with races of India (the same as are enlisted for the Burma Military Police) for over 13 years. Opium is most freely used, eaten more or less by all such races, and also smoked in addition by those races whose caste allows of such. I use the word "freely" in the sense that a large proportion—and I am informed, and from personal knowledge can confirm it—one-third of all the men now serving in the Burma Military Police use the drug, but it is used in moderation and the abuse is very much the exception. In addition to the opium that is consumed by men in perfect health, a very large quantity is used as medicine, and, I believe, with excellent effect, and saves numbers of lives. Say a member of a family has looseness of the bowels; they may not be near a dispensary, or the patient may be a female and the family does not wish her to see a doctor; an opium pill is at once given, and very likely an attack of cholera, or some other disease, is avoided. I am assured this is the common everyday custom in every village, and that the people thoroughly and rightly believe in the virtue of opium as a medicine. Of all the races I have served with, the "Sikhs" are by far the largest consumers. I think it is generally admitted that the Sikhs are still, perhaps, one of the finest physically, if not the finest, of all the races of India; and if the race has deteriorated at all, it is the advance of civilization and patent leather shoes that has done it, not opium. I have served 10 years with the 8th Punjab Infantry, Punjab Frontier Force. In that regiment there are two companies of Sikhs, who I believe to be a man consume opium, and they are perhaps the two finest companies in the regiment. I have, on the different occasions my regiment has been warned for service, attended the Medical Officer's inspection, and there were fewer men cast in these two companies than in any other. A few, but a very few indeed, were not allowed to go on service because they had injured their constitution by the abuse of the drug (i. e., excessive use of it). I have also been informed by Medical Officers of the regiment that although it was likely these two companies might break down on service if their opium was stopped, yet, if they got it in moderation, they would stand more hardship, and

go through more than non-consumers; and I will further say this, in the hard work done by the military police in Upper Burma in the early days, Sikhs stood the hardships and malaria perhaps the best of all the races, and I know most of the Sikhs in my Military Police Battalion did take opium in moderation because at one time, at the request of the men, I got it and issued it myself.

6833. Have you seen any cases in hospital from the excessive use of opium?—Yes; I have seen some cases; at least the medical officer has told me that it was from excessive use. There were, however, very few cases.

6834. Among the Sikhs who were opium consumers in your own regiment and in the Burma Police, have you seen any appearance of detrimental effects upon the morals of the men?—No; I do not think so,—not in the least.

6835. Do you not think they might be led to steal?—Yes, they might do that, if they had to get it and could not get it otherwise.

6836. What do you think about the effect in some way or other of prohibiting and stopping the use of opium?—I believe men would go in for it. If they did not get opium they would go in for ganja or some extract of hemp or perhaps cheap liquor, which can be got anywhere in India now. The effects would be much worse.

6837. Is not the term 'affimi' used as a term of disgrace and abuse?—It comes from the word 'affim,' which means opium.

6838. What does that convey?—I do not know that. I have not heard the term generally used.

6839. Have you had sufficient experience to give an opinion upon the effect of opium upon Burmans?—No.

6840. You have not been long enough in the service?—No; I have only had four years' service in Burma.

6841. (Sir William Roberts.) Is the Burma Military Police recruited entirely from the natives of India?—Yes, except the Karen Battalion. They are now enlisting Karens, but that is a very small proportion.

6842. There are no Native Burmans in the Military Police?—There are a few Karens, but no Burmans.

6843. (Mr. Pease.) Do you think that the fine physical condition of the Sikhs is in any way attributable to their consumption of opium?—No, I do not think so.

6844. Do you think that the Sikhs who do not consume opium are in any way inferior to those who do?—I do not think opium has affected the race at all.

6845. Do you not think that there is a serious danger from a military point of view in having your men dependent upon having a drug always present in the Commissariat?—

I am not a medical man, and I cannot say if they can stop it or not. I am not in a position to say that.

6846. But, as a military man, do you not think that it is a bad thing to have a body of men entirely dependent upon having a drug?—I do not think I have said that they were entirely dependent upon it.

6847. You say, "I have also been informed by medical officers of the regiment that it was likely these two companies might break down on service if their opium was stopped?"—These men were used to it. That is what the medical officer told me—that he considered the men who were used to it if it were stopped might break down.

6848. Do not you think that it is a great disadvantage to have a body of soldiers who are dependent upon their opium in order to be able to go through the work they have to do?—I have been told by doctors, and it is my own opinion, that men, if accustomed to it, if it was stopped, might break down.

6849. You see the disadvantage of such a position?—If they get it they are nothing the worse for it, and most probably they might be the better for it.

6850. You compare two companies with their fellows, do you suppose that these two companies were greater consumers of opium than the other companies of the Punjab Infantry?—I know these two companies did consume more opium.

6851. (Chairman.) The other companies were men of other races I presume?—Men of other races in the regiment. We had Indians, Punjabis, Mahomedans, Dogras, and Sikhs. That is what we were composed of.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. F. BRADLEY called in and examined.

6858. (Chairman.) I believe you are an Apothecary and late Civil Surgeon, Northern Shan States. Will you tell us what opportunities you have had of seeing the extent of opium consumption in the Northern Shan States?—My opportunities of seeing the extent of opium consumption among the Shans of the Northern Shan States have been great. I was four years in the Northern Shan States and accompanied Messrs. Scott and Saunders in their tours through the Shan States. I was also out with Captain Daly, and have visited a very large number of the villages of the Northern Shan States. I have been to Kokang, the principal centre of the opium production of the Northern Shan States where opium is largely grown and can be purchased at prices ranging from Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 a viss (3·65 lb). So far as I know all the men in Kokang and the adjoining Shan States after reaching 15 or 16 years of age consume opium. This is more especially the case in Kokang. They both smoke and eat it, as a rule, a little in the morning and a little in the evening. So far as I could see the opium appeared to have no evil effect upon them. They struck me as being a particularly strong and healthy class of men. Mr. Scott and I both used to remark on this. Their children are certainly very fine specimens. All the men in the State, who have to do hard work, such as pedlars and others who carry about heavy loads, consume opium habitually. They cannot get through their work without it.

6859. Are these people you are talking about Shans?—Shans and Chinamen.

6860. I believe the Chinese come in from Yunnan?—Yes.

6861. I suppose they are emigrants from Yunnan?—They have been settled in these States for centuries past. I was in charge of the Lashio hospital for four years. During those four years I cannot remember a single case in which I could trace the cause of the patient's complaint to the evil effects of opium. The only people who ever carried the consumption of opium to excess were the immediate followers of the Sawbwas who led an idle life. The ordinary people never consumed it to excess. I think the people in that part of the country could not do without opium. I have occasionally taken opium myself when I have come in tired from a long day's march. I felt all the better for it, a few whiffs gave me immediate relief. In half an hour my appetite returned and the sense of fatigue appeared to have wholly disappeared. Next morning one is perfectly well and there is no sense of craving subsequently. Mr. Scott and I frequently discussed the matter of opium consumption. It was the time when the question was being largely discussed at home in England, and living as I did in the centre of the opium country I took a good deal of interest in the matter generally. I have never heard of any case in the Northern Shan States where opium has had a marked effect on the morals of a consumer and

6852. (Mr. Pease.) Is it your experience that these men could go on from year to year without increasing the quantity, or that there was a tendency to increase the quantity to produce the desired effect?—As far as I know I do not know that there is a tendency to increase the quantity. That would be more a thing for the medical officer to answer.

6853. You say, "A few were not allowed to go on service because they had injured their constitution by the abuse of the drug;"—those were men who had increased the quantity?—I do not think, taken in moderation, it does injure the constitution.

6854. But there were men in the regiment who were unable to go on service?—Yes, when the men were inspected for service I have seen the medical officer casting one or two men. When I asked why these men were cast, the medical officer on one or two occasions said that the men were excessive opium-eaters.

6855. (Mr. Mowbray.) I suppose a medical officer might cast other men in other companies for other faults?—Yes, for other reasons. I learnt this from speaking generally to the medical officer, and asking why the men were being cast. He said the men were excessive opium-eaters.

6856. Are you quite satisfied with the physique of your Military Police in Burma? Yes, perfectly satisfied.

6857. Supposing it were decided to prohibit opium generally in Burma, are you of opinion that it would be necessary to make an exception and to allow your military police to consume it?—Most decidedly.

Captain
G. E.
MacMulla
11 Dec. 1881

Mr. F.
Bradley.

have led him to do wrong. Opium is the only luxury and comfort the Shans in the Northern Shan States have. I consider it a necessity.

6862. Do you know the Southern Shan States?—I have not been in the Southern Shan States. I have gone round the borders of them. I have been with Mr. Scott who came from the Southern Shan States.

6863. There is not much opium grown in those States, is there?—I cannot say as to that.

6864. Are the men of the Southern Shan States easily distinguishable from the men of the Northern Shan States?—They are just the same.

6865. They both appear to take opium, so far as your experience goes?—Yes. I have heard Mr. Scott say the same thing—that they all take it.

6866. Those Burma ponies come from that country. Do they not?—A great many ponies are brought down from there: they are reared there.

6867. The people, like the ponies, are a very strong and energetic sort of race?—I do not think that the Shans are very energetic. The Kokang people who are half Chinese are very energetic. I could not say very much about the Shans being energetic. They are men who like to knock about a bit.

6868. Where does this opium go to?—A great deal is sent to China, and used amongst the people in the States round. Some is brought down into Mandalay and in this direction. The duty is very heavy. The Chinamen and the Shans coming down from the States through Mandalay are allowed to bring a certain amount. When they have over a certain amount they have to pay very heavily for it.

6869. Do you know what they do with the poppy seed?—The Kaohins carry it about and eat it. I have often carried about a box with me.

6870. Is it eaten raw?—It is very refreshing, and they are very fond of it. They eat it with their food. You buy a little bag of seeds and carry it about with you. It is eaten uncooked and mixed with the rice they eat.

6871. Is it ever beaten up into a pulp?—No. The head is opened and the seeds are taken out. They often carry a number of poppy heads about with them, and use the seeds as they are required.

6872. Do the Shans give any excuse or reason for taking opium?—No. They take it out of sheer laziness. They have nothing else to do but smoke. In the case of people who have to work hard it is used because they say that they could not go through the fatigue without it. Some people have to carry very heavy loads about. The people who have to live in the low-lands on the paddy fields, have to work

Mr. F. Bradley.
Dec. 1898.

very hard; and they say that it keeps fever of: and I believe it does.

6873. You say they take it in order to enable them to do hard work. You regard it as a stimulant?—Yes.

6874. Is there any re-action?—They do not seem to complain of any re-action. They seem to be all right after it. It seems to do them no harm as far as I have seen.

6875. You say you occasionally take it yourself?—Yes.

6876. Have you any other sensation except the feeling of relief from fatigue, and all that sort of thing?—No. I have felt rather a happy sensation. The fatigue seemed to drop off me as if I had dropped a cloak suddenly. I got my appetite all right, slept well after it, and got up next day feeling perfectly fresh.

6877. Supposing the supply of opium to the Burmans is cut off, as it is proposed, do you think that the smuggling of opium from Shan States could be prevented?—I do not think you could prevent smuggling. I think opium could always be got in.

6878. Owing to the nature of the country, or the people?—It could be brought in by anybody coming down. It is hardly expected that a man is bringing opium; and he will march through Maymye, where there is a guard to collect the revenue.

6879. Is the border of the Shan States and the British Burman districts of Burma a mountainous country?—Yes.

6880. Are there many practicable passes?—You can cross the hills at any part.

6881. Are those hills covered with forests?—A good many of them are thick jungle; but there are pathways ending all through. You can come in from any part almost. Nearly all the Sikhs of the regiment I had medical charge of took opium. They thrived on it, and they certainly suffered less from fever and bowel complaints than other Sepoys. The Sikhs are a very fine body of men. We had about a hundred Sikhs up there.

6882. That is, in the Shan country?—Yes. They belong to the Mandalay Battalion.

6883. Would it be possible to prohibit the cultivation of the poppy in the Shan States?—I do not think they could prevent it. According to our present system of government, it could not be prevented. We simply have a political officer who looks after the place.

6884. What does the officer do; how far does he interfere?—I can hardly answer that question.

6885. The country is governed by their own chiefs?—Yes.

6886. (Sir William Roberts.) I think you said that the people of Kokang are partly Chinese and partly Shans?

The witness withdrew.

Mr. C. Findlay.

Mr. C. FINDLAY called in and examined.

6904. (Chairman.) How long have you been in Rangoon?—Eleven years.

6905. What opportunities have you had of judging the effect of the consumption of opium by Indian coolies?—I have been during the past eight years managing one or other of Messrs. Bulloch Brothers' mills in Rangoon. In that time I may say I have come into daily contact with the Indian coolies who consume opium. These men are employed carrying rice-bags for the most part, and of all mill labour this requires the most physical strength coupled with endurance. In physique they are as good as any, and better than most, of the coolies we employ. They take opium regularly every day, and the practice is not confined to one or two men in a gang, but is almost universal, it being exceptional to find a man who does not take it. I have questioned them regarding the quantities they take at a time and the number of times a day they take it. So far as I am aware they only take a small dose once a day when the day's work is over. They say it acts as a tonic or stimulant and enables them to eat as well as to sleep. They themselves say, without it they could not possibly bear the strain of work put on them, and invariably if a man stops it he turns sick and unfit for work. I do not know what the effects of not taking it may be, but I can testify to the fact that those men who do take it seem to be none the worse for doing so, and are, as I have said before, the best coolies we have. The work done by opium-eating Coringhi coolies is as follows: In a mill producing, say, 8,000 bags

—Yes. A good many of them. Some of them are pure Chinese. Others are half-breeds and Shans.

6887. The two races consume opium equally?—They all seem to take it about the same. They all take it in Kokang.

6888. You say that they take a little in the morning and a little in the evening?—That is the general rule among the hard-working people.

6889. You cannot give us an idea, I suppose, of the quantity they usually would take morning and evening?—Every man takes what satisfies him. Various men I have spoken to have told me that they take it at different times.

6890. What are the Sawbwas you spoke of?—They are the Chiefs.

6891. You say opium is the only luxury which the Shan States have. Do not the people smoke tobacco?—Yes.

6892. Do they smoke it?—Yes.

6893. So that, it is not correct to say that opium is "the only luxury"?—They do not look upon tobacco like opium. They think opium is far preferable.

6894. There is no spirit drunk among them?—No, the Shans do not drink.

6895. Is it a malarial country?—Very. Some parts are very malarious and other parts are healthy. It is a very undulating country. Some parts are very low and other parts are very high.

6896. Is there a popular belief that opium is good for the various troubles of malarial districts?—Yes, people have great faith in it and have found it do good.

6897. They have faith in it as a preventative in the case of low fever and malaria?—They say that those people who take opium do not suffer from fever. They take it as a prophylactic.

6898. What is your impression as a medical man. Is it your impression that opium does not as a prophylactic?—Yes. I have given it myself in cases; and I have found it act when nothing else would.

6899. You have seen a great many cases of malarial diseases I suppose?—Yes, hundreds of cases.

6900. (Mr. Pease.) Is there anything special in the race of the country to make opium a necessity?—It is a very cold climate. It is very hilly and people have to carry loads about; and they have lots of hard work in climbing.

6901. I gather that it is your opinion that if they give up the habit it would be to their disadvantage?—I have seen men try to give it up.

6902. I am not speaking with regard to individuals?—I fancy they could not live there without opium now with the kind of food they get, and the way they have to live, and are clothed and everything else.

6903. (Mr. Mosbray.) Are there many Shans in British Burma?—I could not say. I do not know much about Burma down here.

of rice (800 tons) in 24 hours, 100 coolies are usually employed for handling the bags after they are sewn up. These coolies work in shifts arranged by themselves, there being always sufficient men in the mill to keep the work going. The work to be done is to carry the bags from the godown in which they are bagged to the one in which they are stored. The distance varies according to circumstances from 10 to 100 yards, and the bags are stored in stacks up to about 20 tiers of bags from the floor. In addition to the above those 100 coolies will carry 5,000 to 8,000 bags (500 to 600 tons) daily from the godowns to lighters or cargo-boats. In the busy season our mills work from 6 a.m. on Monday mornings till noon on Saturdays without a stoppage.

6904. Do you know if these men take alcohol as well in any shape?—So far as I am aware they do not.

6907. Has it the same effect upon them as alcohol has upon a European, or is there some different effect?—I fancy it is very much the same; it is a stimulant. Taken to excess, I suppose it would stupify them, but moderately as they take it, it acts as a sort of stimulant.

6908. What is their character morally; are they an honest sort of people or the reverse?—They are quite as honest as any natives going. They are not blackguards. I suppose they would steal if they had the opportunity; but they are not professional thieves, and they work hard.

6909. Have you had any experience of Chinese labour?—No, none.

6910. Chinamen do not work as coolies, do they?—They are employed round Rangoon in cultivating gardens; and they are also employed on the Chinese farms in Rangoon as coolies. I suppose they find that a lot of their own countrymen are cheaper than labour they can get here; otherwise, they are not employed. They do not work for Europeans.

6911. You do not know anything about their habits with respect to opium?—No, I do not.

6912. (Mr. Mowbray.) These people eat opium, I suppose?—Yes, they eat it. The opium I have seen is prepared; it is a glutinous substance; and the people roll it out in the palms of their hands into a small pill.

6913. They come from the Madras Coast?—Yes.

6914. Do they go back again?—Yes.

6915. Do you know whether they bring the habit with them from Madras, or do they get it after they come here?—I think they bring it with them.

6916. Do you consider that it would create dissatisfaction among them if they were prevented from getting their opium?—I am quite sure they would.

6917. (Mr. Pease.) What steps did you take to find out how many took opium?—I questioned the headman of the gang with regard to the number of men in his gang who took opium.

6918. Do you think that those who do not take opium are any the worse men for it?—Personally I cannot say, because I never saw one who did not take it. But I have been told there are some who do not take opium, and that those men cannot work well.

6919. Have you watched its effect on these men for any considerable number of years—on individual men?—No, not individual men. They change nearly every year. They come over here for a season and then go back to their country. The same men if they come back to this country do not often return to the same mill.

6920. As a stimulant gradually sapping their powers, you would not have the opportunity of observing it?—No.

The witness withdraw.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

At the New Government Buildings, Rangoon.

TWENTY-FOURTH DAY.

Tuesday, 12th December, 1893.

PRESENT:

SIR JAMES LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., (IN THE CHAIR).

SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D.

MR. R. G. C. MOWBRAY, M.P.

MR. ARTHUR PEASE.

MR. C. C. LEWIS (Provisional Secretary).

The Rev. Dr. CUSHING called in and examined.

6921. (Chairman.) How long have you been in Burma?—I was here in March 1897.

6922. What parts of Burma have you seen most of?—I have lived in Toungoo, Bhamo and Rangoon. The first ten years I spent almost the whole of the season in travelling in different parts of the Shan States. I have visited almost all the Shan States, both east and west of the Salween. Kengtung is the furthest point I have reached. Kengtung is on the east of the Salween, considerably to the north. It is near the border of Yunnan. It is three or four days' ordinary travel beyond there.

6923. Please tell us what you know about the consumption of opium among the Shans?—In regard to the districts adjoining the Kachin country, of course since the English annexation, I have not been in that region; but before that I was in a great number of small villages. There were small villages skirting those mountains which I visited, and I found that the consumption of opium was very extensive in those villages. It seemed to be very much on account of their proximity to the Kachin country. I found that opium was raised in many of the villages in the Kachin country, and it was a matter of common daily marketing between the Shans and the Kachins. I know nothing about the condition of things now since the annexation. About forty per cent. of the men amongst the Shans are consumers of opium. Perhaps the percentage may be larger.

6924. Are you referring to smoking or eating?—I am referring to both. I think in that district smoking was rather more extensive than the use otherwise. They followed the Kachin custom very largely of smoking a small quantity occasionally in the day.

6925. The Kachin country borders on the Burman country—Does it not?—That is nominally Shan country, although parts of it are very much Burmanised.

6926. Did the habit extend at all among the Burmese in a secret way?—I do not know, except in the town of Bhamo. There was quite a large number of opium-eaters amongst

the Burman population, but I could not dare to give you any percentage, because I do not know what it would be.

6927. Do you refer to the opium-eaters?—I should say opium-chewers.

6928. In the Shan country, inside, at a distance from the Kachin country, how do matters stand there?—I think that the opium, as you come from the Kachin country southwards, is a great deal used. But it becomes less and less the further you go away from it towards Momeik.

6929. (Mr. Mowbray.) Are those districts you are now speaking of under British rule at present?—Yes; they are under British rule.

6930. Direct British rule?—The upper part of the district is under the Deputy Commissioner. His jurisdiction has been removed as you go further south towards Momeik. I do not know what English relations there are. I do not know whether it is a Tributary State or whether it is under direct British rule.

6931. Speaking generally, it is now under British rule?—Yes.

6932. (Chairman.) How do matters stand in Kengtung?—Kengtung is very much under Chinese influence, owing to its close proximity to China. I found the use of opium there very extensive. Great numbers of men there were accustomed to use opium. It was a very common thing in the market when I was there; but that was a good while ago. I doubt, however, if there has been very much change. Mr. Scott has visited the place since I was there.

6933. That was all independent country?—It was semi-independent country. I think of all the Shan States it was the most independent of the Burman king. It had a Burman military officer when I was there.

6934. Prohibition of the Burmese kings against opium did not extend to that Shan country?—The further you get from Mandalay the influence was less felt.

Mr. C.
Findlay.

11 Dec. 1893.

Rev. Dr.
Cushing.

12 Dec. 1893.

Rev. Dr.
Cushing.
12 Dec. 1893.

6935. (Mr. Mowbray.) What is the condition of this Kengtung country now; is it under British rule?—There is a Sawbwa there. It is tributary, like the other Shan States.

6936. (Chairman.) This proposed prohibition of the use of opium would not apply in any way to the Shan country I suppose?—I should think it would be very difficult to enforce it in that direction. It is to the east of the Salween. I think it has been only visited once or twice by English officers; indeed the Sawbwa did not present himself until two years ago.

6937. You say that a great many of the Shans also live in British Burma?—Yes, a great many live in British Burma. In the lower country there is a large Shan population.

6938. And in Upper Burma?—I do not think there is so much in Upper Burma if you except the districts to the north of Mandalay.

6939. Among the Shans in British Burma is opium consumed extensively?—Yes, I should like to explain about the use of that word 'extensive.' The headmen of the villages and the better class of people will not acknowledge that it is extensive, and I think for this reason, because it is very disgraceful in their opinion. They are strict Buddhists, and they do not wish that the idea should be entertained that the custom is rather widespread amongst their young people. The basis of my opinion has been formed largely from my personal intercourse with the people in their villages. I have had the heads of villages say to me: "In 100 men, there are three or four who use opium." Of course there are persons who use it secretly. But many of the priests have acknowledged to me that they are convinced that at least thirty per cent. of the men are more or less addicted to the use of opium. I think myself that that is probably very much the case. In the long journeys which I have taken, I have generally journeyed by means of coolies. These men go with me from these districts and return, and I have found that in starting at least twenty-five per cent. of these men have been addicted more or less to the use of opium. I am now speaking only of the Shans. I have had no idea that many of these men were opium users until they came into the mountains, when, being without their opium, their strength gave way and they were unable to go on unless they could have a fresh supply of the drug.

6940. Do these men eat it or smoke it?—Some smoke it, and some eat it.

6941. In the Burman's opinion or in the Shan's opinion, is there any distinction as to the degree of disgrace between eating and smoking opium?—I never heard of any, so far as the Shan is concerned. The term for calling a man accustomed to the use of opium is disgraceful. I do not think there is any difference in the opinion whether he uses it secretly or openly, or whether he eats it or smokes it. I never heard any difference.

6942. Would the term be generally used in talking of men who eat it moderately?—If a man uses it moderately it is not generally known, but the very fact that he uses opium is as much to his discredit in that way as if he uses it more openly. Of course when a man uses it to a great excess the term might have stronger force. But I do not know of any special distinction amongst the Shans. I never heard of it.

6943. In India I fancy, and in most Oriental countries, opium is used greatly as a domestic medicine?—Yes.

6944. I believe the idea prevails that it is a good thing to relieve pains of malarial fever and it is thought to be a prophylactic against fever?—Yes.

6945. Is it hard to distinguish between the medical use and the dietetic use?—In the Shan States they sometimes acknowledge that it is a preventive in the case of fever, but I do not think that if it is used directly for medicinal purposes there is any disgrace about it. Disgrace comes when the man is known to use it for his own pleasure.

6946. As regards the opium habit, it must be rather hard to distinguish between the case of a man affected with malaria, who uses it in small doses daily to keep off the malaria and the case of a man who consumes it for pleasure?—Unfortunately I have never met a man who used it extensively for malaria daily. I have known a case where a man has used it, as I should myself if it were prescribed. The idea of taking it as a custom makes it more or less a disgrace.

6947. Tell us what your opinion is as to the effect of the use of opium?—The use of opium saps the physical strength of men. In the earlier stages of its use it produces a fullness of flesh tending to plumpness. This has

been the result of my experience with my coolies more than any other class of men. Some of the finest men, apparently athletic in their build, have been men of this kind, who, as I said before, when they get beyond a place where opium can be obtained, fall altogether; but they looked like fine well-built men at first. But it is not good flesh and strong muscle. Without this stimulant they do not seem to do their work. I have had many cases among my Shan coolies during my Shan journeys. These journeys have extended over fifteen years. These men, when hired, seemed to promise excellent service, for they looked like strong and athletic men. They never mentioned their habit beforehand, but as soon as the supply of opium failed after entering the mountains they became utterly unable to carry any burdens, and if not discharged at once ran away at the first opportunity in order to return where their imperative need could be satisfied. In no case have I ever seen such men abandon the habit. In all cases under my observation they went on from bad to worse.

6948. Your opinion has been formed chiefly from the observation of the Shan coolies?—Yes.

6949. From your observation and experience with these men is it your opinion that they never voluntarily abandon the habit?—That is my opinion. When I travelled from Toungoo these men were residents of the Shan villages amongst which it was my custom frequently to visit, and I therefore knew their subsequent life. It is not like the hiring of coolies and then ceasing to have any knowledge of them after they have been in one's employ. Only two years ago in my last trip to the Shan States some of the men whom I took out turned out to be opium-smokers. I know that within the last two years here, from my observation, they have gone from bad to worse. In the old days, when I was accustomed to travelling, it was not safe to take coolies when I could get them along the route. According to the Shan custom I could get carried from one town to another by local coolies; but in order to facilitate my journey in the matter of speed, I employed coolies from Toungoo who had families there and who wished to return to their homes. In a large number of cases I had kept track of these families.

6950. You say they go from bad to worse; what do you mean by that?—I consider it bad any way to use opium.

6951. What is the stage which you call a worse stage?—There is a case of a man who was living two years ago in Toungoo who perhaps 20 years ago went with me for the first time to the Shan country. I was not aware that he was an opium-eater. This man turned out to be an opium-eater; but apparently, under the influence of our religious efforts, he gave up the habit, and he subsequently professed himself to be a Christian. A year or so after that it became evident that he had resumed the habit. The man went on from that until he became a physical wreck, unable to do work and unwilling to do it. He became very thin. He had been a man of good build and of fullness of flesh, but he became very thin and emaciated. Indeed, he seemed to be physically wrecked. That was my idea of going from bad to worse.

6952. You say that about 30 per cent. in the Shan States adopt the opium habit?—Not openly.

6953. You say there are thirty men in a hundred who adopt it; how many would arrive at that stage of physical wreck you speak of?—I should not dare to give any percentage, but I think a great many of them finally came to that; indeed, I have known a great many instances, but what the proportion would be I could not tell. I think a good many of these 30 per cent. had never come to that condition. They continued to be moderate users. The tendency however has been shown to increase more and more, and in the cases I have known in Toungoo, where I have had longer experience, I should say that at least five or six men out of the thirty would finally become utterly incapacitated, unwilling to do anything, and physically unable to do anything except at the moment they were under the influence of the drug.

6954. Do you think that that is the effect of opium only, or is it on account of their not devoting enough of their money to proper food?—Of course in the case of some of these men they do not properly supply themselves with food. They cannot afford food and opium. I think the lack of food would be attributed to the opium habit.

6955. It is much the same case as gin drinkers in Loudon and in the other big towns?—Very likely.

6956. Can you describe the condition of these excessive opium-eaters?—As a rule the body becomes emaciated, and there is a shrinking from work and from exertion in any form except as necessity compels, and a constant supply of

opium gives help. The normal condition of this class seems to be the least amount of physical effort and the desire to spend the time in indolent repose or in sleep.

6967. What have you to say as to the moral effect?—It often shows loss of respect for one's word. I found that to be the case particularly with those men who engaged themselves. When the opium failed there was a distinct break. They were not only perfectly willing but determined to break their contract. Before doing that, however, the pilfering of food and little things was prominent and common during the journey.

6968. More prominent than in non-smokers?—Yes, decidedly.

6969. You are now speaking of immoderate consumers?—Yes, those who require more or less of the stimulant. In that way they saved their money for the purchase of what opium they had. Of course their supply of money on the journey was very scanty. It was according to special arrangement that they were able to retain their money for the purchase of what they wished. I had a great deal of trouble in that direction.

6970. What is your opinion of the moral effect in the case of excessive consumers?—I found that the opium-smoker or opium-eater who used the drug excessively would resort to almost anything to obtain the means of getting the drug if he had not any. I personally know of good many thefts, and in one case I know of the sale of a young daughter in a way that ought not to have been, simply because the father wished to obtain money for the purpose of obtaining opium. Men who take it excessively do not, and, as a rule, cannot, work very well. They must have the drug.

6971. What, in your opinion, is the general feeling of the country with regard to the habit amongst the Shans?—I think there is universal condemnation.

6972. Although it is so common?—The universal condemnation of the opium habit by all respectable Shans, the loss of reputation of those who indulge in it, and the customary saying of the people in regard to one who having this habit is caught in some crime or fault, "oh, he is an opium-user," shows the sense of the people in regard to the moral deterioration which is considered to be attendant on the habit of using opium.

6973. That applies chiefly to the excessive use?—No, the condemnation of the habit does not apply to the excessive use, but the extreme use of it brings the most serious condemnation. The whole habit, as a habit, is condemned universally by the people. The use of opium *per se* is condemned by the people.

6974. I suppose every pious Buddhist must condemn it religiously?—Yes, if he adheres to his own religion.

6975. I suppose every conservative Burman or Shan who looks back with some regard to the old time of Church and State rule in Burma must also be prone to condemn it from those sorts of motives too?—That might be more with the Burmans than the Shans, because the Shans in the past days belonged to the Tributary States, and their emigration into Burma has been a more modern thing, and they have come in under English rule. I do not think in their own country the thing was possible to be prohibited. In the Southern Shan States it does not exist so much as it does further north, and yet it does exist to a certain extent. I have not found that feeling amongst them myself. With regard to the opium question, except that they get the idea from the Burmans, they do not seem to contrast it with what was the case under Burman rule; because they were not directly under Burman rule in their own country.

6976. In the time of Burman rule, prohibition was not extended to outsiders at all; was it?—I do not know that it was. As an example of how far the influence of the Burman prohibition extended to all parts of the Shan States, I may mention that in those States I went to a place where intoxicants were sold openly in the bazaar on the bazaar day. But the moment you crossed down from the plateau over the mountains into the Burman plain, it was rather a dangerous piece of business to sell intoxicants. I think the same idea will apply in regard to opium.

6977. I suppose under Burman rule, though the opium sale was prohibited, and it was a crime to eat or smoke it, there was a great deal of secret consumption; was there not?—Yes, no doubt. I remember coming late one night to a guard station, and being a white man they supposed I was accustomed to the use of intoxicants. A man came in the night and said to me that some intoxicants could be obtained if I wished it.

6978. (Mr. Pease.) That was rather evidence of the stringency of the law?—That was in one of the towns where there was Burman government.

6969. (Sir William Roberts.) Did you say that the priests among the Northern Shan States condemned the habit?—

Rev. Dr. Cushing.

Yes, those that I met in the proper opium country. I have never been in the Theinni country, but I have been in a small State beyond where the Shans are mixed up with the Kachins and some Chinese. I cannot say what the priests say, but I know that the priests from Theinni proper and southwards, as far as I have had any conversation with them, condemn the practice universally.

6970. You think that there is some religious basis for the sentiment of condemnation?—Yes, decidedly. One of the five great commands is not to use any intoxicant, and this would be classed essentially under the same head.

6971. The use of alcohol is put in the same category?—Yes, certainly; indeed, if I may be pardoned for stating it, here in Lower Burma some of our own men have been openly reproached by the Buddhist priests for allowing the use of opium and alcoholic drinks.

6972. Opium and bhong and alcoholic beverages all fall under this general religious condemnation?—Yes. As I understand, that is the opinion of the Buddhist priests.

6973. Have you found any opinion as to which is the most deleterious of these various intoxicants—opium, alcohol or bhong?—I do not know of bhong being used in the Shan States, unless it has been introduced by the natives of India. It may be used there, but I do not know. For myself I certainly should prefer to use alcoholic stimulants rather than opium. But I do not wish to express a liking for either.

6974. Your mental attitude is one of hostility?—Yes.

6975. (Mr. Pease.) Do you consider that the prohibition of opium arises simply from a religious feeling, and also disobedience to the law?—No. I think it arises primarily from the religious feeling, and, secondly, I think it arises very strongly from the results they see in the persons who use it.

6976. You said that the consumption of opium has given much trouble amongst the Christians?—Yes, that statement should be enlarged. Among the Shans, of course, the number of Shan Christians is comparatively small. In our own Shan Mission we have had a great deal of trouble with the Christians, and we have often traced the troubles in the churches to the secret use of the drug which seemed to destroy all sense of what I should consider honesty in their dealings with us as religious persons. I have known in the Burman villages quite a number of churches nearly destroyed by this habit.

6977. Do you retain persons as members of the church whom you know to be consumers of opium?—No.

6978. Is that the result of Missionary regulations, or is it because of the feeling of the Christian Church generally?—That is the result of our own regulations as missionaries, and that is reinforced by the feeling of the people about us. We should feel that we lost influence over the people if we allowed persons using opium to remain in the churches.

6979. (Mr. Mosbray.) Could you give me any idea of the proportion of the Shan population in Burma?—I could not. I have not examined the last census report. I know that ten years ago, when I had special reasons to look up the Shan population, there were over 20,000 within twenty miles of Rangoon. But it must have increased very much since then. The Shans are found in Pegu and Toungoo and other districts, and along the Proms railway. I have not examined the census in that respect.

6980. Could you tell us what proportion of Christians you have in Burma, and what your area of observation in that respect is?—Our Christians are principally in Lower Burma. According to the census we have adherents numbering nearly eighty thousand. We are more or less familiar with the state of the different missions, because we have our annual meetings, and all questions connected with these missions are discussed at those meetings. Besides that, almost all of us visit personally first and last nearly all the missions.

6981. What proportion of that seventy-nine or eighty thousand would be Burmans and what non-Burman?—I would rather give you the basis of the communicants. It is only from the census that we learn that the number of communicants is over thirty thousand. Among these, perhaps, there are two thousand Burmans. Then there are about twenty-seven thousand Karens. And the other thousand is divided amongst the Shans, the Kachins, and the different missions of a more recent date.

6982. The bulk of your converts are Karens?—Yes, the great bulk of them.

I 12 Dec. 1894

Rev. Dr.
Cushing.
2 Dec. 1893.

6983. In speaking of the opinion of the universal condemnation of the opium habit,—you are speaking both of Shans in the Shan States and the Shans in British Burma?—Yes, in both. It was only three or four days ago that I was out in one of the Shan villages near here; the headmen were together and spoke in a very strong manner about this opium habit.

6984. (Mr. Pease.) Headmen of what?—The headmen of the village spoke very strongly.

6985. (Mr. Moubray.) I notice you say, "In no case have I ever seen such men abandon the habit?"—I never have; that there are persons who do abandon the habit I have no doubt.

6986. Could you form any opinion as to what would happen to these consumers if they were compelled to abandon the habit?—I fancy that would depend very much upon the stage of advance in the use of opium. I know of the case of a Shan who died in a very sad way. The man was employed by another missionary. He had been a slave caught by the Kachins and taken in his youth to the Kachin villages, where he became addicted to the use of opium. The man escaped and he was employed under the supervision of some missionaries for quite a while. He had no opium and he became violently insane—not hurtful to others, but violent in his movements. Finally, his friends were sent for and they said that it was simply because he had not his opium. It was a fact he had no opium for quite a little while. He was taken away, and he died the next morning, although opium was given to him. I cannot speak of these things from a medical point of view. I have known cases of Shans who had dysentery very badly who were accustomed to the use of opium, and the usual remedies in which opium is a part failed to have any effect upon them. As to abandoning the habit, I have never seen a case in which the Shans have abandoned it. And even those who profess to be Christians never can be persuaded to give it up.

6987. Could you not persuade people who become Christians to give up the habit?—We would never take them as Christians unless we supposed that they were not opium-users or had given up the habit. My experience in every case has been that where there was a real use of opium before they became Christians, they returned to the habit and finally adhered to it.

6988. (Mr. Pease.) Would you be in favour of extending the register which is to come into force on the 1st of January to the Shan residents in Burma?—I should hope not; I should certainly not desire to have it. Anything which would lead to its prohibition would be my idea of the thing. So far as Government measures are concerned, I do not feel prepared to speak about them.

6989. The proposal is that those who are consumers of twenty-five years of age should be allowed to register themselves; if on the other hand they are not placed upon the register, they are not treated as Burmans and will have full liberty to purchase opium?—Certainly that would be better than nothing, most decidedly.

6990. (Chairman.) You said you found a considerable use of the drug amongst the Karen Christians, which you say

destroys all honesty in their dealings with you?—I do not refer to Christians merely.

6991. Might not it be the secret use rather than the use of the drug which affects their honesty; secret use must involve incessant lying?—Yes, it is very easy to begin lying and go on with the principle of the thing afterwards. I do not see any occasion to recall what I have said with regard to the matter.

6992. Does not the concealment of the habit date from the old Burman rule?—I think the concealment is more from the disgrace of the thing than anything else. I have never heard any statement about concealing it in my experience with them on account of the Government at all. It has always been the disgrace that attaches to the use of the drug itself.

6993. By the new rules the use or possession of opium would be absolutely prohibited to Burmans; you are a gentleman of long experience in this country, and I should like to ask you whether you think that prohibition will be effectual; or do you think that the people will get opium all the same?—That is a hard question to answer. I should like to see it tried. I think there would be a good deal of illicit smuggling. But I think also it would cut off a good many who are not far advanced in the use of the drug in continuing its use. Young boys even are tricked into it, as I have occasion to know. It has also been stated in Government reports that men have been sent out by the opium vendors. If the thing were prohibited that would be stopped. Undoubtedly there would be smuggling and illicit trade, but I should like to see the thing tried.

6994. You recognise that there is a sort of counterbalance of evil in the thing,—that if extensive smuggling and extensive illicit clandestine consumption goes on,—that itself is demoralizing?—I quite recognise that. Still I should like to see the other way tried and think if the evil would be less.

6995. There are a number of Chinese, are there not, in the Shan country?—In the Kengtung district there are a number, more or less scattered here and there in the Shan States; but the communities are not large. In my recent visit I found no large communities in the Shan States proper.

6996. With regard to the use of opium, is there any distinction between those Chinese and the Shans?—I could hardly say. I have never had much to do with them. I do not know much about them.

6997. As far as the Chinese who live in Lower Burma are concerned, is there any distinction in respect of the bad effect of opium on the Chinese and on the other people who surround them, as far as you can judge?—I have had very little to do with the Chinese here, and I dislike to give an opinion upon the matter, as I have had no connection at all with the Chinese here.

6998. (Mr. Moubray.) Is there any Christian mission among the Chinese here?—There is one which is maintained in connection with the Presbyterian Church here. It is a small mission. It was de-signed more to look after the converts of that church in Swatow. There is a catechist there but he is under the charge of Mr. Moir of the Presbyterian Church.

6999. You do not mention any Chinese amongst your communicants?—No, we have no mission at all amongst the Chinese.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Cheng
Tait.

Mr. CHENG TAIT called in and examined.

7000. (Chairman.) I believe you are a general merchant and holder of wholesale and retail liquor licenses in this town?—Yes.

7001. Will you tell us how far the consumption of opium prevails amongst the Chinese in Burma?—I am of opinion that the consumers of opium among the Chinese population in Burma, as far as I can judge, is from about 30 to 40 per cent.

7002. How long have you been in Burma?—Twenty-five years. I was born in the Penang Settlement—not in China.

7003. What effect do you think the habit of opium-smoking has upon the morals of the people who use it?—I may say that there are two classes of people who smoke. There are the rich men who can afford to smoke and afford to eat. I do not think it has any effect upon them. An opium-smoker after he smokes opium must have lots ofiffin or sweetmeats, and it does not affect him. With regard to the poor classes who smoke, if they smoke a little it does not affect them; but by-and-by they cannot sleep without smoking. If a man smokes one

day at 10 o'clock, he will have to smoke every day at 10 o'clock, and perhaps he smokes two or three times during the day. When the time comes for him to smoke he cannot stand it unless he does smoke; he must smoke something. If he is poor, he is obliged to go and get something for his pipe. That is what hurts the poor men.

7004. He does not feed himself?—No. He spends all his money and he commits petty thefts. When he sees anything, he wants to snatch it; or he may go to the pawn-broker.

7005. (Mr. Pease.) What time does it take for these smokers to smoke three times a day?—Some of them smoke about one grain at a time. Some smoke two times a day.

7006. How long does it take?—Some people take about a quarter of an hour to smoke. Sometimes people smoke lying on their beds and they might smoke three or four hours. He lies lazily and perhaps he has a friend to talk to. It is not like eating opium. The man who eats opium takes one pill and swallows it. It is not so with the Chinaman;

when he smokes he has a friend to talk with him and he spends hours over it.

7007. (*Chairman.*) Do many Chinamen eat opium and not smoke opium?—I think they all smoke. Some of the poor classes when they cannot afford to smoke buy *dieneht* and swallow it.

7008. Is the effect of swallowing the same as the effect of smoking?—I think it might be the same; but if he can smoke it is better. If he has no money to smoke he swallows it.

7009. Do many of the poorer classes go on smoking moderately for a long time or do they come to smoking in excess?—Sometimes the poor people have no money; but a man must smoke until he is satisfied; when he has money he can smoke as much as he can. When a man has not much money he can only smoke five pipes, but when he has more money he can smoke 10 or 20 pipes; but if they have no money they are obliged to have five pipes.

7010. There are foolish men and wise men among the poor; do the wise men smoke 20 pipes or only smoke a few pipes?—Some of the wise men only smoke five pipes, but some of the lazy men smoke 20 pipes. Some of the lazy men when they get money smoke until they have spent all their money. They like to smoke 20 pipes.

7011. Those men get unfit for work?—Yes.

7012. Out of a hundred poor men who smoke opium how many get unfit for work from smoking?—I should think about 60 per cent. cannot work.

7013. Do you mean out of a hundred poor smokers?—Yes; very poor smokers smoke plenty; they smoke 20 pipes. They can of course do daily work, but they cannot do very hard work.

7014. Taking a hundred men who smoke, some little some much, how many become unfit to work?—I think about 30 per cent.

7015. How do they live in the end?—When they have no money they go and commit theft; snatch here a little and there a little. They can do no work. Nobody trusts a man like that; nobody would employ him; nobody will take those great smokers.

7016. Are not you yourself a smoker?—No.

7017. Have you never been a smoker?—No.

7018. Do many Chinamen drink shunshoo?—Not very many.

7019. What liquor do they drink?—Brandy, gin, beer. The poorer classes in the jungle cannot get any brandy; they are obliged to drink shunshoo.

7020. Do many become drunkards?—Some of them become drunkards.

7021. They become unfit for work too, I suppose?—I think when they are drunk they cannot work. Some of my friends drink very much; but when they have not got it they can stop one day, but they cannot stop opium for one day. One of my friends has stopped drink for ten days. He said, "I swear I will not have any more." As for opium, they cannot stand for two days without taking it.

7022. You yourself are a liquor dealer?—Yes.

7023. What sort of liquor do you deal in?—Every kind of liquor.

7024. Imported from England?—Yes.

7025. Do you think that the consumption of opium results in crime?—Opium causes no crime.

7026. (*Sir William Roberts.*) I understand that the Chinese community here are chiefly artisans, carpenters and shoe-makers?—Yes.

7027. (*Chairman.*) Are there any market gardeners?—Chinamen come into Burma, but I think most of them are dealers and merchants. I know what I speak is true. I think about 40 or 45 per cent. are merchants here, but some of them are carpenters, blacksmiths, shoe-makers and that sort of thing.

7028. As a matter of fact do many of these working men come to poverty?—No.

7029. Very few?—Very few.

7030. You say that 30 or 40 per cent. of these artisans use opium, yet very few as a matter of fact do come to poverty?—I should think about 30 per cent. out of 40 per cent. come to poverty.

7031. How much would that be?—About 12 out of 100.

7032. Do you say that about 12 per cent. of the artisan Chinamen come to poverty?—Yes, those who smoke a great deal.

7033. Do 10 per cent. of your countrymen who are artisans come to poverty here in Rangoon?—Yes, 10 per cent.

7034. From excessive opium-smoking?—Yes.

7035. I suppose that the majority of those who smoke opium, smoke it all their life-time in a moderate way—the vast mass of them smoke moderately and continue to smoke moderately?—I mean to say if they smoke at 10 o'clock, they must smoke at 10 o'clock every day.

7036. You say that if they are not poor they do not take any harm from it?—That is so.

7037. (*Mr. Pease.*) Have you known any of those who are well-to-do injure their health by smoking?—Yes, at last, but not in the beginning; at last they injure their health.

7038. Rich people?—Yes.

7039. In those cases does it not lead to their neglecting their business; have you known any cases in which the habit of opium-smoking has made them poor men?—Yes. They always neglect their business or trade. If a man wants to buy any goods at 10 o'clock, he will smoke and I think sometimes he neglects his business.

7040. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) Have you any experience of any Chinamen who have ruined their health by drinking brandy and gin?—No.

7041. Not one?—Not any Chinamen and not any Burmans.

7042. Drinking is quite harmless here: it does not do the Chinamen any harm?—No.

7043. What becomes of all these Chinamen who are ruined by opium in Rangoon—where do they go, and where do they live?—They live in poverty-stricken places. Some of them are without any work. They must do something in some way to find money for their food and their pipe.

7044. What do they do?—Some of them do nothing.

7045. But they cannot live on doing nothing: what do they do?—They commit small thefts.

7046. Do you mean to say that about 10 per cent. of the Chinamen living in Rangoon, live on thieving?—They live in poverty; sometimes they live by thieving. If a man wants to get something for his pipe and has not got any money, he must go and snatch something. I do not mean to say he becomes a thief continually; but at the time he wants to smoke and cannot get it, he is obliged to go and snatch or to mortgage or sell for his pipe. What can they do when they have nothing? They cannot go and ask anybody they want a pipe.

7047. Suppose the Chinaman does not get his pipe, what happens to him then?—He goes and snatches something—a hat or a handkerchief. That is what is called petty theft.

7048. If the law said that no Chinaman was to have his pipe, what would he do then?—Of course he would do his best—take medicine and stop it; that is all.

7049. Have you ever known a Chinaman who has been in the habit of smoking and who has given it up?—There are some here.

7050. Do they do well without it?—They can do well without it. One of my friends got involved and he went to jail; the jail authorities would not allow him to smoke. When he came out in two years time he looked very stout; he had not smoked. I do not know whether they give them some medicine inside the jail.

7051. Does he go back to his pipe?—Yes.

7052. Do you think it would be possible for the law to prevent Chinamen in Rangoon from smoking?—In one way they can prevent it.

7053. How?—Smokers smoke in their own houses. The opium-smoker ought not to be allowed to smoke except at the opium farm. A respectable Chinaman, I do not think, will go to the opium farm. He ought to be ashamed to mix up with bad characters.

7054. You want the law to prevent smoking as much as possible?—Yes.

7055. You think that not allowing people to smoke in these opium-houses has encouraged smoking?—If you allow men to smoke in their own houses that would encourage the smokers.

7056. (*Chairman.*) How can the law prevent a man doing what he likes in his own house?—That I cannot say.

7057. Must the policeman be allowed to go in and open the door of anybody's house and see if he is smoking?—There must be a spy. When men smoke they must have a pipe in their house and lamps, and everything like that. It

*Mr. Chas
Taik.*
12 Dec. 18

Mr. Cheng Taih.
12 Dec. 1898. is not like eating opium: They can eat opium in any corner; but the smoker must have lamp and pipe and everything complete.

7058. The policeman must go in and search for the pipe?—When he heard there was smoking in the house, of course he might go there. If anybody went to buy any opium from the opium farms, they must not sell to them.

7059. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) Is this what you would like: you would like everybody to be forbidden to have opium except at these opium-houses?—Yes, if they want to smoke

let them go and smoke there. Of course some of the poor classes and bad characters might go there; but some are good men and have business, and they feel ashamed to mix up with those bad characters. They might feel ashamed of themselves and they ought to stop it. If a man takes medicine he can stop it.

7060. (*Chairman.*) When a man drinks too much brandy or gin and begins to become a drunkard, does not he ever begin to take opium to stop the drinking?—No; I think drinking will stop the smoking.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Park Chan.

Mr. PARK CHAN called in and examined (through an interpreter).

7061. (*Chairman.*) I believe you are a holder of wholesale and retail liquor licenses and owner of a tannery in this town of Rangoon?—Yes.

7062. What have you to say with regard to the opium question?—I smoke opium. I have smoked it for the last ten years. I took to it because my health was bad. I smoke for ten or fifteen days and then give up the practice. If I feel ill I take to it again. I smoke in small quantities. I smoke about four annas' weight a day. About 6 per cent. of the Chinese in Burma smoke. Well-to-do people who smoke opium suffer no evil effects, because they are well nourished; but poor people who smoke opium to allay pain and cure their diseases often deprive themselves of food to get opium, and in consequence suffer from smoking. These people smoke as much as one rupee to one rupee eight annas' weight a day. Chinese working men sometimes eat a little opium while at work, not having time to smoke. They do this to stimulate their strength.

7063. You say you took to smoking opium because your health was bad; in what way was your health bad?—I was weak.

7064. From fever or anything else?—I am always unwell from weakness.

7065. What age were you when you took to it?—Thirty years of age.

7066. You say you smoke for ten or fifteen days and then give up the practice. Have you any difficulty in giving up the practice; can you stop easily?—I smoke for ten or fifteen days and I can quit it off.

7067. Is it difficult to cut off?—A Chinaman has some medicine pills, and I can take them and cut it off.

7068. Do you keep on eating those pills, or do you take those pills for two or three days and then stop it?—Sometimes for four or five days I take those pills, and sometimes I take them for ten or twelve days and I quit it off. After I take those pills I never smoke at all. My body becomes weak and I smoke again.

7069. For how long do you stop smoking altogether?—Sometimes for two or three months after taking the pills; sometimes about one or two years.

7070. You say about 6 per cent. of the Chinese smoke; the last witness said about 30 or 40 per cent.?—It is not certain. Sometimes the people come to Burma more sometimes they go back to China; so I cannot say for certain.

7071. You say 6 per cent. of Chinamen: do you mean 6 per cent. of men women and children, or of men only?—Only the men.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Ah Nam.

Mr. AH NAM called in and examined (through an interpreter).

7082. (*Chairman.*) You are a doctor, I believe, of Rangoon?—Yes.

7083. What have you to tell us with regard to the opium habit?—I smoke a little opium. I smoke from four to six annas' weight a day. I have smoked for about 12 years. I had to walk about a great deal in the exercise of my profession, and I took to opium to relieve my weariness. It did relieve my weariness. I suffer no evil effects. I smoke the same quantity every day. Opium-smoking has the effect of making the blood circulate better. I visit eight or ten Chinamen a day in the exercise of my profession. The non-smokers are more numerous than the smokers. I have not

7072. In a hundred grown-up men you think that only six smoke?—This 6 per cent. are real smokers.

7073. Do they smoke much?—Yes.

7074. How many small smokers are there?—About 20 per cent.

7075. Do many people eat and not smoke?—Amongst our Chinamen those who eat it are very few; the smokers are many.

7076. How many get quite ruined by smoking?—I cannot say.

7077. Of this 6 per cent. who smoke much, do any become thieves and beggars?—Those men who are rich never steal or thieve, but those who are poor do steal and thieve.

7078. You say you sell liquor?—Yes.

7079. Do many Chinamen drink much liquor?—Not very much.

7080. How many in a hundred?—About 70 per cent.

7081. Little or much?—Some take much and some take little.

7082. Do the same people who smoke opium also drink liquor?—Yes.

7083. Do they often do themselves harm by drinking liquor?—No; they do themselves no harm.

7084. If opium-smoking were stopped by the Government, would there be more liquor drunk?—I do not think so.

7085. If Government opium were stopped, do you think any other opium would come in?—I cannot say.

7086. (*Sir William Roberts.*) Are there many poor among the Chinese in Rangoon?—Yes, a good many.

7087. What makes them poor? Is it opium-smoking, or liquor drinking, or gambling, or ill-health?—It is their fortune, luck; it is fate; it is their bad luck—their *kismet*.

7088. There is a very large artisan population of Chinamen; do some of them come to poverty from gambling, or drinking, or opium-smoking or disease, or what?—It is their bad fortune. Their poverty cannot be attributed to any particular cause.

7089. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) Do you sell much brandy and gin to Chinamen?—I sell beer mostly.

7090. Do you sell beer to many Chinamen?—I sell to several kinds of men; I sell beer to Chinamen.

7091. Do you sell more to Chinamen or to other people who are not Chinamen?—I sell more to other races than to Chinamen.

found people suffering from excess of opium-smoking. I consider opium-smoking in moderation to be a good thing; opium-smoking in excess to be a bad thing. I consider anything over a rupee in weight excess. Chinamen generally smoke in moderation. Excess is rare. Opium taken in moderation strengthens men, allays pain, and cures disease.

7094. You say that non-smokers are more numerous than the smokers among the Chinese; in one hundred how many smoke and how many do not smoke?—Over 10 per cent. smoke.

7095. Do you mean that they smoke greatly?—I cannot say whether this 10 per cent. smoke much or little.

7096. Do you mean 90 per cent. never smoke at all?—I cannot say exactly. I never go out at all. I am always at my shop.

7097. You say that excessive smoking is rare, not common; do you know any men who have been quite ruined by smoking and who have become thieves and beggars?—No, I do not know any men who smoke who have become thieves.

7098. What diseases does opium cure among the Chinese?—It is a cure for headache and stomach-ache.

7099. Is it any good for fever?—No; it is not good for fever.

7100. Do not the country-people in some places think that it protects them from fever?—I cannot say.

7101. What shop is it that you stay to keep care of?—A Chinese medicine shop.

7102. Do you go about and visit sick people?—Yes; *Mr. Ah Nam* sometimes I go to people having these diseases, and sometimes they come to me. 12 Dec. 1903.

7103. (*Mr. Pease*.) Would you advise those people who do not take opium to take it when they are quite well?—No; I would not advise them.

7104. Do you observe any difference in the effect of opium upon Chinese and Europeans?—I cannot say.

7105. (*Mr. Mowbray*.) Do you think that the Chinamen in Rangoon would like the Government to prohibit the use of opium; what would the Chinese who smoke opium in Burma think if Government stopped the sale of opium?—If the Government stopped the opium, the smokers are cut off.

7106. Would they wish opium to be cut off?—I do not know their wish.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. TAN KYU called in and examined (through an interpreter).

Mr. Tan Kyu

7107. (*Chairman*.) What are you?—A trader from Prome.

7108. Have you anything to tell us with regard to the consumption of opium?—I have been in Burma 28 years, and for 26 years have been a regular opium-smoker. Almost all the Chinese in Burma are regular opium-smokers. Some, however, only take it occasionally. Those Chinese who do not take opium are physically stronger than those who take opium. Mentally, I consider, opium-smokers are improved by taking opium. They are of more even temper. Chinese do not become criminals or vicious from taking opium. I take about three ticals of opium daily.

7109. How much is a tical?—A rupee weight.

7110. Is a tical the same as a tola?—Yes.

7111. You smoke three tolas of opium; do you?—Yes.

7112. How old were you when you first began to smoke opium?—Twenty-two years of age.

7113. Did you begin it because you were unwell; and if so, what was the matter with you?—I had a cough.

The witness withdrew.

7114. 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?—It makes them good-tempered—they are even-tempered.

7115. (*Sir William Roberts*.) When you say you take three ticals of opium daily, do you mean that you smoke it?—Yes.

7116. (*Mr. Pease*.) Do you think a man who does not take opium can do his business as well as a man who does take opium?—A man who does not take opium is much better than the opium-smoker.

7117. (*Mr. Mowbray*.) Do you wish the Government to stop the smoking?—I do not wish the Government to stop it.

7118. Are there many Chinamen in Prome?—There are one or two hundred there.

7119. Do you think the Chinamen in Prome wish the Government to stop opium-smoking?—I do not think the people there wish the Government to stop it.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. SIR KAUNG called in and examined (through an interpreter).

Mr. Sir Kaung

7120. (*Chairman*.) What have you to tell us?—I am a trader from Prome. I have been in Burma some 35 years, and have been for the last 33 years a regular consumer. I consume about 83 weight of opium daily. I should say that not more than one-third of the Chinese in Burma are regular smokers. There is a slight advantage physically in favour of those who do not consume opium. I should say that opium-smokers are more thoughtful and careful and clever than those who do not consume opium. The Chinese do not become vicious or criminals from smoking opium.

7121. Did you come here from China, or from Penang, or from Singapore?—From China.

7122. What part of China did you live in?—Fokin.

7123. How old were you when you left China?—Twenty years of age.

7124. What were you trading in at Prome?—In cotton and cloth.

7125. You say you smoke 83 weight of opium daily; when did you begin to smoke as much as that?—Twenty years ago.

7126. When you first began did you smoke very little?—I smoked half a tola or three quarters of a tola before.

7127. Are those who do not smoke opium at all stronger than those who do smoke?—Yes.

7128. Are they more clever?—Opium-smokers are much more clever than non-opium smokers.

7129. How do they become more clever?—Opium smokers can consider how to trade better; they can meditate better.

7130. In Prome are there some Chinese who have become ruined and beggared from smoking opium too much?—The Chinese ruins his body of his own accord and it is not from the opium.

The witness withdrew.

7131. Does the health of the poor man who smokes opium get ruined?—If he gets no money to smoke opium he must go and work for his livelihood.

7132. If Government stopped the sale of opium in Burma, what would the Chinese think of it?—It would be death to the smokers.

7133. Would the Chinese who do not smoke be pleased if would they think it a good or a bad thing?—If the Government objected to the Chinese smoking opium, they would run away to China, where they could get the opium.

7134. (*Sir William Roberts*.) Are you in good health?—As a rule I am well, but I am subject to headaches; otherwise my health is good—that is the only thing I suffer from.

7135. What is your age?—Fifty-eight.

7136. (*Mr. Pease*.) How much do you pay for this 83 weight of opium?—82-12.

7137. How many pipes does that provide you with?—When I have leisure I smoke; I cannot count them.

7138. How many hours a day do you spend over smoking?—About four hours.

7139. When do you smoke? What time of the day do you smoke?—I commence after 8 o'clock and smoke till 9-30, and then I get up again. When my friends come I ask them to smoke.

7140. Do you work a great many hours a day at your business?—I have assistants to look after the shop. If my assistant has to sell goods, he comes and asks me. My work is not very hard.

7141. (*Chairman*.) Kindly tell us what you are and what you have to say with regard to this question?—I am a trader at Prome. I have been over 10 years in Burma. I am a regular opium-smoker and take about 83 weight of opium daily. Most Chinese in Burma smoke opium occa-

Mr. Sit
Hon.
12 Dec. 1893.

Mr. SIR HOW called in and examined (through an interpreter).

sionally, but the number of regular opium-smokers is less than the number of those who take it occasionally. Chinese who do not take opium at all are a little stronger than those who take it, but not very much. I think the mind is improved by taking opium. Opium consumers are more thoughtful. The Chinese do not become criminals or vicious from taking opium.

7142. How old are you?—Fifty-eight.

7143. What is your trade?—I keep a miscellaneous goods shop.

7144. When did you come from China?—Ten years ago.

7145. From what part?—Fokin.

7146. You say you smoke 22 weight of opium daily; how long have you been smoking as much as that?—Seven or eight years.

7147. Before that I suppose you smoked less?—Yes; now my son is getting trade and I smoke more than I did before.

7148. If Government closes all the opium shops what will the opium-smokers do?—If the Government stops the

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Kun
Loang.

Mr. KUN LOANG called in and examined (through an interpreter).

7155. (Chairman.) Please tell us what you are and what you have to say?—I am a shop-keeper in Rangoon. I smoke opium. I have smoked for twenty years. When I have little work I smoke from 8 to 12 annas' weight a day. When I have heavy work I smoke 21 to 21-8 weight a day. My health is not damaged. The effect on me is to make me feel brighter and to make me do my work better. I should say 5, 6, 8 per cent. of Chinamen smoke. Opium-smoking does no harm to well-to-do people. It does harm to poor people, because they have not enough food, and opium without food does harm.

7156. What sort of shop do you keep?—I have a Chinese sundry and miscellaneous shop.

7157. How old are you?—Fifty-three years of age.

7158. Was there any particular reason for your beginning to smoke opium?—There was no cause.

7159. You did not take it because you were ill?—No.

7160. Was it for pleasure?—Yes.

7161. You say you smoke from 8 to 12 annas' weight; do you mean 1-16th of a tola?—The half or three-fourths of a tola.

7162. Do many Chinamen eat opium and not smoke it?—Poor men eat it and do not smoke it. They have no money to buy the proper opium for smoking, so they eat the refuse opium.

7163. Do they make a pill of it; or how do they eat it?—They make a pill of it and swallow it.

7164. Does opium-smoking do most harm, or opium-eating, according to your idea?—Most harm is done to those who eat opium; it does not hurt those who smoke.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Ah Chew.

Mr. AH CHEW called in and examined (through an interpreter).

7173. (Chairman.) What are you?—I am a shop-keeper.

7174. What have you to tell us with regard to the consumption of opium?—I have been smoking opium for the last 12 years. I generally smoke from twelve annas to one rupee weight daily. I formerly had a weak chest and spat blood and in consequence took to opium to give me relief. This has done me much good. I think that 8 to 10 per cent. of the Chinese community in Rangoon smoke opium. Poor people are in the habit of spending all their spare cash on opium and even curtail their food to procure the drug. The labouring classes when they feel fatigued eat a small piece of opium, which gives them relief.

7175. How old are you?—Thirty-eight.

7176. Were you born in China?—Yes.

7177. What part?—Canton.

7178. How long ago was it since you came here?—I came here 15 years ago.

7179. Then you began to smoke here?—Yes.

7180. Did you never smoke in China, or did you smoke occasionally?—I never smoked in China.

7181. If you stopped opium now, do you think the pain

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned till to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock.

opium shops, the smokers will be in a difficult and awkward position. The consequence of shutting the opium shops will be that in two days they will suffer in health. That will be the immediate effect.

7149. You used to smoke in China as well, I suppose?—Yes.

7150. Is opium cheaper in China than it is in Burma?—The price in Burma is a little higher than it is in China.

7151. Do all the Chinese in Frome come from China? Or are some of them born there?—They all come from China—but some are born in Frome.

7152. Do as many Chinese smoke in China as in Burma?—It is just the same.

7153. Have you known any poor people who have been reduced to beggars and thieves from smoking opium?—Those who are poor people and have no money to smoke will borrow off their friends or turn thieves.

7154. (Mr. Pease.) Do you think it a good thing for a young man, who is quite well, to begin to smoke opium?—I cannot say.

The witness withdrew.

7165. (Mr. Pease.) Do you mean the eating of crude opium or the eating of pipe ashes?—The Chinamen used to eat the refuse opium, not raw opium.

7166. (Chairman.) Does opium-smoking do more harm to the Burmese than it does to the Chinese; or is it the same?—Our Chinamen opium-smokers are all rich men, not like the Burmese.

7167. Do the Burmese smoke too much?—The Burman opium-smokers are not like our Chinamen opium-smokers. The system of consumption is different.

7168. (Sir William Roberts.) They smoke the best opium; they do not smoke crude opium?—The Chinamen cannot stand the raw opium.

7169. (Mr. Pease.) Do you smoke beinai or beinchi?—Beinai.

7170. (Chairman.) Do you mean that the Chinamen are more prudent and wiser than the Burmese, or what is the difference? The Chinamen, the Consuls, and all used to smoke opium; the rich men used to smoke opium. The Burmese who smoke opium look rather bad.

7171. Is it because the Chinese know when they have had enough, and the Burmese do not know when they have had enough, that it has a better effect upon the Chinamen than upon the Burmese?—The Chinamen use opium for pleasure.

7172. The Chinaman smokes regularly, and the Burman smokes irregularly. The Burman takes it more than he ought to; is that so?—Some Chinamen take 3 or 4 tolas a day, and they know when they have had enough; but I do not know whether the Burmans know when they have had enough or not.

The witness withdrew.

in your chest would come on again?—If I had no opium to smoke my chest will pain me again.

7182. Have you ever tried to stop smoking opium?—I stopped it for two months; then I coughed again and my chest pained me.

7183. You say that poor people spend all their spare cash on opium and even curtail their food to procure the drug; what sort of people are these?—They have no occupation; they are poor men.

7184. Have they no occupation because they smoke opium, or because of some other reason?—Some are lazy and some are getting diseased, so that they have no occupation.

7185. If Government stopped the opium shops what would the Chinese people say?—The opium smokers would not like it to be stopped; those who do not smoke opium have nothing to say.

7186. (Mr. Mowbray.) If Government stopped selling opium, do you think you would be able to get opium anywhere else?—How can I get the opium from anywhere if Government stops the opium? If Government stopped the opium I would run away to China.

- Rev. W. B. Phillips. 2641. Is half of that Mahomedan?—I could not answer exactly—more than half I should say—much more than half.
- 22 Nov. 1893. 2645. Then is your experience limited to the city or to the district of Murshidabad?—No, it spreads over the district also.
2646. And is what you have told us about the city of Murshidabad good as to the district of Murshidabad?—No; it is not.
2647. Will you tell me what are the proportions of the population in the district of Murshidabad?—That I am unable to say.
2648. Your remarks as to the 90 per cent. referred to the population of the city only?—Yes.
2649. Then, taking 90 per cent., or more than half of the population, do you think it would be possible with due regard to the public opinion of that city, entirely to prohibit a practice indulged in by so large a proportion of people?—Certainly; with a proviso similar to that which the Government is carrying into effect in Burma, allowance being made for present consumers.
2650. You would have a registry made of present consumers; how will you propose to carry that out?—I suppose that would be the method.
2651. Do you think it would be a practical method?—I feel that is a question for Government officials more than for myself. If it were not practical, they would find another mode.
2652. You have expressed your belief that public opinion would support a prohibition of this kind. I wish to know what grounds you have for saying that public opinion would enforce such a prohibition in the case of so large a proportion?—My dependence is of course not upon the public opinion of Murshidabad City, but upon the public opinion of India, that is, the public opinion of 280 million people, contrasted with the public opinion of 56,000. I believe if Government had at its back the public opinion of, say, 200 million, it could afford to deal strongly with the public opinion of some 56,000.
2653. Are you able to speak with as much confidence as to the public opinion of 280 million of people that you have not been brought into direct contact with, as you can with reference to the opinion of the smaller number with which you have been brought into direct contact?—I feel confident that the public opinion of these opium-smokers would not agree with it, so that in that case the analogy breaks down; but with regard to the whole population of India, I express my belief generalizing from particulars, but of course I can scarcely be reasonably expected to offer anything like a guarantee that this opinion is absolutely correct; it is my opinion.
2654. I think you also told us that opium-smokers say that they could not work without it, but in your opinion that is not so?—I did say that opium-smokers would say that they could not work without it, and there is another class would say that they could work without it. I do not think I went further than that.
2655. Your opinion was that it was not a correct idea on their part?—As far as they are concerned, I think they do believe that they could not work without it, and it may be that it is true, although I have had conflicting evidence from one who called anti-opiumists mad fanatics. He said they could work without it, because they were obliged to do without it in jail.
2656. I do not want to go into any one else's evidence. I want to ask whether in your opinion there is a general idea among these men that they cannot work without it?—I think that certainly.
2657. Therefore I presume they would object to be interfered with?—Doubtless.
2658. I suppose you would admit the truth of the proverb "that the man who wears the shoe knows where it pinches"?—Yes, I think that is correct.
2659. (Mr. Fanshawe.) I understand you to describe the effects of opium-smoking on an urban Mahomedan population in Murshidabad?—It would be more correct, as far as the city of Murshidabad is concerned, to say that I have described more largely the effect of opium-eating.
2660. May I take it that you describe the effects of opium-eating on an urban population such as you find in Murshidabad?—I do not wish to confine my remarks as applying only to these cases; my own dwelling, for example, was 7 miles away from the city, in Berhampore, where also the evil effects of opium are known.
2661. But taking it broadly, that is the class you are referring to generally as using opium to excess?—Yes; I think so certainly.
2662. Outside the city of Murshidabad, can you tell us what the proportion of opium-eating would be to opium-smoking?—No.
2663. Is smoking much more common than opium-eating, or much less common?—I cannot say accurately.
2664. You have been in the habit of visiting a great number of villages for a series of years in this district?—Yes.
2665. Has it come within your experience that opium-eating is resorted to at all as a stimulant in the malarious parts of Murshidabad?—No, it has not.
2666. Among the Jain community to which you referred, is the opium habit one of eating or smoking?—Mostly eating.
2667. The members of that community are good business men, I presume?—They are.
2668. And would the remarks that you have made with regard to opium leading to lying and cheating and not paying debts apply to that community?—No, they have not the temptation: I exempt all wealthy men.
2669. You exempt the wealthy community?—Yes, they are not under temptation.
2670. You said it was quite common in the city of Murshidabad to recommend the use of opium as an aphrodisiac: would you kindly tell us by whom you mean?—I wish to consider that remark as enlarged far beyond Murshidabad and as applying not only to Mahomedans, but to Hindus and very largely through society.
2671. By whom is it recommended: by their native doctors?—By one another, by friends.
2672. Recommended amongst themselves?—Amongst themselves.
2673. You recommend that the use of opium should be prohibited except for medical purposes; speaking generally, what do you include under medical purposes; do you mean that opium should only be sold on medical prescription?—Yes, I should think so.
2674. Like other medical prescriptions?—By qualified medical men.
2675. Throughout the districts?—I think there is a system now in India of both English practitioners and Kabisajis.
2676. Then you would mean that opium should only be supplied on the certificate of a qualified practitioner according to the European system, or a qualified practitioner according to the Native system, including both?—Yes.
2677. With your knowledge of the country, would you say that opium generally is used as what I might call a domestic remedy in cases of dysentery, rheumatism, pains, and so on, in many villages throughout the districts, apart from what the doctors would recommend?—I believe it is, particularly for lumbago, rheumatism, or pains of the body.
2678. If it is used generally as a domestic remedy, how would you provide for cases of this kind in future should it be necessary to have a medical certificate, European or Native?—I should like to say that I have never attempted carefully to work out this, nor do I pretend to have any scheme in my mind, but I believe that a scheme may easily be devised. Of course medical practitioners could give a certificate or some prescription by which I suppose medicine of that kind could be got regularly in certain quantities.
2679. With your knowledge of the country you must be well aware that there are many vegetable poisons to be found in almost every village?—That is so.
2680. Do you wish us to understand that your experience has been that poisoning by opium is a much more common form of suicide than by any other poison?—I believe it is much more largely used, and that a comparison with any other poison would reduce the comparison almost to an absurdity.
2681. But if you had not opium, do you think that anybody wishing to commit suicide would be debarred by any difficulty in finding poison according to the present conditions of life?—My impression is that in the case of most suicides a little difficulty goes a long way, and that they should be protected to the utmost extent to which Government can protect them. I believe a man gets so under the influence of depression that if the way of getting free, as it were, of the burden, were not easy, it would probably be a sufficient deterrent, and then common sense would return and he would not wish to commit suicide.
2682. But is the way not easy in the presence of the large number of poisons growing almost in every village?—I do not think it is so easy.

2683. Would it not be easy to substitute any one kind of poison for another?—I do not think it would; if I did, I would not recommend it. I think that all poisons should be, as far as possible, suppressed.

2684. With your knowledge of Indian life you must know that a great number of suicides are committed every year by native women throwing themselves down wells?—Yes.

2685. Does not that come within your knowledge?—It does not come within my personal knowledge.

2686. But you think that is generally correct?—I should say so.

2687. The well in India being used as a means of committing suicide?—I cannot say that it has come prominently before me. I dare say that any one in the North-West Provinces would be more likely to hear of it. I believe it is a common way of committing suicide among native women.

2688. (*Sir James Lyall*.) You attribute the wretched appearance of the Mahomedans to the prevalence of the opium habit. Is it not common in India in the old Mahomedan cities, particularly decayed ones, which were formerly capitals, that the population has a weak and degraded appearance?—My experience of old Mahomedan cities is limited to Murshidabad, and therefore I am not in a position to answer that question.

2689. You refer to the use of opium as an aphrodisiac; is it not usually understood to be the case that from very early sexual intercourse and other habits impotence is unusually common among men in India and often comes early, and that for this reason opium and many other drugs are in unusually large demand as aphrodisiacs?—Well, that may be a fact, but I do not believe that the opium taken as an aphrodisiac is taken with the intention of procuring offspring. It is taken more for increasing sexual enjoyment. I believe that answer will apply almost universally in reference to the use of opium.

2690. You think it is taken not by men who are disposed to be impotent, but by men ordinarily capable of sexual intercourse who take it to get an excessive enjoyment?—I think it is taken by both classes, the object being the pleasure that it may produce.

2691. You say that the existing system of licensing is vicious, putting the highest pressure on the vendor to spread consumption. Is that a theory, or have you any personal knowledge or experience of the special methods by which such vendors spread the sale?—I know such vendors; I know one particularly who used to be a student in our own school, and I know that their object is to try and establish as many shops as they can.

2692. They are not allowed to do that, are they?—That is their object; they try.

2693. Before the thing is put up for auction the number of shops is fixed and no vendor can after that establish

more shops; he knows when the auction takes place, how many shops are going to be allowed?—I had especially in mind the fact that in the time of Sir Rivers Thompson, I made a strong effort to get one of his shops closed and succeeded in that effort. Our Temperance Society took the matter up, and I know how very strong was the opposition we had to meet with on his part. This also I know from conversation with the people that they try to tempt as many as they can into this habit, particularly in the different outstill districts.

2694. The vendor I suppose sits in his shop; he does not advertise in the paper or go round about hawking the thing. I should like to know if you have any knowledge of any special way of increasing the sale which he has beyond that of any other shopkeeper who sits in his shop?—The shopkeeper is not usually the man who buys the license. In the Murshidabad District there were only five principal licensees, and all the shops throughout the district came under them; they put in their shopkeepers.

2695. Have you any knowledge or is it theory, of any special way by which they spread the sale?—I am not prepared to call it theory, if you watch the way in which they gather the people.

2696. That would be one way; have they any system of gathering the people? That is what I wanted to ask you, whether you have any knowledge or experience of that?—I have not any knowledge of any special way. I depend more upon what I hear of the pressure that they put upon people in trying to increase their sale.

2697. You say that the Government of India is specially responsible for the production of opium; is it not also to be credited with the restriction of opium in India as a whole, and high taxation of what is consumed or exported?—I think Government is to be credited with that intention in late years.

2698. I mean with a restriction of production in India as a whole?—I heard on this Commission from Sir David Barbour that the Government production has remained the same for a number of years.

2699. In the greater part or nearly the whole of British India and a very large part of the Native States do you know that through the instrumentality of the Government opium has been extinguished?—That I understand.

2700. And what opium is consumed or produced is very heavily taxed?—That I know.

2701. (*Mr. Wilson*.) With reference to the question about licenses, I understand that it is the case that a certain number of shops is mentioned in the licenses?—I am not sure of that.

2702. Is it not the fact that that number can be increased by the consent of certain officials?—I am not clear on that point.

2703. If I say it is, you are not prepared to say that I am wrong?—I am not prepared to say that you are wrong.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. SITA NATH ROY called in and examined.

2704. (*Chairman*.) What is your occupation?—Banker, and Zemindar, and Secretary to the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.

2705. I understand that you wish to speak to us with reference to the consumption of opium on the moral and physical condition of the people of Bengal?—Yes.

2706. It is a well-known fact that the consumption of opium in this Presidency is not restricted to particular classes or districts, nor does caste impose any restriction on the consumption of opium?—It is more or less taken by all classes from the highest Brahmaical caste downwards, but it is more generally consumed in the Central and Western than in the Eastern parts of Bengal. It would not be going too far to affirm that a considerable portion of the population of Central and Western Bengal take opium while its consumption in Eastern Bengal is much more restricted. The disparity in the use of opium by people of different parts of the Presidency is mostly due to the great prevalence of malarial fevers in Central and Western Bengal; Eastern Bengal being less subject to these afflictions. There is a deep-rooted belief that opium is a prophylactic in malarious diseases. The consumption of opium is largely confined to adults above 40 years of age, for it is in advanced life when the meridian of life has passed, that opium is deemed a necessity as a means to

ward off the many ills which flesh is heir to. People living in low and marshy lands, and those who have to undergo severe physical labour and fatigue and to submit to night exposure, deem it a necessity to take opium in moderate doses, as it is supposed to prevent chill and cold and to give sustained energy and vigor. Young men seldom, or only under medical advice, indulge in the use of opium. With reference to the effect of the consumption of opium on the moral and physical condition of the people, my views are that those who use opium moderately do not suffer any ill effect; on the contrary, the general impression, bordering on conviction, is that the moderate use of opium is beneficial; that it is a panacea for many diseases, and that its tendency is to prolong life. Native physicians concur in holding that opium is a reliable prophylactic against malaria and chill. It brings certain relief to those who are suffering from wasting diseases, diabetes, consumption, rheumatism, gout, and bowel complaints; when other treatment fails, patients are invariably recommended the use of opium. The consumption of narcotics in some form has been in use in this country from time immemorial. The Rajputs and Sikhs, the two most martial races of India, are said to be the largest consumers of opium, and yet they are not only the most prolific and vigorous, but the sturdiest of the people of this country. As regards the evils attending the use or rather abuse of opium, they

Rev. W. B. Phillips.
22 Nov. 1880

Mr. Sita Nath Roy.